COLLECTED WORKS OF ERASMUS

CONTROVERSIES

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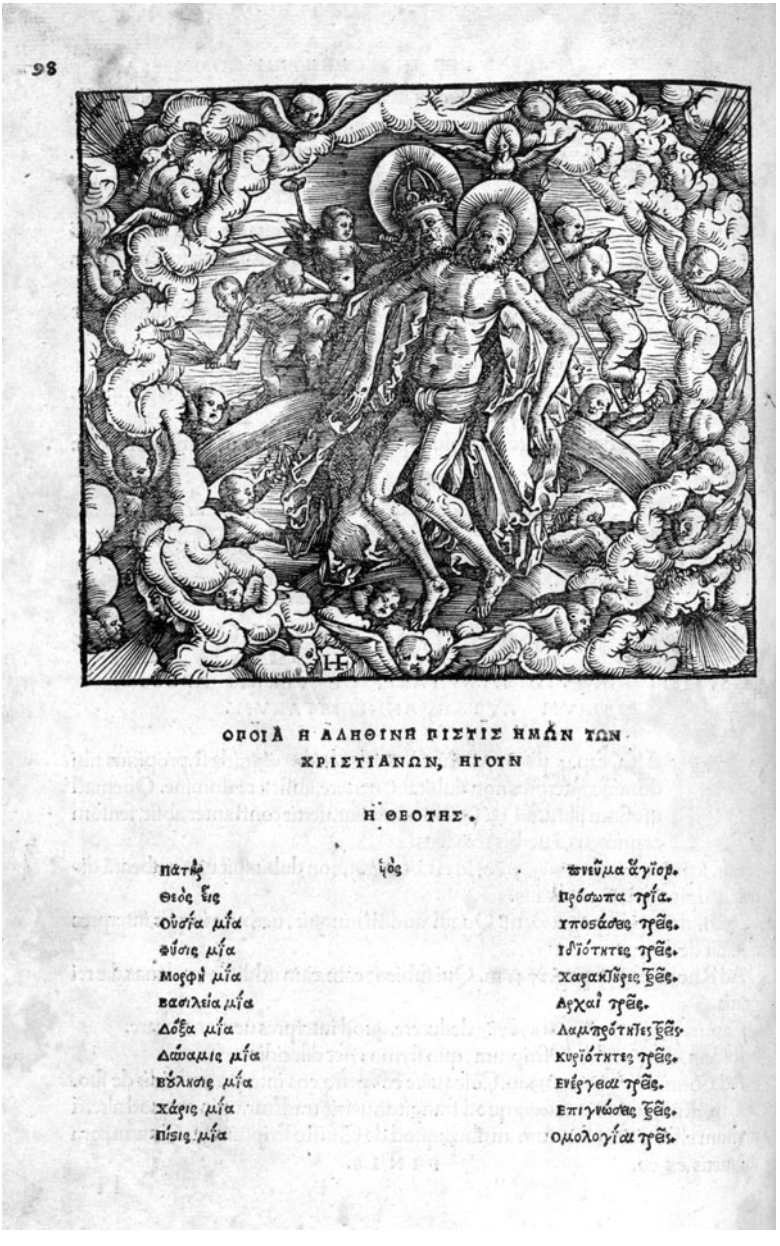
VOLUME 72



This illustration of the Trinity, with a list of characteristics attributed to the divine Persons, appeared in the second edition of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* (Basel: Froben 1519) fol 1 98. Lee criticized it in his *Annotationes*. On the facing page Froben printed the Nicene Creed in Greek, with a picture of a man looking up to heaven (see 42–3).
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COLLECTED WORKS OF ERASMUS

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APOLOGIA QUA RESPONDET INVECTIVIS LEI

RESPONSIO AD ANNOTATIONES LEI

edited by Jane E. Phillips

translated by Erika Rummel

annotated by
István Bejczy, Jane E. Phillips, and Erika Rummel

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The aim of the Collected Works of Erasmus
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of Erasmus' correspondence and his
other principal writings. The edition is planned
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Preface

Reading sixteenth-century writing on a topic of ecclesiastical or academic controveries has something in common with reading modern writing on current political controversies. However plausible or persuasive one author's opinion may be in isolation, it is perilous to evaluate the whole controversy without hearing also from the other side. In the absence of a readily available text of Edward Lee's *Annotationes* on Erasmus' work on the text of the New Testament, that peril must be ours in reading the present volume. Yet there is much to be gained from observing even Erasmus' side alone. We can see him framing the disagreement within particular circumstances – variations of intentions, pressures, perceptions of the requirements of academic and Christian civility, access to materials, linguistic and literary competencies, and so on – and, guided, it seems clear, by prior choices Lee had likewise made, developing recurring rhetorical themes around them: danger to the church and her doctrines, the propriety of youth (Lee) challenging age (Erasmus), tradition versus innovation. Such rhetorical formulations are most prominent in Erasmus' *Apologia*, but they can be noted too, in different degrees and colours, as highlights for his 268 replies to Lee's 268 specific points of criticism. In these we find Erasmus arguing the merits of each case, often constructing in considerable detail reasoned responses drawing on specialties that underlay his own training: biblical exegesis, scholastic theology, church history, canon law, grammar, and philological principles. In other words, he is behaving in ways entirely recognizable to his heirs, the academic community of the last two hundred years. A modern student of the history of religious controversy in this period will also observe that for all the contentiousness on both sides, Erasmus' published quarrel with Lee in 1520 still takes it for granted that the disputed issues belong primarily to the academy and to the church insofar as the academy is a church foundation; urgent threats to church unity are still not high on the horizon. The recriminations they exchange express feared revivals of ancient heresies, not a

blossoming of new schisms.[1] The individual points Erasmus discusses here can be usefully compared with his contemporary and later treatments of the same points in his *Annotations* and *Paraphrases* on the New Testament, in his responses to other opponents, and in other places in his various works.

Translation and annotation of such a complex text, with such an intricate underpinning of supporting authorities, is a slow and painstaking project. When the manuscript of this volume was nearly complete the translator and annotator found themselves no longer in a position to put the final touches on it, so it was handed on to me for editing. Beyond bringing its formal aspects into congruence with 'house style,' I have gone over the translation thoroughly, correcting where necessary, adding the index at the beginning of *Responsio* 2 and the occasional overlooked phrase or sentence, and putting a final polish on the language. I have reviewed the notes for clarity and completeness, and made silent additions to help readers follow linguistic arguments or literary allusions. It has been my intention not to dull the vivacity, even the tartness, of Erasmus' Latin that Rummel's translation ably conveys, and to assist where I can in making Rummel's and Bejczy's notes useful to future readers of CWE. I hope not to have added too many errors of my own.

The reader is asked to keep in mind certain conventions of CWE and of this volume. There is a list of Works Frequently Cited at the end of the volume that contains full information for works cited only by abbreviation in the notes. In the same place is a list of Short Title Forms for Erasmus' works; it gives the longer versions of the short forms found in the notes. An italicized date in the notes signifies a particular edition of a work by Erasmus already mentioned; so, when his *Annotations* have been mentioned, *1519* means their second edition, the one that appeared in 1519. References to his letters are, unless otherwise noted, to the CWE letter numbering (nearly always the same as in Allen) and line numbering specific to CWE. There is a special note in the present volume on Erasmus' Biblical Text (xxvii–xxix below) for the reader's benefit in following some of the disputes in modern biblical translations.

It remains to acknowledge the Herculean accomplishment of Rummel and Bejczy, and to express my gratitude for the learning, the literary astuteness, and the patient good humour of the volume's copyeditor, Dr Mary Baldwin.

JEP

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1 See, for instance, 70–1 and 408–17 below, and the General Index.

Introduction

The controversy between Erasmus and Edward Lee was a product of the ongoing debate over biblical humanism at the University of Louvain. Lee's position reflects the attitude of Louvain theologians anxious to preserve the traditional curriculum and ill at ease with the programme of language studies offered at the newly founded Collegium Trilingue. Erasmus, whose work made him one of the leading biblical humanists, was not eager to become a lightning rod for the parties in Louvain. His appointment as councillor to Prince Charles, however, obliged him to live within travelling distance of the court at Brussels, and Louvain was the seat of the nearest university.[1] He fully anticipated a hostile reception from the theologians. 'They are creeping up on me with their knives drawn,' he reported to a friend in England.[2] An earlier polemic with Maarten van Dorp, a member of the faculty, had given him a taste of what was in store.[3] After Erasmus' move to Louvain in 1517 tensions mounted. In 1519 one of the leading theologians, Jacobus Latomus (Jacques Masson), published a dialogue in which he disparaged language studies and rejected biblical humanism.[4] Concurrently, Alaard of Amsterdam was refused permission to lecture on Erasmus' *Method of True Theology*, a work that recommended the inclusion of language studies in the curriculum of theology students. At a graduation

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1 For the first mention of his appointment, which took effect in 1516, see Ep 370:15–20.

2 Ep 53:3–4

3 Cf Ep 304 (1514) from Dorp, expressing misgivings about Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* and his projected edition of the New Testament, and Erasmus' reply, Ep 337 (1515). On Erasmus' controversies with Louvain theologians see the introduction to CWE 71 by Kelley Sowards.

4 *Dialogus de trium linguarum et studii theologici ratione* ed F. Pijper in *Disputationes contra Lutherum* (The Hague 1905) 43–84. For Erasmus' reply, *Apologia contra Jacobi Latomi dialogum*, see CWE 71 31–84.

ceremony in February of the same year the vice-chancellor of the university, Jan Briart of Ath, attacked another Erasmian work, the *Praise of Marriage*, for allegedly denigrating the ideal of celibacy. Erasmus felt obliged to answer both Ath and Latomus in print.[5] It was in this charged atmosphere that the controversy with Edward Lee began to take shape.

EDWARD LEE

Edward Lee came from a well-to-do Kentish family. His date of birth is traditionally given as 1482.[6] He attended St Mary Magdalen College at Oxford, where he obtained a BA in 1501, then proceeded to Cambridge, where he graduated MA in 1504. In 1511/12 he was licensed for his Bachelor of Divinity, taking the degree in 1515.[7] He continued his studies at Louvain and Bologna and, in 1531, was incorporated Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. Lee was, for some time, a member of the household of Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester,[8] and shared other friends and patrons with Erasmus, among them John Fisher, Richard Pace, John Colet, and Thomas More. Their efforts to mediate in the ensuing polemic between Erasmus and Lee were, however, unsuccessful.[9]

In 1520 Lee entered the service of Henry VIII as chaplain. In 1523 he was appointed almoner. In the following years he took part in a number of embassies: to the court of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria (1523); to the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles in Spain (1525–9); and to Pope

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5 For the *Praise of Marriage* (*Encomium matrimonii*) see CWE 25 129–45, with the notes in CWE 26 528–34. For Erasmus' reply to Latomus see the preceding note. The text of his reply to Ath, *Apologia pro declamatione matrimonii*, is in CWE 71 85–95.

6 A somewhat later date is suggested by a remark of Thomas More (b 1477), who, in the long letter he wrote to Lee defending Erasmus in May 1519, describes Lee as 'ten years my junior' and refers to him as a young man; see More's 'Letter to Edward Lee' in Yale CWM XV 160:12, 172:29–32.

7 For Lee's life and academic career, see A.B. Emden *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* 3 vols (Oxford 1957–9) II 1122–3 and M. O'Rourke Boyle's article in CEBR II 311–14. James McConica, who kindly answered a query concerning the degree requirements at Oxford, suggested that the delay between Lee's obtaining his licence and taking the degree was due to his clerical duties. They may have caused his absence from the university and prevented him from fulfilling the requirements, which included a sermon to be preached at the university. During the period in question Lee held prebends at Exeter, Salisbury, Lincoln, and Winchester.

8 As we are told by Maarten Lips (cf Allen Ep 912 headnote)

9 See *Apologia* 14, 21 below.

Clement VII, to discuss the matter of the king's divorce (1530). During his tour of duty at the imperial court Lee's diplomatic skills were put to the test. His appointment spanned eventful years in which the French king, Francis I, became Charles' prisoner, the imperial troops sacked Rome, and Henry VIII began divorce proceedings against Catherine of Aragon. Lee's position at the imperial court was difficult, not only for political reasons but also because of his controversy with Erasmus. Lee's polemic of 1520 and his continued agitation against the humanist in Spain made him *persona non grata* in a circle dominated by Erasmians.[10] At the beginning of 1528 diplomatic relations between England and the imperial court were broken. Lee was recalled and, on his return, received further preferment. He had been ordained deacon in 1504 and already held a number of church benefices. In 1531 he was appointed archbishop of York. He had supported Henry VIII's efforts to obtain a divorce from Catherine, both as a member of the embassy to Clement VII and in personal interviews with the queen.[11] It seems that he was reluctant at first to accept the Act of Supremacy, but he offered no active resistance and reportedly said that it 'was not a matter to die for.'[12] Doubts about Lee's commitment to Henry's ecclesiastical policy persisted, however, and he was repeatedly obliged to defend his position. Ironically, he received rough treatment at the hands of rebels in the uprising of the northern counties because of his perceived support of Henry's policy. Taking advantage of this incident, Lee represented himself as a martyr to the royal cause.[13] In 1539 he appeared as a staunch supporter of the

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10 A representation made by Lee at court, which was highly offensive to the emperor and amounted to a diplomatic faux pas, was exploited by Alfonso de Valdés, one of Erasmus' supporters at court. He published Lee's comments and his own reply on behalf of the emperor under the title *Exhibita quaedam per Eduardum Leum ... Responsio cordatissima nomine Caesareae Maiestatis ad eadem* (Antwerp: Grapheus 1528). On this controversy cf E. Rummel 'Political and Religious Propaganda at the Court of Charles V: A Newly Identified Tract by Alfonso Valdés' *Historical Research* (1997) 23–33.

11 *Calendar of the State Papers ... Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth* 11 vols (Great Britain, Public Record Office; Longmans HMSO 1860–1912) V 287, 478

12 Cf John Strype *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of It* 6 vols (Oxford 1812–28) I 293–4.

13 Cf M.H. Dobbs and R. Dodds *The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536–1537, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538* 2 vols (Cambridge 1915) I 377–87; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* ed J.S. Brewer and J. Gairdner, 21 vols in 33, and Addenda I parts 1–2 (Great Britain, Public Record Office; Longmans HMSO 1862–1932) XI 527 no 1300, Edw. Lee, Archbishop of York, to Lord Darcy (14 December 1536); XII part 1 462–4 no 1021, Dr Pickering (Depositions of Dr

Six Articles, defending them in Parliament, and in 1540 he was a member of a commission examining doctrine and ceremony. He died in 1544 and was succeeded by Robert Holgate, bishop of Llandaff.

Lee's publications are few. His *Annotationes* against Erasmus and a brief record of a diplomatic exchange, *Exhibita quaedam*, are the only writings that appeared in print during his lifetime.[14] Much of his voluminous diplomatic correspondence, some of it in code, remains in manuscript today. Roger Ascham, who was a protégé of Lee, speaks of a commentary on the Pentateuch prepared by the archbishop, but the work does not appear to be extant.[15] It was probably more than conventional flattery when Thomas More praised Lee's learning, his 'insatiable thirst for knowledge and fervent passion for studies.'[16]

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN ERASMUS AND LEE

Lee's controversy with Erasmus spans the years 1517 to 1520 and culminated in the publication of Lee's *Annotationes* and Erasmus' replies. The dispute focused on Erasmus' edition of the New Testament. First published by Froben in Basel in February 1516, it contained, on facing pages, the Greek text of the New Testament and a revised version of the Vulgate, followed by annotations. The Greek text was the *editio princeps*, that is to say, it was the first edition to come on the market.[17] The annotations were added to explain Erasmus' editorial decisions by reference to philological considerations, patristic citations, and manuscript evidence. The edition prompted strong reactions in scholarly circles. It was hailed as a breakthrough by the champions of New Learning, but decried as an attack on the authority of the church by traditionalists. Dorp's letter to Erasmus, which has already

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John Pykeryng) (1537) and 464–7 no 1022, Archbishop Lee and the Rebellion (1537).

14 For *Exhibita quaedam* see n10 above.

15 Cf Ep 24 in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* ed J.A. Giles, 3 vols (London 1864–5; repr New York 1965) I-1, 59: 'The Reverend Father himself told me that he wrote notes on the whole Pentateuch of Moses, and as far as I could tell from his words, he intended to publish this book.' Some of Lee's doctrinal judgments are on record; cf G. Burnet *History of the Reformation* (London 1981–3) II lxxxix–cv.

16 'Letter to Edward Lee' Yale CWM XV 160:19–20.

17 The Complutensian Polyglot, edited under the direction of Cardinal Jiménes de Cisneros at Alcalá, had been printed in 1514, but was held back until a papal imprimatur could be obtained. Its distribution did not begin until 1520. Cf Bentley 70.

been mentioned, raised questions representative of the concerns of conservative theologians. He expressed fears that textual criticism would be seen as a challenge to the principle of inspiration and undermine the traditions of the church. He also voiced doubts about the validity of consulting Greek manuscripts and questioned the right of a private individual to correct the received text. Erasmus' reply countered these arguments, noting that the Vulgate translation had never been formally adopted by the church, that he was not correcting the biblical authors but removing the mistakes introduced by translators and scribes, that the church Fathers had recommended consulting the Greek original, and that he claimed no authority for his text.[18]

The first edition of the New Testament, produced in haste, was not without flaws, and Erasmus immediately began to prepare a second. By July 1517, when he settled in Louvain, he was engaged in revising the text and enlarging the annotations. For this purpose he consulted a number of scholars, including Lee. Erasmus was already aware that Lee harboured misgivings about his work,[19] and the request for comment may have been an effort on Erasmus' part to bring matters out into the open. Initially the relationship between the two men was civil, but tensions soon mounted. In later accounts Lee portrayed himself as naive and a victim of Erasmus' social skills: following Erasmus' 'siren song,' he had put aside his own researches and embarked on a critical examination of the New Testament.[20] Erasmus in turn described his request for comments as perfunctory. He insisted that Lee eagerly seized the opportunity to criticize him and described his adversary as a self-important and pompous man, who was hoping to make a name for himself by attacking a well established scholar. A third party – a supporter of Erasmus – provides additional insight into Erasmus' motives in initially encouraging Lee: 'When the conversation turns to his work, especially to his emendation of the New Testament, it is Erasmus' custom to ask recent acquaintances for their advice. When he finds that a man is rather self-confident and a bold and stupid critic ... he not only refrains from rebuffing the man right away but invites him to go on. He seems to enjoy that sort of thing greatly, for one thing because exceptionally stupid remarks are considered amusing in themselves, and for another

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18 Cf xi and n3 above.

19 Cf Epp 864 introduction, 1074:18–22, and the *Apologia* 7 below.

20 He says, in his apologia addressed to scholars in Louvain (see n36 below), 'Who does not know how wonderfully charming he can be when he wants something? He did not let up until I was caught by his siren song' (Lee fol AAii verso / Asso 238).

because he is interested in human nature and keen on hearing the most diverse opinions . . . By paying a man false compliments, he arouses his interest in literature or keeps on good terms with a friend of questionable loyalty.'[21]

Over the next months Lee scrutinized Erasmus' New Testament and submitted a number of notes and queries, which Erasmus returned with impatient replies. He made little effort to conceal his contempt for Lee's scholarship. Feeling that he was being made a laughing stock, Lee broke off relations with Erasmus and stopped sending him queries. He continued with his scrutiny of the New Testament, however, and circulated notes among selected friends.[22]

In the spring of 1518 Erasmus departed for Basel to supervise the printing of the second edition of his New Testament. When he returned to Louvain in September, he was greeted by rumours that Lee had accumulated more than two hundred notes. He met with his critic in October in an attempt to arrive at a mutually agreeable settlement. The two men's accounts of the negotiations and manoeuvres that followed differ in many respects and raise a number of questions: whether or not Lee had been willing to give Erasmus access to his manuscript; how widely it was circulating; what efforts were made and by whom to settle the dispute and why these efforts failed; under what circumstances Lee decided to publish his notes and whether Erasmus had impeded their publication.

Lee insisted that he had been willing, under certain circumstances, to give Erasmus access to his manuscript or to submit it to a mutually acceptable arbiter. Erasmus insisted that he was denied access to the manuscript and had not seen the full set of notes prior to their publication. He did not deny, however, that he had tried on several occasions to obtain a copy surreptitiously. The question of access is important because Lee alleged that he had supplied Erasmus with information that appeared in the second edition of the New Testament without acknowledgment. Erasmus maintained that the notes Lee had sent him were insignificant, that the revisions for which he claimed credit were largely the result of his own researches or done on the advice of others, and that considerations of time and place invalidated Lee's claims.

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21 Johann Gerthofer *Recriminatio* 9–10 (see xxiii–xxiv below)

22 How carefully Lee controlled the circulation is evident from a laconic note written by Erasmus in January 1518: 'It has been impossible to make use of your notes, because I could not extract them from the hands of the copyist' (Ep 765:2–3).

There was also considerable disagreement concerning Lee's intentions in gathering the notes. Lee claimed that they were originally for Erasmus' benefit, that he circulated them among a small number of friends, and that he was goaded into publishing the notes by Erasmus' refusal to acknowledge his contribution. He furthermore alleged that Erasmus used his influence with printers in Antwerp to frustrate his efforts to publish his work. Erasmus, by contrast, claimed that Lee's motives were self-serving and that, far from impeding the printing of the notes, he had welcomed their publication so that readers might see for themselves the worthlessness of Lee's criticism. Both men acknowledged that mutual friends encouraged them to put an end to the feud; both claimed that they tried to accommodate these wishes and blamed each other for the failed negotiations. They came close to reaching a settlement in October 1518 when Jan Briart of Ath, the vice-chancellor of the University of Louvain, agreed to act as arbiter, but the plan was abandoned: according to Lee because Erasmus mistrusted Ath and bribed a member of Ath's household to copy Lee's notes; according to Erasmus because Ath was unable to complete the work within a reasonable time, that is, without unduly delaying publication of the revised New Testament. A later attempt to make John Fisher the arbiter was cut short when Erasmus published a virulent attack on an unnamed critic, which Lee took to be aimed at himself.[23] The perceived insult induced him to terminate all further negotiations and proceed with the publication of his notes.

Neither man emerges unblemished from the controversy. Lee appears peevish and self-righteous, Erasmus manipulative and less than forthright in his dealings with Lee. He himself admitted that he had used tricks and bribery in a vain effort to gain access to Lee's notes.[24] He was, moreover, instrumental in the publication of a collection of letters, some of which denounced Lee in mean and spiteful terms, and he included some slurs in an edition of the *Colloquies* that were taken as allusions to Lee.[25] His direct involvement in other attacks on Lee is less certain. Erasmus denied, for example, that he was behind defamatory placards posted at Louvain or that he approved of physical threats made by some of his German supporters.[26] Similarly, he denied rumours that he had coauthored *The Dialogue*

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23 Cf *Apologia* 29 and n143 below.
24 Cf *Apologia* 13–14 below.
25 Cf xxii–xxv below.
26 For example, Gerthofer *Recriminatio* (see xxiii–xiv below) 11: 'The only thing we need is fists and sticks to mark your back, coward, if you fall into our hands. We shall apply murderous lashes to your barbarous buttocks.'

of the Two-Tongued and the Trilinguals, a spoof on the theological faculty at Louvain, in which Lee was caricatured as a 'manure god.'[27]

The two adversaries formally reconciled in July 1520[28] shortly before Lee's return to England.[29] In the following years Erasmus kept a wary eye on his opponent. He was convinced that Lee had written or was planning to write a second book against him. In May 1520 he had mentioned such a possibility to Bishop Richard Foxe.[30] In 1524 he reported rumours that Lee had tried to publish a book against him in London but was rebuffed by the printers.[31] A diatribe against him that appeared in Antwerp under the pseudonym 'Taxander' in 1535 was dedicated to Lee and could not but revive Erasmus' suspicions.[32] He furthermore alleged that Lee was using his position as ambassador at the imperial court in Spain to agitate against him. According to Erasmus, Lee had goaded members of the religious orders in Spain into denouncing him to the inquisitor general, which led to a formal investigation of his works in 1527. Complaining about Lee's intrigues, Erasmus again referred to a second book supposedly written by the Englishman and lobbied patrons in England and at the Spanish court to have it suppressed.[33] There is no evidence that Lee did write another book against Erasmus. There were, however, plans to publish a second (perhaps revised) edition of his *Annotationes*. A proposal to this effect was made to Cardinal Wolsey by Girolamo Ghinucci, Lee's colleague and fellow ambassador at the imperial court, but was abandoned when the cardinal did not respond.[34]

Erasmus kept informed of Lee's further career. After the latter's elevation to the archbishopric, he observed with bitterness that his enemies were enjoying royal favour. In a contemporary letter to his friend Quirinus Talesius, he likewise mentioned Lee's advancement, commenting pointedly: 'My friends are diminished, my enemies grow in stature.'[35]

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27 CWE 7 343. For more details on the lampoons against Lee cf xxiii–xxv below.
28 Cf *Spongia* ASD IX-1 160:908–9.
29 Cf Ep 1140:18: 'Lee has now left, I believe, for England.'
30 Ep 1099:14–15
31 Allen I 24, apparatus to line 35
32 Cf Allen Ep 1606:29–31 and see n49 below.
33 Cf E. Rummel 'Erasmus and the Valladolid Articles: Intrigue, Innuendo, and Strategic Defense' in *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar* ed J. Sperna Weiland and W.Th.M. Frijhoff (Leiden 1988) 69–78.
34 Cf E. Rummel 'New Perspectives on the Controversy between Erasmus and Lee' *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkegeschiedenis* 74-1 (1994) 226–32.
35 Allen Epp 2615:63–5, 2733:43; similarly, Ep 1745:22

THE CONTROVERSY IN PRINT

Although the conflict between Erasmus and Lee began in 1517, it came to the attention of the reading public only in 1520, when Lee published his queries under the title *Annotationum libri duo, alter in annotationes prioris aeditionis noui testamenti Desiderii Erasmi, alter in annotationes posterioris aeditionis eiusdem* (Paris: Giles de Gourmont).[36] News of the publication had reached Erasmus by 17 February.[37] He replied immediately with a short *Apologia nihil habens, neque nasi neque dentis neque stomachi neque vnguium, qua respondet duabus inuectiuis Eduardi Lei – nihil addo qualibus, ipso iudicato lector* (Antwerp: Michaël Hillen, [March] 1520), that is, *An Apologia by Erasmus of Rotterdam, which is neither arrogant nor biting nor angry nor aggressive, and in which he responds to the two invectives of Edward Lee – I shall not add what kind of invectives; let the reader judge for himself*. This apologia was reprinted in May in Cologne by Eucharius Cervicornus and in June in Mainz by Johann Schöffer.[38] A third reprint appeared without date, bearing the fictitious printer's name 'apud Brontem atque Steropem,' that is, 'at the press of Thunder and Lightning.' The *Apologia* was not included in the *Opera Omnia* of 1540 or in Le Clerc's *Opera* (Leiden 1703–6). It was published, however, by John Jortin in his *Life of Erasmus* (London 1758–60) and included by Wallace Ferguson in the *Erasmi opuscula* (The Hague 1933).[39] Ferguson's apparatus records the variants in the editions of Hillen, Cervicornus, Jortin, and the anonymous printer 'Thunder and Lightning,' although there is no evidence that Erasmus authorized any but the *editio princeps*. Indeed there are no significant

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36 The Gourmont edition contained the following items: A prefatory letter (*Apologia*) addressed to scholars (*studiosi*) at the University of Louvain (text in Asso, appendix); a descriptive index of the annotations; a short prefatory letter to Erasmus (Ep 1037); Lee's annotations on the first edition of Erasmus' New Testament, consecutively numbered 1–243; Lee's annotations on the second edition of Erasmus' New Testament, which are referred to as a 'second book' in the introductory paragraph (fol LXXXVIII). These 'New Annotations,' added by Lee, according to the subtitle, 'as they occurred to me in passing, as I was reading [Erasmus'] second edition' are numbered consecutively 1–25 and are prefaced by an index in three parts (see *Responsio 1* n3 below for further details). The 'New Annotations' conclude with a supernumerary annotation on an illustration in the second edition of Erasmus' New Testament. The final piece is the text of a letter to Erasmus (Ep 1061).

37 Cf Ep 1066:99.

38 With Schöffer's edition of Erasmus' *Responsio*; see xxi below.

39 More recently, Alexandre Vanautgaerden has edited and annotated a new edition, with French translation by A. Van Dieroet, *Erasme: Apologie contre Edward Lee* (Brussels 1997).

variants, that is to say, none that cannot be explained as the work of a corrector or, conversely, a mistake introduced by the typesetter. This holds true also of the Mainz edition, which was not consulted by Ferguson.

Within a few weeks, Erasmus produced fuller replies to Lee's *Annotationes*, which he entitled *Responsiones ad Annotationes Eduardi Lei* (Antwerp: Hillen, April/May 1520). Later that year, a revised edition appeared from Froben's press in an omnibus volume that included Erasmus' *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo,'* Lee's *Annotationes*, and *Epistolae aliquot eruditorum virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Eduardi Lei virulentia*.[40] Significantly, Erasmus' earlier *Apologia in Response to the Two Invectives of Edward Lee* was not included in this collection of polemics; Lee's prefatory epistle to the scholars of Louvain and his letter to Erasmus concluding his volume (Ep 1061), which, like Erasmus' *Apologia*, related in odious terms the circumstances leading up to the publication of the polemic, were also suppressed. The Froben text of the *Responsio* contains several additions, some of them lengthy, but also introduces a number of misprints. A third edition with further modifications by the author appeared from the Froben press as an item in the *Apologiae omnes* (Basel, February 1522); it corrects most of the mistakes introduced in the previous edition. The text included in the posthumous *Opera omnia* (Basel 1540) essentially follows the 1522 edition, but contains new references to proof-texts and several brief additions. These must represent Erasmian revisions, since some of the additions are phrased in the first person,[41] and several of the new patristic references also appear as additions to Erasmus' *Annotations on the New Testament*, some dating from 1522, others from 1527.[42] I have mentioned that Erasmus suspected Lee of agitating against him in Spain prior to the investigation of his works at the Valladolid Conference in 1527.[43] The revisions incorporated in the text of 1540 may well date from that period and are tangible proof of Erasmus' continued preoccupation with Lee.

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40 On this collection of 'letters of learned men' see xxii–xxiii below. This is the title given the collection itself. The title-page of Froben's omnibus volume calls it *Epistolae aliquot illustrium virorum, Lei temerariam loquacitatem tractantium detestantiumque*.

41 For example in Notes 120, 171, and *Responsio 3* Note 13; see the ASD IX-4 apparatus criticus to 211:287, 237:906, and 291:198 respectively.

42 For example, the references to Theophylact in *Responsio 1* Notes 14, 167, and 171, which were added to Erasmus' *Annotations* in *1527* (Reeve 88, 531, 535). A reference to Bede in Note 234 was added to the *Annotations* in *1522*; see Reeve 323. For details see ASD IX-4 apparatus criticus for these Notes.

43 Cf n33 above.

One further edition, evidently pirated, deserves mention here. It appeared from Schöffer's press in Mainz with colophon dates of July and August 1520 under the title *Erasmi Roterodami Liber vnus, quo Leicis conuiciis sine talione respondet. Eiusdem libri duo, ad annotationes Eduardi Lei . . . priore defendit quae ipse in euangelia, altero autem quae in apostolum Paulum scripsit*. The sequence of the texts as well as the indexes are curiously muddled in this edition, suggesting the printer's difficulties in obtaining a complete set of the texts made available by Erasmus to Froben.[44]

If we accept P.S. Allen's conjectures, antecedents to the controversy between Erasmus and Lee had appeared in print before Lee published his *Annotationes* in 1520. In Allen's opinion, two letters addressed by Erasmus to the Austin canon Maarten Lips contained replies to earlier attacks by Lee. The evidence cited by Allen is, however, circumstantial.[45]

The first letter (Ep 750), which is undated, answers a pamphlet written by a 'thorny theologaster.' Neither Lips, who had brought the pamphlet to Erasmus' attention, nor Erasmus himself was prepared to name the critic, who was apparently a man of some standing.[46] Erasmus replied to a second pamphlet in May 1518 (Ep 843). This, too, was brought to his attention by Lips. It was an elaboration of an earlier work, referred to as *Decem conclusiones* (*Ten Conclusions*) and dealt primarily with three of Erasmus' works: his edition of the New Testament, the *Praise of Folly*, and the *Handbook of the Christian Soldier*. The critic opposed Erasmus' work on the New Testament in principle. He firmly believed that the Vulgate was Jerome's version (Ep 843:21–2, 317–19), that Jerome's translation was

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44 For the details see ASD IX-4:16. One cannot help wondering whether there was some collusion between Schöffer and Erasmus' servant, who passed through Mainz in June 1520 on his return from Basel (cf Ep 1109:2).

45 Epp 750 and 843. The editors of these letters in the *Correspondance d'Erasme* ed Aloïs Gerlo and Paul Foriers (Brussels 1967–) and *The Collected Works of Erasmus* did not question Allen's theory, nor did Ferguson, who mentions it in passing in the *Opuscula* 262:600n. In his introduction to Yale CWM XV xxxvii–xl, Daniel Kinney refutes the theory conclusively. I have added my own arguments to Kinney's in *Catholic Critics* I 115–18. Nothing is said about this matter in Asso, the most recent monograph on Lee. Allen's hypothesis has been revived by R. Coogan *Erasmus and Lee: The Shaking of the Foundations* (Geneva 1992) who, without arguing the case, declares that the evidence 'suggests that Lee could be taken for the opponent' (21).

46 Lips declared that he was concealing the man's name 'out of respect' (quoted by Allen Ep 750 introduction). Erasmus refers to a first attack on his New Testament edition, to which he replied, suppressing the critic's name (LB VI **3 verso).

divinely inspired and authoritative (lines 126–7, 299–303), that one must not trust Greek manuscripts because they had been corrupted by schismatics (lines 381–2), and that Erasmus, who was not a professional theologian, had no right to expound the Bible or write glosses on the Fathers (lines 348–9). Judging by Erasmus' quotations from the pamphlet, the critic wrote in a scholastic style and was hostile towards those whom he loosely termed 'poets,' that is, humanists or, more broadly, anyone concerned with language and style.[47]

The identity of the critic answered in Ep 843 was the subject of speculation even in Erasmus' own time. Christoph Scheurl thought that Johann Maier of Eck was the author of the pamphlet. A tract dealing with similar issues and perhaps identical with the one answered in Ep 843 was discussed in 1519 by the Carthusian John Batmanson. Interestingly he found it necessary to caution Thomas More 'not to suspect that Lee was the author.'[48] The identity of the real author or authors of the pamphlets answered by Erasmus remains to be established.

As the dispute between Erasmus and Lee heated up, two camps formed. The Carmelite Nicolaas Baechem and the Dominican Vincentius Theoderici, both members of the faculty of theology at Louvain, supported Lee and preached against Erasmus.[49] Erasmus' friends, in turn, upbraided Lee. Thomas More wrote a lengthy epistle to Lee, in which he questioned his motives and the merit of his annotations and defended Erasmus' scholarship.[50] Shortly after Lee's *Annotationes* appeared, Hillen published a collection of letters in support of Erasmus, entitled *Epistolae aliquot eruditorum, nunquam antehac excusae, multis nominibus dignae quae legantur a bonis omnibus, quo magis liqueat quanta sit insignis cuiusdam sycophantae virulentia* (Antwerp, May 1520). An enlarged version, containing an *Appendix Epistolarum quibus eruditi viri detestantur Edouardi Lei virulentiam*, appeared in the summer from the same printing house. A third edition, containing fourteen more letters, was printed in Basel by Froben in August 1520 under the title *Epistolae aliquot eruditorum virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit*

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47 Cf the use of the term 'poet' in the derogatory sense by another of Erasmus' critics, Nicolaas Baechem, quoted in Ep 1162:54–5.

48 Allen Ep 843 introduction; Yale CWM XV 206:5–6.

49 For Erasmus and Baechem, cf Rummel *Catholic Critics* I 137–42. Theoderici also collaborated with three other Dominicans on an invective, which was published under the pseudonym 'Taxander.' On this controversy and Erasmus' reply see CWE 71 113–31.

50 See n6 above; the letter was included in the *Epistolae eruditorum virorum*, discussed below.

Eduardi Lei virulentia.[51] Erasmus, who certainly had a hand in the publication of these letters, was careful to cover his tracks. He had earlier tried to cow Lee into suppressing his notes by hinting that he would be overwhelmed with a flood of pamphlets, but assured him in the same breath that he would discourage such action, as far as he could.[52] A letter to Hutten, however, shows that he was delaying rather than discouraging it. The time was not yet ripe, he wrote.[53] Once Lee's *Annotationes* had appeared, he saw no reason to hold back any longer. 'It remains to begin the second act,' he wrote to Justus Jonas in April of 1520. He wanted supporters to send him letters attacking Lee. He himself was going to revise them, if necessary; Wilhelm Nesen was to act as the official coordinator.[54] The letters collected and published range from scholarly rebuttals and moderate rebukes to scurrilous verses, diatribes, and a gleeful report that a copy of Lee's book had been found smeared with excrement.[55] Although the evidence clearly points to Erasmus' active involvement in the publication, he continued to present himself as a moderating force. He had suppressed many of the letters he received, he told Pirckheimer and others, because he wished to put an end to the affair and deprive Lee of the publicity he craved.[56]

In the collection of letters, one of the writers, the schoolmaster Johannes Sapidus, announced that he had assigned his students the task of reviling Lee in epigrams. Collections of epigrams were also published by the literary society at Erfurt (*In Eduardum Leum quorundam e sodalitate litteraria Erphurdiensi Erasmici nominis studiosorum Epigrammata*; Mainz, May 1520) and by Andrea Camiczianus (*Due Epistole . . . subiunctis etiam in fine libelli in Leum epigrammatis*; Leipzig 1520). An apologia on Erasmus' behalf by Johannes Gerthofer was published under the title *Recriminatio Ioan. Gertophii*

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51 This edition of EEV was part of the volume that included a revised edition of Erasmus' *Responsio*; cf xx above.

52 'Look at the pamphlets with which they cut to pieces anyone who has done them an injury! I for my part have restrained many of them from writing, partly by word of mouth, partly by letters, and shall continue to urge restraint, as far as I can' (Ep 998:77–80, July 1519).

53 'The time is not yet ripe, but I shall soon be recommending the man to you as a candidate for immortality in the writings of the learned (which he deserves and is pathetically anxious for)' (Ep 999:348–50, July 1519).

54 'I will revise them myself and see to their publication. Great variety in them is desirable. I have written to Wilhelm Nesen, so that he can show you what to do' (Ep 1088:11–13).

55 Cf Rummel *Catholic Critics* I 112–13; Allen Ep 1083 introduction.

56 Ep 1139:110–11. Cf Ep 1175:128–30; *Spongia* ASD IX-1 160.

adversus furiosissimum sycophantam Edoardum Leum Anglum, qui ausus est primus Erasmum candidissimum luto aspergere (Basel: Cratander, April 1520). Nothing is known of the author, but a remark in the pamphlet itself suggests that he was a proofreader at Froben's press in Basel. He categorically denied that Erasmus had benefited from Lee's advice in revising his New Testament. Addressing Erasmus' critic, he wrote: 'I read practically every one of the unbound pages before publication ... and I discovered nothing in your compilations of which Erasmus had not been apprised before you saw his book – even if Erasmus out of a certain courtesy says he received one or two bits of information from you.'[57]

Lee also became the subject of several anonymous lampoons published in 1520. In the *Dialogue of the Two-Tongued and the Trilinguals*, thought to have been written by Wilhelm Nesen with Erasmus' input, Lee is cast as a character named Phthonides, son of Malice, a pale, skinny creature, sporting a perpetual sardonic grin, and 'dragging a long tail.'[58] In *Hochstratus ovans*, a lampoon of Lee as well as of Jacob of Hoogstraten, ascribed to Hutten, Lee appears as a dog.[59] According to the story line, he returned to England after his controversy with Erasmus, died of thinking too hard, and was reincarnated, first as a pig in a Carmelite monastery, then as a 'long-tailed' dog. In *Decoctio*, another skit attributed to Hutten, Jupiter and Mercury immerse Eck and Lee in a magic brew to cure them of their madness. Here, as in Nesen's dialogue, Lee is described as wearing a perpetual grin, according to the fanciful explanation of the author a tic contracted during a stint as court jester. After being 'cured' Lee acknowledges his mistake and pronounces Erasmus the 'foremost of all theologians with regard to knowledge of the arcane mysteries, learning in Greek literature, Latin rhetoric, and perfect knowledge of all disciplines.'[60] Lee was also given a part in Crotus Rubeanus' skit *Concilium theologistarum*, a parody of a faculty meeting presided over by Hoogstraten. Called upon to suggest a scheme to get rid of humanists and reformers, Lee recalls his dispute with Erasmus: 'Holy God, what can I say ... I found that Erasmus had falsified the New Testament, that this isn't at all what's in our version – that genuine version of Jerome as he controverted it himself. Nevertheless I admonished the man

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57 *Recriminatio* 6

58 CWE 7:343. 'Long-tailed' was an epithet traditionally applied to Englishmen. For its connotation, see *Apologia* 50–1 and nn252 and 254.

59 Text in Ulrich von Hutten *Opera ... omnia* ed E. Böcking 5 + 2 vols (Leipzig 1859–70) Supplement 1 463–86.

60 Ibidem 546–7

charitably to mend his ways and, if he had any sense, to add my annotations to his. Thereupon he showed such arrogance that he used my notes to wipe his behind.'[61]

Similar remarks can be found in two passages in the November 1519 edition of Erasmus' *Colloquies*, which were widely interpreted as references to Lee. One spoke of a man who 'would rather leave behind his tail' than his sophistries, his sardonic laugh, and his self-satisfaction; the other of a rascal whose tongue should be used to wrap fish or wipe one's behind. Erasmus himself denied that these lines were aimed at Lee and insisted that he was not responsible for a tell-tale 'misprint' changing *ardelio* 'rascal' to *ardeleo*.[62] He removed the offensive passages from subsequent editions of the *Colloquies*.

Erasmus continued to depict his reaction to Lee's criticism as moderate and fair. Commenting on the violent behaviour of Budé's supporters in another controversy in 1530, he presented his own conduct as a model of how to treat an adversary: 'For when the tragedy in Louvain was at its height and the champions of my cause insulted him in my absence in posters and lampoons, I threatened to renounce all of them, if they continued to arouse ill will against me with their nonsense and to sully my victory with their boorish actions ... Similarly, when the Germans had sent me an enormous sheaf of letters in which Lee was torn to shreds, I barely glanced at one or two and turned over the whole bundle to More to have it suppressed. Everyone knew what was owed to Lee for his impertinence, but I preferred to keep in mind what I owed to myself. If my intent was not to use external force even against an enemy, I acted civilly; if it was not to have the accusation of petulance brought upon myself, I acted prudently.'[63]

ER

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61 E. Rummel *Scheming Papists and Lutheran Fools: Five Reformation Satires* (New York 1993) 58

62 Cf Lee's complaint, Ep 1061:374–9, 474–8, and Erasmus' reaction, 50–4 below.

63 Allen Ep 2379:202–15

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Erasmus' Biblical Text

The Latin New Testament that Erasmus revised and annotated was the one found in the Vulgate, the 'common' Bible or 'our' Bible, as he often calls it. Based on manuscripts copied and recopied countless times in a multitude of places, in a Latin tradition stretching back even before the massive editorial work of Jerome in the fifth century AD, the Vulgate had attained universal acceptance in Latin Christendom. Universal acceptance, however, was not matched by a text that was universally the same in every detail of wording or punctuation; and even where Latin manuscripts of different ages and provenances agreed, there were instances in which the Latin did not adequately reflect the Greek. One hardly need add that Greek manuscripts, representing a similar history of textual transmission, also showed an analogous variation.

By Erasmus' own day the printing press had introduced the opportunity for more textual uniformity among copies of the Bible, and indeed for more copies. Even then, however, there was no single authorized version of the Latin text of Scripture, and would not be until the Sixto-Clementine (also called just Clementine) version of 1590–2. One consequence is that the Vulgate text Erasmus revised, on the basis of readings in Latin and Greek manuscripts available to him, his broad knowledge of Latin usage in classical times, and readings reported by or inferred from the Greek and Latin church Fathers, cannot yet be identified with any one text or textual tradition, manuscript or printed. On the other hand, most and perhaps all of his Vulgate readings can be found in one or another manuscript or printed text available in his own day.

In this volume Erasmus' Vulgate and his revisions are the texts being argued over. Erasmus' Vulgate is most often, but not always, identical with that printed as the Clementine Vulgate and translated into English in the version known today as Challoner-Douay-Rheims or simply Douay-Rheims (DV). The Vulgate text he printed with his revision and a Greek text in the

fourth edition of his *Novum Testamentum* (1527) usually is identical with the Clementine.

The science of the textual tradition of Scripture in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin has come a very long way since Erasmus' time, though he himself and his contemporaries applied many of the basic principles of that science as far as they were able. Modern texts of the Greek New Testament now guide modern translations into Latin and into the vernaculars, often producing results different from what the sixteenth century was capable of achieving.

Readers of CWE 72 who want to follow as closely as possible the debate between Erasmus and Lee in its own terms are urged to consult the Clementine text or the DV English translation, though with the understanding that even in such early official versions not every passage will represent the text of Erasmus' quotation. In this volume most quoted Scripture has been conformed to the DV where Erasmus' Latin allows (though without most of DV's English archaisms). Psalm numbering is according to the Vulgate, while Hebrew names are given the spellings familiar to speakers of English. Other practical differences between the Latin tradition and the English tradition of Scripture (such as the location of books in the Apocrypha or not) are noted as they occur. For more on the history of the Biblical text, consult for example the *Cambridge History of the Bible* 3 vols (Cambridge 1963–70); for more on the role of Erasmus and his contemporaries in biblical scholarship, see Bentley *Humanists and Holy Writ*.

Readers who want to pursue the debates over text into modern times may also make comparisons with the Vulgate as established by Weber's third edition (see the list of Works Frequently Cited) or with close translations of the Greek text into modern English, such as the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV). For those particularly interested in the Latin and Greek texts, the *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* 26th edition edited by E. and E. Nestle, K. Aland, et al (Stuttgart 1979) presents a modern edition of the Greek with critical apparatus. It also contains a modern Latin revision of the Vulgate (the Neovulgata; Vatican City 1979) based on the modern Greek text; the critical apparatus to this Latin text reports the readings of the Clementine and of Weber's second edition, among other things, making the whole volume convenient for readers of Erasmus.

The imperfect match between texts of Erasmus' day and later scholarly or authorized editions is also found in the works of the church Fathers and some medieval writers. So the old standard reference works, J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) and *Patrologia Latina* (PL) contain texts in forms probably closest to what Erasmus had available to him but not unquestionably identical to his. Readers will find discrepancies in wording and in the subdivisions of works between what Erasmus reports and his

sources as cited in the notes. The differences do not necessarily mean that Erasmus misquoted, misread, or miscited his source; they may only mean that his text was not that of later editions of the same works. For a general survey of exegetical and theological authorities he consulted and the forms in which they were known to him, see Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* chapter 2, 'Sources and Authorities.'

JEP

Biblical Passages Discussed in Erasmus' *Response to the Annotations of Edward Lee*

Note numbers are in the order given by Erasmus, which is based on Lee's order; biblical passages are sometimes taken by Lee and Erasmus slightly out of order, as is apparent in this list and pointed out in the proper footnotes. For scriptural references that are not the subject of discussion in Erasmus' *Responsio* see the Index of Biblical Passages Cited 433–7 below.

Passage		Note	Pages
Responsio 1			
Matthew	1:18	**1**	75–82
	1:23	**2**	82–7
	5:34, 37	**3**	87–9
	6:13	**4**	90–2
	8:17	**5**	92–3
	9:4	**6**	93–5
	13:55	**7**	95–7
	16:23	**8**	97–9
	16:26	**9**	99–102
	16:20	**10**	102–3
	17:2	**11**	103
	19:8	**12**	104
	21:37	**13**	104–8
	21:42	**14**	108–9
	25:1	**15**	109–11
Mark	2:26	**16**	111–12
	5:30	**17**	112–16
	9:16	**18**	116
	10:8	**19**	117–20
	13:14	**20**	120–1
	14:19	**21**	121

Passage		Note	Pages
	5:33	**22**	121–2
	8:11, 26, 31; 9:2, 41; 14:46; 15:21	**23–9**	122
Luke	2:14	**30–1**	122–31
	1:29	**32**	131–7
	2:12	**33**	137–8
	2:43	**34**	138–9
	3:23	**35–44**	139–53
	3:23	**45**	153–4
	4:39	**46**	154–6
	5:7	**47**	156–7
	6:20	**48**	157–8
	6:26	**49**	158
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	7:35	**51**	159
	7:38	**52**	159
	7:41	**53**	159–60
	8:56	**54**	160
	9:61	**55**	161
	9:5	**56**	161–2
	9:39	**57**	162–3
	9:48	**58**	163–4
	11:8	**59**	164–5
	11:34	**60**	165–6
	12:29	**61**	167–8
	12:8	**62**	168–9
	12:20	**63**	169
	14:24	**64**	169
	14:31	**65**	170
	16:25	**66**	170
	17:24	**67**	171
	20:13	**68**	171
	23:12	**69**	172
John	1:1	**70–1**	172–9
	1:3	**72–4**	179–88
	1:4	**75**	188–9

Passage		Note	Pages
	1:6	**76–7**	189–90
	1:8	**78**	190–2
	1:15	**79**	192–3
	1:20	**80**	193–4
	2:4	**81**	194
	2:24	**82**	195
	3:3	**83**	195
	3:13	**84**	196
	3:36	**85**	196–7
	4:9	**86**	197
	5:4	**87**	197–8
	7:4	**88**	198–9
	7:1	**89**	199
	7:14	**90**	200
	7:39	**91**	200–1
	8:25	**92–3**	201–15
	8:3	**94**	215–17
	8:9	**95–6**	217
	8:27	**97**	218–19
	8:49	**98**	219
	9:31	**99**	219–20
	10:26	**100**	220
	10:35–6	**101**	220–1
	12:32	**102**	221
	14:13	**103**	222
	14:16	**104**	223
	14:28	**105**	223–4
	15:6	**106**	224
	16:13	**107**	224
	17:5	**108–9**	224–6
	20:17	**110**	226–7
	20:28	**111**	227
	21:3	**112**	227–8
	21:22	**113**	228–38
Responsio 2			
Acts	1:2	**114**	244–5
	1:4	**115**	245–8

Passage		Note	Pages
	2:29	**116**	248–9
	3:22	**117**	249
	4:27	**118**	249–52
	6:13	**119**	253
	8:37	**120**	253–4
	9:5	**121**	254
	10:38	**122**	254–6
	10:11	**123**	256
	13:23	**124–6**	256–7
	14:6–7	**127**	258–9
	17:15	**128**	259
	19:23	**129**	259
	21:21	**130**	260
	22:14	**131**	260–1
	23:3	**132**	261–2
	23:25	**133**	262–3
	24:6–8	**134**	263–4
	24:19	**135**	264
	26:3	**136**	264–5
	28:7	without number	265
Romans	1:4	**137–9**	265–8
	1:29	**140**	268–9
	5:14	**141**	269–70
	5:12	**142**	270–1
	5:15	**143**	271
	7:13	**144**	271–2
	9:25	**145**	272–3
	9:5	**146**	273–4
	11:9	**147**	274
	11:6	**148**	275
	12:11	**149**	275
	12:13	**150**	275–6
	12:2	**151**	276
	13:2	**152**	276
	14:1	**153**	277
	14:6; 15:1, 7, 29	**154–7**	277

Passage		Note	Pages
1 Corinthians	2:8	**158**	277
	2:9	**159**	277–8
	3:12	**160**	278–80
	15:51	**161**	280–2
2 Corinthians	2:15	**162**	283
	3:13	**163–4**	284–5
	3:14	**165**	285
	4:2	**166**	285
	4:5	**167–8**	285–6
	4:6	**169**	286
	4:10	**170**	286–7
	4:8–9	**171**	287
	11:23	**172**	287–8
	11:26	**173**	288
	11:24	**174**	288–9
	13:3	**175**	289–90
Galatians	1:5	**176**	290
	1:10	**177**	290–1
	1:12	**178**	291
	2:1	**179**	291
	2:11	**180–1**	291–2
	4:4	**182**	292–3
Ephesians	1:5	**183**	293
	1:10	**184**	293–4
	2:12	**185**	294
	3:15	**186–7**	294–6
	5:32	**188**	296–303
Philippians	2:6	**189**	303–4
Colossians	1:15	**190**	304–5
	1:16	**191**	305
	1:15	**192**	306
	1:19	**193, 195**	306–8

Passage		**Note**	Pages
1 Timothy	1:1	**196**	308
	1:2	**197**	308
	1:6	**198**	309
	1:17	**199–200**	309–12
	3:2	**201**	312
	3:11	**202**	313
	3:16	**203**	313–14
	4:12	**204**	314
	6:9	**205**	314
2 Timothy	1:2	**206**	315
	1:9	**207**	315
	1:11	**208**	315
	2:16	**209**	315–16
	2:25	**210**	316
Hebrews	1:7	**211**	317
	3:19	**212**	317
	6:11	**213**	317
	7:13	**214**	318
	7:28	**215**	318
	8:7	**216**	319
	9:1	**217**	319–20
	9:7	**218**	320
	10:34	**219**	320–1
	11:1	**220**	321
	11:11	**221**	322
	11:6	**222**	322
	11:34	**223**	322–4
	Hebrews	**224**	324–5
Titus	1:2	**225**	325–6
	1:3	**226**	326
	1:4	**227**	326
	1:5	**228–9**	326–7
	2:9	**230**	327
	2:11	**231**	327–8

Passage		Note	Pages
	3:4	**232**	328–9
	3:10	**233**	329–32
Philemon	1:22	**234**	332
James	2:18	**235**	332–3
	4:15	**236**	333–4
1 Peter	1:12	**237**	334
	3:7	**238**	335–8
	3:18	**239**	338–42
Jude	1:25	**240**	342
Revelation	1:1	**241**	342–3
	1:8	**242**	343
	22:19	**243**	343–8
Responsio 3			
Matthew	2:6	**1**	349–50
	19:6	**2**	350
Mark	5:41	**3**	351
Luke	2:23	**4**	351–2
	10:16	**5**	352
	11:41	**6**	353–4
	22:36	**7**	354
John	1:1	**8**	354–5
	2:20	**9**	355–6
	3:34	**10**	356
	8:25	**11**	356–7
	17:3	**12–13**	357–61
	20:21	**14**	361–2
Acts	19:18	**15**	362–77

Passage		Note	Pages
1 Corinthians	3:12	**16**	377
	7:39	**17**	377–92
2 Corinthians	12:16	**18**	392
Galatians	2:11	**19**	392–3
Philippians	2:6	**20**	393–5
Colossians	1:25–6	**21**	395
Hebrews	1:3	**22**	395–400
Titus	2:13	**23**	400–1
1 John	4:3	**24**	402–3
	5:7	**25**	403–19

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AN APOLOGIA IN RESPONSE TO THE TWO INVECTIVES OF EDWARD LEE

Apologia qua respondet duabus invectivis Eduardi Lei

For the printing history of Erasmus' *Apologia*, see the Introduction xix–xx above. The translation here is based on Ferguson's edition in *Erasmi opuscula*.

Erasmus' *Apologia* was his immediate response to the publication of Lee's *Annotationes* (Paris: Giles de Gourmont 1520), particularly to a prefatory *Apologia* addressed to the scholars of Louvain and to a brief prefatory letter and a concluding letter addressed to Erasmus himself. References to Lee's *Apologia* will be by both folio number of that edition and page number in the edition in Asso. Lee's two letters to Erasmus will be cited by their place in the collection of Erasmus' correspondence as Epp 1037 and 1061 respectively (CWE 7). For further details see Introduction xix and n36 above and *Apologia* 3 and n3 below.

AN APOLOGIA BY ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM, WHICH IS NEITHER ARROGANT NOR BITING NOR ANGRY NOR AGGRESSIVE, AND IN WHICH HE RESPONDS TO THE TWO INVECTIVES OF EDWARD LEE – I SHALL NOT ADD WHAT KIND OF INVECTIVES; LET THE READER JUDGE FOR HIMSELF

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM TO THE IMPARTIAL READER, GREETINGS

Dear reader, whoever you are, if you have read Edward Lee's recent polemic against me, I ask you: When has pagan ever inveighed against pagan in more unrestrained fashion than he, a Christian, a priest, and indeed a friend, has inveighed against his fellow-Christian, fellow-priest, and friend? For even now he has not completely renounced his friendship with me.[1] Who has ever read anything more hostile and seditious? Celsus purposely let godless insults fly against the whole life of Christ and his teaching; and Origen battled Celsus in several books.[2] But how much more gently did he treat Celsus than Lee has treated me! I was prepared for a book that did not lack teeth, but he quite surpassed my expectations. A whole book full of barbs and everywhere sounding the war trumpet did not content his heart. No, he must heap apologia upon apologia.[3]

Although every man holds his own reputation dear, I am more pained (so love me God) because such virulent polemics destroy both the fruit of scholarship and the tranquillity of Christian life. And in this respect at any rate I concede victory to Lee. I leave the arena, I hold out my hand, I acknowledge him the victor. I would do the same were I a young man,

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1 Cf Lee's assertions in Ep 1061:36, 790: 'I am no enemy to Erasmus even now' ... 'I was never your enemy, nor am I as yet.'

2 Celsus was a pagan critic of Christianity. His Ἀληθὴς λόγος (*The True Word*) of c 178 AD is not extant but can be partially reconstructed from Origen's reply, *Contra Celsum* PG 11 637–1631.

3 The Gourmont edition of Lee's *Annotations* is prefaced by a long apologetic epistle (*Apologia*) addressed to the university community of Louvain, and concludes with another apologetic letter, addressed to Erasmus (Ep 1061); these are the two 'invectives' mentioned in Erasmus' title. Erasmus' own *Apologia* in rebuttal and Lee's prefatory and concluding apologiae are all omitted from Froben's omnibus volume of 1520, described xx above; see Ep 1100 introduction and text, and Introduction n36 above.

and now that I am old, far be it from me to pick a quarrel with a youngster,[4] a quarrel that is indecorous and worse than the quarrels of fishwives. People's polemics are bearable or even productive if they stop short of raging anger. As soon as the fight begins to heat up, how does it end? With an ugly confrontation like that between two gladiators sent into the ring. It becomes a spectacle no different from the insults hurled back and forth between tramps, sailors, cart-drivers, and buffoons.[5]

Furthermore, lest one quarrel give rise to another and go on forever, I declare at the outset that I shall not respond to Lee's insults and certainly not return them. I shall explain the matter as it stands, in plain speech and Attic style,[6] without passion, so that he cannot complain of being overwhelmed by my eloquence, which he claims I possess to an unusual degree.[7] He does this for a double purpose: to make me suspect and to give the impression that he himself is relying on the truth. Yet nothing is more burdensome than his crafty rhetorical devices and his flood of words, so to speak. I shall, moreover, explain matters selectively and in a few words, so as not to keep you too long from your studies with this nonsense, and I shall be brief in arguing against his annotations – if only he had been content to do the same! Thus he might have gained a better name for himself among serious scholars and would have done less harm to the best of disciplines and less damage to my reputation. For, whatever his treatment of me, the content might have been of some benefit to good studies. But all Lee's work has more or less one purpose: to claim most of the credit for my second edition for himself.[8] If this goal is so dear to his heart that he thinks he must pursue it at the cost of such upheaval, he may take credit for it as far as I am concerned, and not only share in the glory (if there is any to be had) but even have my name deleted and claim the whole work for himself. Many of our dealings were such that we cannot cite witnesses other than each man's conscience. Let him guard his own. I call down the wrath of Christ upon mine if I consciously say even one false word or have any intention of lying either in those two letters[9] or in this apologia.

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4 Erasmus was in his early fifties, Lee was some fifteen years younger. Neither man's date of birth is firmly established.

5 An allusion to Horace *Satires* 1.7.28–31

6 The Attic style was associated with succinct and straightforward speech.

7 Cf Ep 1061:748–9; Lee fol AAiii verso (Asso 238).

8 That is, for Erasmus' second edition of the New Testament (1519). See also n44 below.

9 Ep 998 (15 July 1519), first published in the *Farrago*, and Ep 1053 (13 December 1519), first published as an appendix to a reprint of Erasmus' edition of Cicero *De officiis* (Louvain: Martens 1519)

This much Lee will grant me, I believe: nothing in the first edition of the New Testament[10] is owed to him. I wish I were indebted to many people, if as a result the work had appeared in better shape. After I had finished it in Basel, I returned to England,[11] which – I may openly say – is dear to me and to which I admittedly owe a great deal for many reasons but especially because there is no place where I have more and more sincere friends. After having paid them a visit, I returned to Brabant;[12] for it was the wish of Prince Charles, to whose council I had recently been appointed,[13] that I should take up residence in Brabant, in a town of my choice but preferably in Louvain. Here my first priority was to revise the New Testament, as I had already openly promised to do in the first edition.[14] I made a first beginning in Antwerp at the house of my host and friend, Pieter Gillis.[15] He can attest to this, as can my two secretaries, Johannes Phrysius[16] and Jacobus Nepos.[17] The reason why I went about it discreetly was my fear that Froben's volumes would remain on the shelves once the rumour [of a revision] got out.[18] For he had printed more than twelve hundred copies. I wrote about this matter to Budé[19] before I knew Lee in person. When some quantity of the work was complete, I moved to Brussels at the request of the excellent Lord Jean Le Sauvage, then chief chancellor

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10 *Novum instrumentum*, published by Froben, Basel 1516

11 Erasmus left Basel for the Netherlands in May 1516. In August he travelled to England.

12 In late August of 1516, staying for some time with Pieter Gillis in Antwerp (see n15 below); cf Ep 457:58–60.

13 The first mention of Erasmus' appointment to the council of Prince Charles (ruler of the Netherlands 1515–56, Emperor Charles V 1519–56) comes in Ep 370:15–20 (November 1515). Erasmus probably entered upon the office in January or February of 1516; cf Ep 392:16–19.

14 Cf *Apologia in Novum Testamentum* LB VI **2 and **3.

15 Pieter Gillis (c 1486–1533) was at the time city clerk of Antwerp. Erasmus stayed at Gillis' house during September 1516. At the beginning of October he moved to Brussels, as he says just below. He returned to Antwerp in February 1517.

16 Jan of Friesland seems to have entered the service of Erasmus in the autumn of 1516. He left Erasmus in 1517 to seek his fortune in England. Cf CEBR II 232.

17 Jacobus Nepos (d by 1527), another of Erasmus' secretaries, first mentioned in the autumn of 1516. When Erasmus returned to Louvain from Basel in 1518, Nepos stayed on as a corrector for the Froben press. Cf CEBR III 11–12.

18 Cf Epp 421:78–80 to Guillaume Budé (1468–1540), asking him to keep this information confidential and 417:8–10 to William Latimer (c 1460–1545). Johann Froben (c 1460–1527), the most famous printer north of the Alps, had been publishing works of Erasmus since 1513.

19 Ep 421 (19 June 1516). See the preceding note.

of the Catholic King.[20] In Brussels I pursued my work for several months even more energetically. Cuthbert Tunstall,[21] at the time ambassador of the Most Serene King of the English at the court of our rulers, Charles and Maximilian,[22] knew of my work and assisted me. Also in the know were the excellent Jérôme Busleyden[23] and Pierre Barbier.[24] Nor were they the only ones who knew of my work, for by that time the rumour had spread, as often happens, to several more people in Brussels. First among my acquaintances to discover the nature of my work was Juan Luis Vives,[25] a young man of uncommon learning, and through him the news spread further, rather to my regret. From Brussels I set out for Ghent, and soon afterwards for Bruges,[26] and went through the whole New Testament, collating texts in the two languages. Cuthbert Tunstall supplied me with one rather neat text and gave me his most faithful and friendly help in collating the Greek codices, a task one person cannot do on his own. And he gave me his advice on several points.[27] Then, when the prince moved to Zeeland, I journeyed to Louvain,[28] continuing my work as before.

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20 Jean Le Sauvage (1455–1518) became chancellor of Burgundy in 1515 and of Castile in 1516. Erasmus enjoyed his protection. Cf CEBR II 325–6. 'Catholic King' is the title of the king of Spain, at this time Charles I (later Emperor Charles V).

21 The scholar and diplomat Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559) stayed in the Netherlands as Henry VIII's envoy to Prince Charles from the spring of 1515 to the autumn of 1517. Erasmus visited him frequently in Brussels in those years.

22 Prince Charles and his grandfather, Emperor Maximilian I (reigned 1493–1519).

23 Jérôme de Busleyden (c 1470–1517) was a prominent figure at Charles' court. He accompanied the court to Spain, where Charles was to be proclaimed king, but died on the way. His will provided for the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain (founded 1517; recognized by the university 1519).

24 Pierre Barbier (d 1551/2) was at this time chaplain and secretary to Jean Le Sauvage.

25 At this time the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) taught privately at Bruges. In 1517 he was appointed tutor to the young bishop of Cambrai, Guillaume de Croy, and moved with his pupil to Louvain; cf CEBR III 409–13. Erasmus' complimentary words give no indication that Vives was rumoured to be Lee's collaborator, but see n106 below.

26 In June 1517; he was following Charles' court. Erasmus is omitting some details: he did not stay in Brussels until June 1517, but went to Antwerp in February and from there to England in early April. He returned to Calais on 1 May and travelled back to Antwerp; from there, he went to Ghent and Bruges.

27 Cf Ep 597:18–20.

28 Cf Epp 596 and 597, where Erasmus announces this recent move. Charles arrived at Middelburg on 5 July 1517.

In Louvain I made the acquaintance of Lee. Who approached whom first I do not exactly remember, nor is it of great importance, even if he considers it very significant that I be thought to have gone to his house first.[29] His company, at any rate, was not unpleasant to me at that time, for I readily make friends – too readily in many people's opinion – even though I was not unaware that he had spoken rather unkindly of me before he knew me personally or laid eyes on me.[30] I liked his friendly nature; I liked his intelligence; I approved of his zeal. He had just begun to learn Greek,[31] and for some time our conversation was confined to this subject. I encouraged him in his endeavour, for I will not presume to claim that I helped him. Finally our friendship became intimate. I showed him my work. For I had now completed almost the whole book, except that in this kind of work nothing is ever quite complete; rather, one keeps coming back to the task. Lee himself often saw the book with the margins full of notes and pages inserted everywhere. For I had done nothing else for many months, and I am neither sluggish nor slow, as many people know.

Finally, Lee remarked in passing that he too had made notes on some passages. I was pleased. I encouraged him to share them. For, believe me, his repeated claims[32] that my importuning requests drove him to set aside his own studies to be of service to me are quite unfounded. He undertook the task voluntarily, and he undertook it for his own benefit. He shared several pages with me, but single sheets, and often halved; nor were they in any order, but one note would be on Matthew, another on Paul. It is not clear what his intentions were. When we went over the notes, I sensed that he was rather annoyed at me for disagreeing with him in some places. Therefore I came to an understanding with the man. He was free to comment on anything he liked, on condition that I in turn was free to disagree with him occasionally, since it was my book and written, moreover, not for any one person but for the public. And up to this point our dealings were civil.

In the end some pages came my way that had a certain sting – and, in my opinion, for no reason. I commented on several passages in a word or two, writing down whatever occurred to me. For I had no suspicion that he would fashion a dialogue out of these notes,[33] which I who had written

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29 Cf Lee fol AAii (Asso 237).
30 For similar accusations cf Epp 973:11–12, 1074:18–22.
31 Cf Ep 1074:25–8.
32 Cf Lee fols AAii verso–AAiii verso (Asso 237–9) and Ep 1061:60–3.
33 Lee's annotations are arranged in dialogue form. The lines credited to Erasmus are taken from his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* and from his informal replies to Lee's queries.

them could barely decipher. Finally, when he seemed to become inordinately angry, I added these words: 'Remember that you are admonishing a human being and that you are human yourself.'[34] In what spirit he accepted this I do not know, but after that day he certainly stopped sending me notes; indeed he stopped greeting me. Even his expression changed. I suspected that some unpleasant talk had stirred things up, for that evil pest often tears apart good friendships.

After some days I met Lee by chance in the church of the canons of St Martin. I asked him why he had changed. He said this was not the place for explanations. For he was reciting the obligatory evening prayers, I believe. I continued on my way and did what I had come to do. A little later, during the Easter holidays,[35] we both had dinner at the house of Adrian the Jew.[36] Lee did not look very happy, but it was not the right place to comment on these matters.

Suspecting nothing worse, I returned to Basel.[37] My intention was to bring out the second edition of the New Testament, and I carried with me only a single page of Lee's notes, on which I had had his comments on the genealogy of Christ according to Luke copied out.[38] It was a complex question, and I did not then have sufficient leisure to peruse the passages in Annius, Philo,[39] Ambrose, and Jerome. Yet even that note was of no use to me (I only wish it had been), for it got lost among my papers and was not found until everything had been printed and I was getting ready to return. At that time I showed the note to two friends, Capito[40] and Oecolampadius.[41]

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34 Cf Epp 886:73–5, 1074:45–7; Lee fols XXV verso–XXVI.

35 Easter fell on 4 April 1518.

36 Matthaeus Adrianus (documented 1501–21), a Jewish physician who had converted to Christianity, was the first professor of Hebrew at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, from the autumn of 1517 to July 1519. Cf CEBR I 9–10.

37 In May 1518

38 At Luke 3:23–38; see *Responsio 1* Notes 35–44 below.

39 Annius (Giovanni Nanni, c 1432–1502) *Commentarii* contained a series of commentaries on (partly forged) ancient texts. Erasmus made use of one of these texts, Pseudo-Philo *Breviarium de temporibus* (fols GI–HVIII), in spite of his low opinion of Annius and his work (cf Epp 784:53–5, 886:75–8). He retained the Pseudo-Philo material drawn from Annius in all later editions; cf the annotation *qui fuit Heli* (on Luke 3:23) Reeve 173–4.

40 Wolfgang Faber Capito (c 1478–1541) taught theology at the university of Basel 1515–20. He advised Erasmus on his first edition of the New Testament. Cf CEBR I 261–4.

41 Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531) worked in 1515–16 as a corrector for the Froben press and assisted Erasmus with his work on the New Testament, in particular with the Hebrew passages in his annotations. Cf CEBR

I was prepared to change the printed page, but they agreed with me that there was no reason to change anything. I can offer no other proof than the testimony of my two secretaries, Johannes Hovius and Jacobus Nepos,[42] who had access to all my papers. Furthermore, in Basel I had gone over the whole of my *Annotations* from top to bottom, as they say,[43] and enriched them with lengthy additions. Those who were then in familiar contact with me know that I am not lying. The part of the edition that contained the *Annotations* was already finished;[44] the other not yet begun, for Froben had decided to put off the completion until the time of the book fair. I therefore returned to Louvain, suffering from a dangerous illness.[45]

When I had recovered somewhat, I heard that an atrocious rumour was circulating: Edward Lee had criticized innumerable passages in my *Annotations*. I was wondering what this was about and could hardly believe the tale, for I knew that there are many empty rumours, even without a war going on.[46] I invited the man to discuss the matter.[47] In reply to my question, he admitted that he had written notes on three hundred passages, though the rumour I had heard spoke of only two hundred.[48] I asked him what had happened to turn him from a close friend into an enemy. He gave three reasons: first, because someone in England had written to me warning me of a certain theologian, and he thought the warning was directed at him;[49] second, he protested that I had challenged him to the study of dialectic,[50]

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III 24–7. Erasmus repeatedly referred to Oecolampadius as his 'Theseus': cf Epp 334:135, 373:76; *Apologiae contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 passim; *Responsio 1* Note 2 87 and n88 below.

42 Johannes Hovius (documented 1518–27) entered Erasmus' service in Basel in 1518 and returned with him to Louvain, where he worked for his master as a copyist until 1523. Cf CEBR II 208. For Nepos, see n17 above.

43 *Adagia* I ii 37

44 The *Novum Testamentum* (1519) was published in two volumes (I text, II annotations). Erasmus finished his work on it in 1518, but the printing process continued until March 1519, as the colophon in the first volume attests.

45 Erasmus left Basel c 3/4 September and arrived in Louvain c 21 September. Two surgeons suggested that he was suffering from the plague, though physicians he consulted did not agree; cf Ep 867:219–51. The Frankfurt book fair was held twice every year, in spring and in autumn.

46 *Adagia* II x 19: *Multa in bellis inania* 'Many are the illusions of war'; cf Ep 1053:9.

47 In the fall of 1518, at St Peter's; cf Epp 1053:82–3, 1225:96; see also *Responsio 1* Note 44 148–9.

48 Cf Epp 886:71–2, 1053:85–6, 1225:94–6.

49 Lee may have been thinking of Leonardus Priccardus (d 1541), whose Ep 972 was published in the *Farrago*; see n92 below.

50 Cf Lee fol AAiii (Asso 238).

and he is still chafing at that wound; finally, because I had shown contempt for his notes, calling them minutiae and nonsense.[51] I replied to the first point that no one had ever written to me mentioning Lee's name either in a positive or a negative way (and that is a fact). My reply to the second point is equally truthful: I had never challenged him to the study of dialectic, but I had let slip in familiar conversation that one of my Dutch friends had said 'Let Lee come to us, and we shall teach him dialectic.' And he had spoken jokingly, without bitterness; and I related it without meaning offence. Concerning the third point, I asked him whether it was 'showing contempt' to have a servant deliver my thanks for each page, as if Lee had rendered me a great favour, for that I acted in this manner Lee himself knows and does not deny. Yet I do not deny that he did me a favour; I am in his debt, for his zeal at any rate. I have not counted the notes he then communicated to me, but they were for the most part minutiae and about minute points. Only a few of them were of any use to me, and only in so far as they made me reread some passages with greater attention. One of these was about 'bridegroom' and 'bride,'[52] the other about 'beginning' in John.[53] Nevertheless I thanked him for all of them as if they all had been very useful. Many were necessarily superfluous at a time when the work was for the most part finished, unless he thinks by any chance that I have no eyes and reread so many authors and collated so many texts in vain. For even if I did not closely examine the books of Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theophylact, I certainly went through them in the interest of this business. The many references to them in the second edition attest to this.[54] I declare, moreover, that I cannot remember calling Lee's notes minutiae and nonsense; and even if I did, it is no reason to turn from a friend into an enemy, especially without discussion.

Matters being thus resolved, I asked what he was planning to do with the passages he had annotated. And at first I encouraged him to share them with me in a Christian spirit; if there was anything of any importance I would correct it at my expense (for though one part of the book had been

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51 Cf Lee fol aaiiii (Asso 239).

52 Matt 25:1; cf *Responsio 1* Note 15 below.

53 John 8:25; see *Responsio 1* Note 71 and Note 92 below. Lee's criticism prompted a long addition in *1519* to the annotation on this verse, *principium qui et loquor* (Reeve 246–8). Cf also Ep 886:60–6.

54 On the patristic references added to the second edition cf Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 52–74.

printed, the whole work would not appear for six months)[55] and would openly declare to whom the reader owed this improvement. When Lee declined, I made a second proposition: that we come to the point at hand, as they say, and compare the second edition of my *Annotations*, of which I had brought back a single copy, with Lee's annotations. When he did not agree to this either, I challenged him to publish his book at our joint risk. When he said that this would be undignified for me, I answered that I would rather run that risk than suffer odious rumours any longer, for they are often larger than life, just as the shadow is larger than the body.

At this point Lee began to call for arbiters. He says he mentioned the bishop of Rochester.[56] I won't say that he did not, but I do not remember it. Ath was certainly mentioned.[57] Here I hesitated a little, thinking to myself: If I reject him as judge, I shall offend Ath; if I accept him, I shall give the impression of subjecting a work that was already in print to yet another scrutiny and verdict. Need I say more? Ath was the sort of friend I could not trust wholeheartedly, for I had been put on guard by another man's experience. So I said we did not need Ath as a judge since he had already pronounced on the work. For a few days before I set out on my journey to Basel, Ath had asked me to dinner. Professor Nicolaus Edmondanus and Juan Luis Vives were present as well.[58] After dinner Ath and I talked a little in private. I said that I was setting out for Basel and asked him to bring to my notice anything he thought needed attention, for he had promised to do so (and indeed with sincere brotherly concern, as they say) when I asked him three months earlier. He replied that he had read the whole book and that in his opinion it was both learned and pious. 'But I would rather have

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55 That is, there was still time to make corrections. Cf n44 above and n131 below.

56 John Fisher (c 1459–1535). Erasmus enjoyed his patronage and had originally intended to dedicate the New Testament to him. Fisher praised the edition but saw room for improvement. Erasmus asked his advice when he was working on the revision and sought his help in obtaining Lee's manuscript (see n68 below). Cf CEBR II 36–9.

57 Jan Briart of Ath (1460–1520) taught theology at the university of Louvain from 1506, served as dean of his faculty during the summer terms of 1516 and 1518, and as vice-chancellor of the university from 1515. In 1519 he publicly criticized Erasmus' *Encomium matrimonii* and was answered by a brief apologia; see Introduction xii and n5 above. He also resisted the proposal that Alaard of Amsterdam lecture on Erasmus' *Ratio verae theologiae* in the Collegium Trilingue (1519). Cf CEBR I 195–6.

58 The Carmelite Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond (d 1526) taught theology at the university of Louvain from about 1505. He was one of Erasmus' most relentless critics. Cf CEBR I 81–3. For Vives cf n25 above.

advice than praise,' I said. He repeated his words. 'If that is the case,' I said, 'why do some people protest against my work?' 'I admit that a great deal was reported to me before I read the book,' he said, 'but after I had read it I realized that the reports were wrong. What you are going to publish, I do not know; what you have published has my full approval.' When I said that everything would be better in the second edition, he added: 'I pray that your pious labour will benefit the Christian world.'[59] Ath never denied the truth of what I am saying. For when I took him to task for condemning the book, giving it 'thumbs down,' as they say,[60] whereas he had previously approved of it, he said he had not changed his mind. 'Is it not a change of mind,' I said, 'if you approve Lee's annotations, which are critical of my work?' 'I approve some of his notes,' Ath said, 'but that does not mean I disapprove of your work, just as you have criticized some things in Thomas (he said), but that does not mean that Thomas is not a good author.'[61]

But I return to the sequence of events. When I had said to Lee: 'Why is it necessary to ask for Ath's verdict again when he has already passed judgment and stands by it?' Lee answered in a tone suggesting that he was telling me a serious matter in confidence: 'If Ath approved it, he has changed his mind.' 'Very well,' I said, 'perhaps he has changed his mind, but I would rather trust his former verdict, which he rendered when he was unbiased, than the verdict he will render now after you have belaboured him for some months.' But when Lee insisted and absolutely demanded an arbiter, I said: 'All right, I won't refuse even that, provided Ath agrees to undertake the task, although it is not fair.' To be brief and not to kill you with boredom, dear reader, when Ath asked for three months and I foresaw that in the meantime the new book would linger in court like an accused criminal, not without great loss to Froben, I said that the matter could not be delayed so long; the book would appear shortly, whether I wanted or not. And so Ath returned the book.[62]

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59 Cf Ep 1225:65–84. The conversation took place in April 1518.

60 *Adagia* I viii 46

61 For criticism of Thomas Aquinas in the *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* cf Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 76–80.

62 In October or November 1517. Lee's and Erasmus' interpretation of the events differ. Lee says that Ath agreed to undertake the task. Lee promptly supplied him with a copy of his notes, but Erasmus procrastinated; when he finally sent the copy he stipulated that it be returned to him within eight days. Since Ath felt that he needed a minimum of two months, he returned the book (Lee fol BB verso / Asso 240). Ath would have carried out the task, Lee said, 'if

I then continued trying all kinds of ways to get Lee to share his book with me. Nothing was harder to obtain from him. Indeed, he demanded that I entrust my copy to him. And I would have done so had not someone wiser than I warned me that Lee had no other purpose than to fortify his notes against me. I therefore said it was not fair that I should entrust my book to him if he did not entrust his to me.[63] Thus nothing came of this matter. Ath, however, consistently maintained the position (and not only in my presence but also in the presence of others) that in his opinion it was only fair for Lee to share with me the notes he had written against me and that his refusal did him no credit.

In the meantime the flames rose higher, as if fanned by a breeze. The rumour grew from day to day and dire threats were uttered by those who wished to be regarded as Lee's partisans; as usual in such uproars, people joined in to stoke the fire from either side. Lee's book was copied by scribes several times.[64] It was copied six times in Louvain, as Lee himself admits,[65] first at the monastery of St Martin, soon afterwards at the Minorites, and finally repeatedly at another man's house. It was sent to England, at first to one or two people, then to several others,[66] so that there was no one, either here or in England, who remained unaware that Lee had written three hundred annotations against me.

Meanwhile I chased the book by every means, leaving no trick untried – my purpose was of course to be better prepared for a reply if ever he published his stuff. But all was in vain, for he was quite a bit more alert in concealing his book than I was in tracking it. I tried to bribe the third

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you had let him' (Ep 1061:24). Erasmus is vague about the details, but states that Ath refused the task because he foresaw difficulties (cf Epp 1074:56–8, 1225:100–1). Cf Introduction xvii above.

63 Lee fol BBii (Asso 241) contends that he never refused to lend the book to Erasmus, but also says that 'no reasonable person could have asked me to leave the book or my very annotations to him' (fol BBii verso / Asso 241). Presumably Lee meant to say that he had never denied Erasmus access to his notes, but he could not be expected to let him take the original manuscript away with him.

64 Cf Ep 1581:201, where Erasmus states that Lee distributed twenty copies among his friends.

65 Lee says that he gave access to the book to Jan Briart of Ath, John Fisher, Richard Kidderminster (abbot of Winchcombe, c 1462–1531), Bartholomew Linsted (or Fowle; prior of St Mary Overey, documented 1512–53), Thomas More (1477/8–1535), and William Latimer (c 1460–1545). Cf Epp 1061:63–72, 172–7 and 918–20, 1074:129–31.

66 Cf Ep 1074:130–1.

copyist. He had begun to copy the book in Ath's house. I sniffed it out and had already intercepted two short pages; I would have had the rest if Ath had not discovered from my conversation that his copyist had not kept the secret faithfully enough. When Lee got wind of this, he recalled his book from Ath. Another, whom Lee calls 'traitor,'[67] also tried, on my encouragement, to elicit the book from Lee by means of letters.

The task [of obtaining the book] was entrusted to quite a few people in England.[68] My friends there laid snares in various places, but nothing came of it. Finally the English friends whom Lee and I have in common wrote letters separately to each of us urging us to resume our old friendship, urging Lee to suppress his book and me to forget old injuries.[69] They saw, I suppose, that a book of this kind could kindle a great fire, especially in the conspiratorial air that prevailed at the time and still prevails against the humanities. Although I did not believe that Lee would suppress his annotations forever and was aware that I would have to endure even more rumours and suspicions if the book were suppressed 'as a favour to me' (for so Lee's champions boasted everywhere in the most offensive manner), I nevertheless accommodated the wishes of my friends.

Lee and I met to discuss the matter. Once again I did my best to persuade him to make the book available to me. I said I would have it published if he wanted, or not, if he was unwilling. When no reason could persuade him, I finally asked what I would get in return for making peace with him, since I would be burdened with rumours more than ever and derive no other benefit from it; if that was my reward for renewing our friendship, I preferred enmity. In the end he promised to share with me the headings of his annotations.[70] When I asked him why he could not by the same token share the book with me, he answered that it contained things that would

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67 Maarten Lips (c 1492–1555/9), a canon regular of St. Augustine at St Maartensdal in Louvain (cf Ep 1074:116–18). That Lips supplied Erasmus with notes is clear from his own account, cited Allen Ep 912 introduction, and from Epp 900:13–15, 901:3–9, 18–20.

68 Erasmus approached Thomas Lupset (c 1498–1530), Tunstall, Fisher, and Richard Foxe (d 1528), bishop of Winchester; he may also have approached More. Cf Epp 973, 1026:14–16, 1029:32–4, 1030:28–35. Fisher demurred; cf Ep 1068:4.

69 Lee fol CC verso reports that he received letters from Fisher, John Colet (1467–1519), Richard Pace (c 1483–1536), and More; Erasmus was probably approached by Fisher (cf Ep 1068:14–22) and More (cf Epp 1090 and 1097). Pace tried to bring about a reconciliation (Epp 1074:74–9, 1097:10–20).

70 Cf Lee fol BB verso (Asso 240).

make me angry. 'And don't they make me angry now,' I said, 'when they are read by others? I'd rather you insulted me to my face than to others.' When this did not sway him, I asked on what day he would communicate those headings to me. He kept silent. I asked again; he did not answer. I suspected that he would not do even what he had promised, or if he did, that he would only select some things that were not very pertinent. I must confess, I did not insist on the fulfilment of his promise.

In the meantime, as there was no measure and no end to the boasts about his three hundred annotations, I began to challenge him rather provocatively to publish them, first in conversation and soon afterwards in an open letter[71] that had some barbs, but of the kind that would stir Lee to action without blackening his name. The letter is extant, so unbiased scholars can judge the matter for themselves. Yet long before that letter appeared, Lee had already tried to find a publisher for his book. He says he was provoked by some note that had been fastened to his door and contained some sort of insult to him.[72] This matter displeased me greatly. Perhaps the perpetrator did it out of hatred for Lee or affection for me. But I knew (and often said) that nothing could be effected by such means other than to damage the cause of the humanities, to aid the cause of their adversaries, and to alienate from them the good men to whom we should be commending ourselves by our modesty and civility.

Lee first tried his luck in Antwerp. I was pleased, hoping that even at this point some freshly struck-off pages would come into my hands; for this was the only purpose of my quest to discover whose printing shop Lee would use. He had negotiated with Hillen.[73] Hillen let me know through Nicolaas of 's-Hertogenbosch,[74] a scholar of integrity, that he would print

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71 Ep 998 (15 July 1519)

72 In Ep 1061:587 Lee speaks of 'libellous posters fixed to the church doors of Louvain.' In Lee fol CCii (Asso 244–5) he indicates that the posters were not handwritten but printed. Thomas More refers to this incident in EEV 88; cf Introduction xxii and n50 above. For a similar effort to smear Lee cf Ep 1077: 1–5.

73 Michaël Hillen (c 1476–1558) worked as a printer in Antwerp from 1506. In 1519 he printed *Dialogus de trium linguarum et studii theologici ratione*, an attack on Erasmus' *Ratio* by the Louvain theologian Jacobus Latomus (Jacques Masson, c 1475–1544); cf Introduction xi and n4. In 1519 he declined to publish Lee's *Annotationes* at a time when he was printing several of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* (see n75 below). Cf CEBR II 191–2.

74 Nicolaas van Broeckhoven of 's-Hertogenbosch (c 1478–1553) was schoolmaster in Antwerp. He had seen Erasmus' translations from Lucian through the press (Antwerp: Hillen 1517) and had done editorial work for the Louvain

nothing of this sort unless I gave my consent. At first I replied that I would neither encourage him nor stand in the way of the printing, although I wished the book to appear. I merely asked friends to make certain that I would be supplied with the pages as they were coming off the press. And I replied in this manner so that Lee could not complain to his friends that I was behind the publication; for I had no doubt that the book would soon appear. I added that it would rather suit me if the matter were deferred for six months, for I was at that time fully occupied with putting the finishing touches to my *Paraphrase* on the Epistles to Titus and Timothy.[75] My purpose was of course to gain time to reply. They answered that even if I had not alerted them, nothing would have been done before Christmas. When I saw that the matter was not going forward, I encouraged Hillen to proceed, saying that it would suit me very much. The printer will confirm this – he is neither stupid nor untrustworthy. My letter[76] to Nicolaas of 's-Hertogenbosch will confirm it. Next, Lee negotiated with a French printer.[77] Once again I was pleased because I had even greater hopes of bribing that printer, for one purpose only: to persuade him to share with me the printed pages. I sent people to explore the situation and found that a start had been made with the business, but once again it had been interrupted. I was disappointed and summoned the printer, urging him to begin the work. He made every kind of promise.

Need I mention here the breathless style of Lee's response[78] to my letter to Lupset,[79] placed at the end of his second apologia, in which, as he says, he goes over the whole matter from the very beginning?[80] I could not read it without laughing, nor will anyone else, I believe, be so patient and

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printer Dirk Martens (see n94 below). Cf CEBR I 204–5.

75 Published by Hillen in November 1519. Lee accused Erasmus of bribing Hillen by offering his own manuscript for publication, Ep 1061:127–37, 717–19.

76 Not extant

77 Erasmus reverses the sequence of Lee's narrative in Ep 1061:620–705, where he explains that he first dealt with an unnamed printer (perhaps Jean Thibault), then with Hillen. Lee fol CC verso (Asso 244) refers to the same events, also explaining that only two Antwerp printers had Greek type. Jean Thibault was active as a printer in Antwerp between 1519 and 1531. In 1519 he printed Erasmus' reply to Latomus (cf n73 above), *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* (CWE 71 37–84).

78 Ep 1061, first published as a postscript to Lee's *Annotationes*, fols CXXXII–CXL verso

79 Ep 1053

80 Ep 1061:613–19

have so much time on his hands that he could bear with my repeating or refuting Lee's arguments. [They run:] Your servant was seen entering the printer's house. I ask what he wanted. The printer denies everything. Soon he changes his terms. They say the first page was sent to you. The printer was treacherous, but he was enticed by you.[81] And a great deal more like that. What others saw, I do not know. I myself saw no page – yet I was keen on seeing it. Indeed I had given friends the task of obtaining for me a copy of the finished book as soon as possible. I never tried to impede the publication. Here again Lee uses his tricks. What was said in another context he adapts to this stage of the business. In that first conversation, as I said, after he did not accept my first two proposals,[82] I challenged him to publish the book. When Lee protested this in our second conversation, saying that I had arrogantly challenged him to publish and he was annoyed at this, I answered with the truth: that I had not challenged him categorically to publish, but had said that I would sooner see the work appear in print at my own initiative and expense than be burdened with this rumour. What has this to do with the point discussed? At that time he had not even begun to negotiate with publishers.

But I beg you, dear reader, listen to an even neater argument: 'I could name a man,' he says, 'to whom you said you are sorry now that you impeded the publication.'[83] And he wants us to believe that his source is a man of authority and so concerned for me that he would not want to lie, especially not if it were to my detriment. Who would not immediately believe that this clinches the argument? I don't deny that I said something of this sort: that I was the cause of the book not having been printed at Antwerp. For I never concealed that I was chasing after the pages, which I hoped would reach me through the printer's assistants before the printing was finished. If Lee had not gotten wind of it, the book would have been printed at Antwerp. And it would have been more to my advantage to have it printed there than in some far-off place, as happened later on. This is the truth of the matter. Let the intelligent reader consider how skilfully Lee weaves one thread onto the next, as they say.[84] With such incoherent stories he wants to prove that I am an impudent liar.

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81 Erasmus drastically abbreviates Lee's remarks. Cf Ep 1061:625–44.

82 That is, that Lee lend Erasmus the manuscript of his notes or alternatively that they jointly compare Lee's notes with the second edition of Erasmus' *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*; see 10–11 above.

83 Ep 1061:674–6. The man is possibly Nicolaas van Broeckhoven.

84 *Adagia* I viii 59

The arguments he uses to show that his initial negotiations with Hillen made no headway are no better. Hillen began the work merely to make a profit from it, as he himself said.[85] After just one hour he changed his mind, 'no doubt,' says Lee, 'because he was either bribed with money or deterred by threats from you or your friends.'[86] And soon, as if he had given hard proof of this, he addresses me directly, asking whether I am not ashamed of such an impudent lie, because I had said I was sorry that the matter came to nothing. When Hillen himself read this, he was very surprised and indignant that such an impudent story had been made up against him, and he is considering legal action. Lee continues joining one thread to the next: I left Antwerp. You followed in the next carriage. You got out. You looked into my carriage.[87] One-eye is my witness.[88] When I read that, I felt as if someone had told me a dream. These and like arguments he considers sufficient proof of my using tricks to impede his negotiations with Hillen – except that Hillen consistently denies the truth of Lee's story. It is up to Hillen to explain, if he so wishes, why he changed his mind (if indeed he changed it). I have had no dealings with him, nor did anyone else, at any rate as far as I am aware.

It is worth our while to explore two complaints Lee mixes into this disjointed story. He calls One-eye the herald of my glory,[89] indicating, I believe, that I have no other heralds – for he introduced him as a person of no consequence. I certainly do not deserve heralds of my glory, nor am I looking for any. Indeed I believe that I am more burdened than honoured by praises of this kind. But since it is not unknown that leading men of letters, many and great men in high office, indeed cardinals and the Roman pontiff himself, not to mention bishops and kings, have often honoured me with both their letters and their conversations, what is the point of complaining that One-eye is the herald of my glory? If Lee disdains my champions, may I ask him to introduce us to his own? If he protests that I am unworthy of such champions as I have, I quite agree with him. But in the meantime, was there need for such an untimely complaint?

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85 Ep 1061:143–5

86 Ep 1061:681–3

87 Erasmus is paraphrasing Ep 1061:691–4.

88 Cf Ep 1061:695–6. Pieter Meghen (1466–1540), Erasmus' one-eyed scribe, frequently carried his books and letters to associates on the continent and in England in the years 1516–19. Cf CEBR II 420–2.

89 Cf Ep 1061:696–7.

He adds more of the same: I wanted to delay things for forty days to allow me, after completion of my *Paraphrase*,[90] to compose a letter to Lupset[91] and fill everyone's mind with lies and deceit. For this is how this young man – modest beyond measure – addresses a gray-haired old man. Of the letter I had not even dreamed at that time. Rather it occurred to me much later, the occasion being a letter from a friend in England concerning a terrible rumour spread everywhere, not without risk to my reputation with many people who believed that Lee's annotations had much more substance than they actually had.[92] And Lee makes much of the letter [to Lupset], as if half a day were not enough for this or a similar composition. He complains that he was shut out of all the German print shops by similar dishonest methods, [the threat] 'if he knew what was good for his health.'[93] In Cologne people laughed when they read this, for they had had letters from me asking them to be on the lookout and send me anything that was printed and not to impede the publication.

Lee did not trust Dirk, who supposedly was my sworn friend.[94] What does he mean by 'trust'? Trusting that he would faithfully reproduce the manuscript? If there was any problem he could have proofread the work himself. If by 'trust' he means trusting that the manuscript would be kept out of sight so that the book might appear suddenly, as from ambush, when did I ever do anything comparable? If he had such confidence in his book that he was not afraid of a response, why was he so keen to keep it out of sight?

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90 Cf Ep 1061:725–32: Hillen had put the printing off until twelve days before Christmas, that is, six weeks after the appointed day.

91 The *Paraphrases* on the set of Epistles from Timothy to Titus appeared in November 1519; the letter to Lupset (Ep 1053) is dated 13 December.

92 This reads like a reference to Priccardus, who reported 'that some Englishman, I know not who, was lecturing in Greek at Louvain, who is one hundred times the scholar that Rotterdam is and has found holes in more than a hundred places in his recently printed edition of the New Testament, with the intention of publishing your mistakes in a book which is to appear very shortly' (Ep 972:4–8). Priccardus, however, lived in Aachen. Perhaps Erasmus had similar news from John Fisher, who was in possession of Lee's book; cf Ep 1068:4–6.

93 Ep 1061:757–61. Actually Lee refers only to the printing houses of the Low Countries.

94 Cf Ep 1061:764–5. The Louvain printer Dirk Martens of Aalst (c 1446–1534) published over fifty books of Erasmus; cf CEBR II 394–6. Denying that he had impeded the publication of Lee's work, Erasmus mentioned that he had in fact urged Martens to print it (Ep 1053:126–8).

If he was not confident, what was gained by celebrating an empty triumph for a few days? Since Lee was so anxious about his book that he laid his egg in some very out-of-the-way nest after labouring to produce it for more than two years, lest anyone find out that the chick was hatched before it could use its wings, who does not realize that his aim was what he says mine was: to prejudice his readers before I could prepare a reply? The intelligent reader will conclude from just this argument that I had no access to Lee's book, although he himself insists that it was in my possession and reiterates this over and over, as if what is false in itself could be rendered true by frequent repetition. If I had had the manuscript for even fifteen days before it was printed, he would have had an advantage of no more than six days.

But it is better to pass over these things and return to the account I set out to give. This is how matters stood when a rumour was spread in Louvain on the initiative of some Englishmen. To ensure that I did not discount the rumour, suasion was used on my friends too, so that being deceived themselves, they might deceive me. According to the rumour, Lee's book was being printed in Bonn,[95] that is, a town six miles south of Cologne. I had heard something of this business before and always said that it seemed unlikely to me; for it was not safe to undertake the printing there, as it would not even have been safe to print it in Antwerp if it had become known that the book was completely lacking in substance. However, since everyone was in agreement and insisted on it as a definite fact, I sent letters to Bonn at my expense,[96] asking my friends not to impede the printing but to take care that whatever portion had been printed might soon be made available to me. Letters written to friends in my own hand and their replies may serve as proof that I am telling the truth. The rumour, however, was spread with the purpose of diverting my attention from the fact that the book was to be published in Paris. Finally I discovered from letters sent to me from Paris that the book was being printed there.[97] I immediately sent a messenger to Paris as well, with a letter to Nicolas Bérault[98] asking that no Englishmen should be made to suffer on this account; my quarrel was with Lee alone, the nation was very dear to

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95 Cf Epp 1074:91–2, 1053:133–5.

96 Cf Ep 1074:92–3.

97 At the press of Gilles de Gourmont (documented 1499–1533), who had printed the first edition of Erasmus' *Moria* in 1511.

98 Nicolas Bérault (c 1470–1545) was a Paris humanist who frequently defended Erasmus against his critics; cf CEBR I 126–8. The letter to Bérault concerning Lee is not extant, but see the following note.

me; moreover, I did not want anyone to sharpen his pen against Lee and attack him in an abusive fashion,[99] even though I had no doubt that his book was full of abuse; I merely wanted them to see to it that the book was made available to me as soon as possible. If my letter to Bérault does not support my account, I have no objection to being regarded a complete liar, for this is what Lee calls me.

Before I found out about the Paris edition, however, I received a letter from the Reverend Father, the bishop of Rochester,[100] in which this best of men tendered his prudent, friendly, and indeed useful advice – if it had been given in time. As far as I was concerned, it would have been in time had the bishop's letter not remained so long in the hands of the merchants [by whom it was sent]. His advice was this: to avoid having the fruit of my labour perish, by which, he said, the church of Christ had benefited greatly, he thought it best that Lee be persuaded by his friends to make his book available to me; next, suitable persons would arrange to have his annotations published without injury to my name; I in turn should temper my response so as not to injure Lee's reputation; for the rumour had spread so far and was so much worse than the actual facts that it was better to publish what Lee had written than to suppress it. No advice from a mutual friend could have been better or given in a friendlier spirit to either of us. If only the same advice had occurred to those who, disregarding my objections, preferred to suppress the book. In the event, my letter to Thomas Lupset had appeared a few days before the bishop's letter reached me,[101] and Lee had sent his book to Paris even earlier. Although I knew that it would not be of much avail, therefore, I nevertheless decided to speak to Lee about it.

This is the gist of the matter, good reader. If I have knowingly made up even a word, I call down on my own head whatever a man who speaks empty lies deserves. I do not deny that I am human and subject to many vices, but no one has ever found or called me a man of empty words until Lee did, who calls me a complete liar in more than one passage, not (I believe) because he really considers me one but to make his account more credible by taking away my credibility. For those who know me would more readily accuse me of outspokenness and candid speech than of

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99 Cf Erasmus' concluding note 'to the reader,' 65 below. The sincerity of this statement is called in question by his involvement in the publication of EEV; see Introduction xxiii above.

100 Not extant. Erasmus mentions three letters received from John Fisher in Ep 1068:5–6. None of these has survived.

101 Cf n9 above.

a lie.[102] Nor do I turn this accusation back against Lee; it is possible that he either does not remember or has convinced himself, although, to tell the truth, I can hardly convince myself of this. Of one thing you may be completely convinced, impartial reader: whatever differs from my account here differs from the truth. Those who share my household or frequently exchange letters with me are well aware of this. They of course need not be given an account of it, nor am I writing for them; I write for others who know neither of us well – assuming that anyone is going to read this nonsense at all, inane and childishly quarrelsome as it is.

Let us now touch on some points in Lee's narration, and whatever is true I shall frankly admit; whatever differs from the truth I shall prove wrong or at any rate deny. First, there is the story that I importuned him with prayers repeated many times over, that I bewitched him again and again, that I set snares for him on many occasions, and thus finally drove him to put aside his splendid studies and interrupt his sweet leisure to take up the task of criticizing me.[103] Believe me, dear reader, this is rhetoric rather than reality, and exaggerated speech – unless by chance he calls it begging and importuning that I thanked him frequently for the notes he had sent and politely acknowledged whatever service he rendered; whereas he calls me the most ungrateful of all men, perhaps because I made no mention of him in the second edition.[104] Yet he never asked me to mention him, and I did not dare to do so, since I was not sure that he wanted to be mentioned in a work that seemed to be exposed to the ill will of many.

Meanwhile, I would like you, dear reader, to consider how unfairly I am being treated by Lee. He says somewhere that he rejected my offer to make his name immortal,[105] meaning of course that he did not wish to be mentioned in my writings, and yet he accuses me frequently of enormous ingratitude because I conceal by whose advice I benefited so greatly. I would have scrupled to put his name into my books even if he had not said either yea or nay. In the circumstances, what sort of insolence would it have been to do what he forbade me to do? Finally, to speak frankly, I did not consider the benefit I derived from his notes substantial enough to mention

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102 Echoed in *Compendium vitae* CWE 4 409:154–8

103 See n32 above.

104 Erasmus reacted to a number of critics in the revised editions of his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* but hardly ever mentioned them by name. Cf E. Rummel 'Nameless Critics in Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 48 (1986) 41–57.

105 Ep 1061:325–7

his name. Here, I know, he will again protest loudly that I am ungrateful because I play down his service to me on purpose. I plead guilty, if he agrees to show us those first bits of paper annotated in my hand that he keeps to himself. It will then become plain that those first notes were few and jejune. I only wish he had published them in the form in which they were then. If he had shared with me these later notes, in which he battles me with every means, in which he admonishes me so severely, quarrels with me so bitterly, persecutes me in such hostile fashion, raises such a seditious clamour, I would no doubt have had something to say in response as well, since I did respond to the original notes, which were both shorter and more gently phrased. Indeed I have no doubt that scholars of discernment will realize that anything in Lee's book that has substance and shows solid knowledge and makes sense, or anything written in a more refined style and showing a sense of fairness, belongs to another.[106] Lee can deny it as much as he wants. I shall state my conjectures in the appropriate places, but I do not wish them to be given weight unless they are supported by the vote of educated men.

But to return to the matter at hand. Even if Lee had not forbidden me to mention him, I did not think there was sufficient cause to do so, especially since others too had brought to my attention much more important things, whom I nevertheless have not ventured to name.[107] If I had had to declare the names of all from whose advice this edition derived some benefit, I would have had to give an honourable mention to my assistants, to whom I gave the task of restoring order in the annotations or occasionally of comparing the Greek with the Latin.[108] But I shall speak of this later in a more appropriate place.

There is no need to prove Lee wrong when he writes that I called my cronies together and brought out his bits of paper full of notes to give them

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106 For suggestions that Lee received help from others cf Epp 993:34–9; 998: 50–5; 1053:34–9, 403–8; 1074:137–41; 1581:200–5; cf also the references to Lee's Spanish *orator* in *Hochstratus ovans* 406. Much later (1533) Erasmus explained that some had suspected Vives of being Lee's collaborator; cf Allen Ep 2892:229–31. Lee admitted to having seen critical notes by Maarten van Dorp and Johann Maier of Eck, but denied that he benefited from them; see 39 below.

107 Erasmus received advice from Budé, Pace, Latimer, Tunstall, Colet, Fisher, Hieronymus Dungersheim, Johann Maier of Eck, Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, Maarten van Dorp, and Latomus; see Rummel *Catholic Critics* I 41–61 and n104 above.

108 During an illness he committed the task to proofreaders at Froben's press; see *Responsio 1* Note 1 76 and Note 59 below.

something to laugh at,[109] for he himself says that it is a conjecture on his part. For I have never shown his sheets to anyone, nor did I criticize him in the circle of my friends; on the contrary I mentioned this business to very few people and spoke well of Lee's talents, even arguing with the theologians that they did not pay Lee the respect he deserved. If Lee does not remember this, the theologians do, to whom I commended him on more than one occasion. When he says moreover that I added some sort of promise to my charming and flattering speech, I do not understand his meaning, although I suspect this is a reference to what he says elsewhere (in jest, unless I am mistaken), that I promised him immortality.[110] And it is possible that I came out with something of this sort in familiar conversation, but I would not be so insolent as to promise such a thing in earnest. For I do not assign such high value to my writings, nor do I make so much of my name being remembered by posterity, whatever that amounts to,[111] nor will my name last so long that I would consider it immortal.

He says that he never sent a new note until I had replied to the previous one.[113] There were only a few I answered, if you can call it an answer. I jotted down something on the spur of the moment to placate him, for he seemed rather agitated at the time. How polite it was of him to publish these comments I leave others to judge. For he could see well enough that they were written for no one but him alone, especially when he embellished his own annotations while publishing my light stuff, written extemporaneously and perhaps corrupted by him. What if I had secretly copied those first sheets of his and had them published? What troubles would Lee have made for me, I ask you? There is no reason, then, to complain about eight notes,[113] since I did not reply to very many, if one can call it reply. If he shared with me no more than eight notes above the number to which I replied, let him bring out the pages with my manuscript comments, and it will be clear from the facts that they number far below one hundred and fifty.[114]

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109 Lee fols aaii verso–aaiii (Asso 238)

110 Ep 1061:195–7 and 325–7

111 At Ep 139:45–50 Erasmus had claimed, though with conscious irony, that his writings would be immortal. He often stated that only posterity would do him justice; cf Epp 456:285–90, 507:30–1, 530:31–3, 749:41–3, 757:28–31, 761:13–15, 942:18–24, 966:45–7.

113 Lee fol aiiii verso (Asso 240)

113 Ibidem. Lee complains that at one point Erasmus had eight or nine notes in his possession. Apparently he failed to respond to them; Lee therefore refrained from sending further notes.

114 And not three hundred, as Lee claimed; cf 9, 13, and 15 above.

Even further from the truth is what he adds[115] (and he says it repeatedly in his annotations): that the whole book of his annotations was made available to me by some scribe whom he elsewhere calls 'traitor,' a man who is a priest, an honest man and, as Lee is aware, a member of a respected religious order.[116] And he claims that this happened before I left for Basel to look after the second edition of the New Testament. I shall indicate who this 'traitor' is to anyone who wishes to know. He will firmly deny what Lee asserts or else will certainly be an impudent liar, which is very far from his character. Indeed, I never knew that he had copied the book until I discovered it a few days ago in conversation with Lee. For the 'traitor' became rather friendly with me, and finally confessed that he had had Lee's book, but he concealed the fact that it had been copied, because he was afraid, I believe, to offend me. Some months later, after my return from Basel,[117] he communicated to me just one note – the only one he had kept because in it I seemed rather prejudiced against Augustine,[118] whom he then greatly admired, being a member of the order Augustine founded. That this note was in my possession I concealed neither from Ath nor from Lee. And the note was modified in the printed edition of his book on account of a comment of mine. Of course I do not know what the 'traitor' wrote to Lee. I certainly assigned him the task of eliciting the book by some trick. What stories he made up to achieve this end he did not tell me, nor did I ask him. Perhaps he wrote (as Lee says)[119] that I had said that the book had been sent to me from England. And yet Lee speaks of these matters as if they had occurred before I went to Basel, whereas the 'traitor' had made no such attempt until my return, when my *Annotations* had been completed. For at that time I did not hunt for Lee's book, nor did I think that he had more annotations than what he had shared with me.

Closely related to this is another claim: Lee writes that he could name two witnesses, one a candidate for the doctorate in theology, the other a regular professor, who often stated in the hearing of some Englishmen that they had seen Lee's book of annotations in my rooms.[120] If Lee speaks the truth they must have eyes sharper than Lynceus[121] to see in my house what

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115 Lee fol BB (Asso 240); cf Ep 1061:88–90.
116 Maarten Lips; see n67 above.
117 He arrived in Louvain about 21 September 1518.
118 Cf Ep 899:39–41 and *Responsio 1* Note 93 below.
119 Lee fol BB (Asso 240)
120 Ibidem
121 Legendary Greek hero whose sight was preternaturally keen. Cf *Adagia* II i 54.

was not there at the time, or I am indeed what Lee makes me out to be: an amazing sorcerer who deceived their eyes with a counterfeit image of something that was not there.[122] It is possible that Vives or Alaard[123] (for I believe he means those two) saw one of Lee's notes at my house. For those two men I sometimes admitted to my study, but these events took place before I went to Basel for the second edition of the New Testament. Neither of them saw Lee's book [at my house] – either before my departure or after my return. Nor did any other mortal.

I must pass over many details, dear reader, so as not to be irksome, for example Lee's denial that he spread the rumour of his notes,[124] whereas his book made the rounds of almost all monasteries. At the Minorites they made only four copies, but everyone saw the book. They had instructions not to share the book, but they did not have instructions to keep silent about it. The same thing happened at St Martin's; the same at the Carthusians; and no doubt elsewhere too, except that I prefer to relate what I know.[125] The book was copied at Ath's house,[126] with servants and boarders being aware of it. In England only a few people had it at first,[127] yet although the book circulated among a few friends only, they spread the rumour everywhere. Indeed His Reverence, the bishop of Rochester, did not deny in his letter to me that many people had the book.[128] And in the face of these facts Lee denies that he spread the rumour.

He reasons that my interest in the book after my return was feigned, arguing that I was no longer at liberty to change anything.[129] On the contrary, I stated that I was at liberty and promised to do so at my own cost if there was anything of great significance.[130] Similarly, when he says that the second edition was complete except for the preface and the conclusion

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122 Lee fol AAii verso (Asso 238)

123 Alaard of Amsterdam (1491–1544), a scholar who resided in Louvain but was never admitted as a member of the university. In 1519 he proposed to teach a course on Erasmus' *Ratio* (which had been attacked by Latomus) under the auspices of the Collegium Trilingue, but permission was withheld. Cf CEBR I 19–21.

124 Lee fol BBii (Asso 241); Ep 1061:64–73

125 Lee says that only two monasteries had his book; Ep 1061:64–5.

126 As Lee says; Ep 1061:70–1.

127 See nn65 and 66 above.

128 Cf Ep 1068:5–6.

129 Cf Lee fol BB (Asso 240). But Lee also argued that he would no longer be able to revise *his own* annotations, once he had surrendered them to Erasmus; fol BBii verso (Asso 241). Cf Ep 1061:79–81.

130 See 10–11 above.

and that the rest had all been printed,[131] he is wrong. For it was the volume containing the annotations that was missing the preface and the conclusion. I had brought the copy of the first volume with me from Basel. It had not been completely checked through. When that was done, I sent it back there from Louvain.

Then there is his claim that he never denied me his book,[132] though I could never prevail on him to give me access to the book, either in deference to anyone else or as a favour to me. And yet he attributes to me an eloquence that allows me to persuade even an enemy to do whatever I want, and he credits me with sorcery, magic, charms, flattery, and what not! With all these arts at my disposal I was nevertheless unable to prevail on a man supposedly a friend to let me use his book for even one day. Here he wonders at my impudence in denying that I ever saw his annotations, when he had in his possession the sheets annotated in my own hand.[133] But it is easy to see that the facts are consistent, if we distinguish what happened when. After my return from Basel I saw nothing and am right to say that I saw nothing. I would be a liar if I said otherwise. Before my departure a few sheets had been shared with me – that I never denied, nor is there a need to prove it by means of an autograph manuscript when I openly admit it. He furthermore says that he collected his notes for my edification, not for publication.[134] If he speaks the truth, why did he not share the notes with me when I asked for them?

He adds that I raged against him everywhere and before everyone, both in my conversations and in my letters.[135] I admit that I complained to friends of his behaviour to me. So did his friend Ath, of whom he thinks so highly and to whom he defers in everything, with one exception: he would not make his book available to me. In all this I have behaved with far greater moderation than was demanded by the matter, indeed with greater moderation than Lee himself. For what he wrote and said about me is no secret to me; and if it were a secret, I could guess it from this little book. I could offer more convincing proof of the hostile manner in which Lee wrote against me if I did not wish to avoid burdening some people with unpopularity. I hardly met anyone who after conversing with Lee did not relate to me words that gave proof of his deep hostility towards me. Some even recounted long conversations, which no one is likely to be able to make up on

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131 Loosely citing Lee fol BBii (Asso 241)
132 See n63 above.
133 Lee fol BBii (Asso 241); Ep 1061:84–6
134 Lee fol BBii verso (Asso 241)
135 Ibidem

his own, quite apart from the fact that there was complete agreement among those who related his words. And Lee wants to disprove all of this with one very simple argument: by swearing that none of these things are true. I am not inclined to give ready credence to one or two people, especially in unpleasant matters. But it surprises me that so many people should uniformly tell the same lie. Finally I would admit that Lee said nothing about me if I did not have in my possession letters written in his own hand in which he speaks of me in not very friendly terms.[136]

As for the additional claim that I speak and think ill of the English nation,[137] who cannot see that this is seditious rather than true talk? Is there an Englishman whom I treat one bit less fairly on account of Lee? On the contrary, I wrote to Frenchmen and Germans, asking them to do no harm because of this affair to a nation very dear to me.[138] Is this called thinking ill of all Englishmen out of hatred for Lee? Nowhere can eulogies of the British nation be read with greater frequency than in my books.[139] Britain does not need my praise, I admit it, nor do I boast of my services. This much my letters have achieved at any rate: Britain is somewhat more popular with scholars than it was before, and it will be so in future, even if Lee does not like it. For although he takes care to link his cause with that of his nation, I shall not permit him to convince good and learned men. I can barely keep myself from saying something rather arrogant: Lee surpasses me in this: he was born an Englishman. How well he will serve his nation in future is uncertain. I do not concede that so far he has served his nation better than I, who if I can shall serve it even better.

As for the rest, Lee claims repeatedly that I agreed to leave it to His Reverence, the bishop of Rochester, to pass judgment on his annotations.[140] As a matter of fact, the bishop of Rochester wrote to me that if he could somehow get hold of the book of annotations he would immediately send me a copy.[141] When Lee's brother[142] negotiated with me in Antwerp to obtain my permission to send the book to the bishop of Rochester, I agreed,

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136 Presumably letters that the addressees had shared with Erasmus.

137 Lee fol BBii verso (Asso 241)

138 Cf Epp 1083:36–9, 1088:4–7, 1129:21–3.

139 Erasmus' *Ode de laudibus Britanniae*, published with his *Adagia* (Paris: Philippe 1500), is Poem 4 in CWE 85 30–41; for his praise of English learning cf for example Epp 118:18–32, 396:406–13, 821:2–11, 855:33–51, 964, 967. See also 65 below.

140 Ep 1061:800–1; Lee fol BBiii (Asso 241–2). Cf More 'Letter to Edward Lee' Yale CWM XV 154, 178.

141 See 21 and n100 above.

142 Wilfred Lee; cf CEBR II 314–15.

hoping in this fashion to gain access to it. But Lee, supposedly so fair and simple, suspected as much and resisted and did not give his permission. Being well disposed towards me, the bishop wanted to oblige me; but being a man of integrity he did not want to deceive Lee. I would have preferred to keep silent about this, but matters oblige me to speak up.

Now let us consider the motives that he says drove him to publish the work against his own inclination. There was a statement at the end of the apologia in which I respond to Masson's dialogue, a biting statement, admittedly, but so phrased that no specific person could be suspected of being the target.[143] No one else was offended. Only Lee interpreted it as being aimed at himself, even though I denied to my closest friends that Lee was meant, explaining that I wanted to deter everyone by a general statement. When Lee's brother negotiated with me, I answered that I thought Lee lacking in prudence if he wanted me to do what would only raise people's suspicions. At that point there were no more than ten people in Louvain who suspected that Lee was the target, and as far as I could discover, their source of information was Lee. If I had written anything about this matter, I would have made everyone silently wonder whether he was meant. Lee's brother seemed to accept my advice at the time. Perhaps it is not irrelevant to quote the passage here. It runs as follows: 'There is another man, composed, made up, and put together of pure fraud, tricks, and deceptions; born, made, and formed for lies, slander, bragging, and sycophancy. There is no machination he will not attempt in order to make a name for himself in posterity and bring himself to other people's attention, maltreating those who wish to benefit everyone. He has chosen a marvellous shortcut to fame, but it is a most wretched path. I shall not say who he is, nor from where, nor where he lives, and I never will, unless he gives himself away.'[144] I ask you, dear reader, what is there in this passage that should disturb Lee, and him alone of all people? He should have taken it as a warning to temper his style when writing anything against me, so that none of this might seem to apply to him. Anyone who twists this general statement to apply to himself could apply the better part of my *Similes* and *Proverbs* to himself.[145] Here Lee finds me greatly lacking in civility, whereas until now I have so moder-

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143 The passage in the *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* is quoted below; cf also Ep 993:40–7. Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) easily identified Lee; cf Ep 1095:58–65.

144 *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* CWE 71 83

145 *Similes* is Erasmus' alternate title for his *Parabolae* (CWE 23). *Proverbs* would be the *Adagia*; cf Erasmus' introduction, CWE 31 3–4.

ated my speech that in my many writings and in the face of so many atrocious provocations I have never raged odiously against anyone by name. He by contrast gave the first proof of his eloquence in the kind of book about which I pass no verdict myself, even though it is written against me, but serious scholars will silently pass judgment about it in their hearts. Supposing that I had applied the passage to Lee, how can I be said to have traduced him before the world when I give no clue to his identity? Is the whole world able to divine my thoughts?

As for his claim that the printers were bribed by my money or deterred by threats from publishing his book,[146] the printers themselves know it is not true and openly protest it. He adds another point: I confessed to someone or other that I regretted the deed. I have made no such confession, except for saying to Lee himself that I would not have published the letter to Lupset[147] if I had received the bishop of Rochester's letter in time.[148] For it was my preference to govern matters in such a way that I would suffer no great injury from Lee and would retain the option of answering him without insult.

To give the impression that he was justly incensed, he now blames on me the *Dialogue of the Two-Tongued and the Trilinguals*.[149] By the same right I could blame it or any other piece on him. I ask you, what is there in this dialogue that is mine? The style? The plot? The conclusion? Such nonsense is published everywhere in great quantity, and this inept pamphlet is fathered on me, a very busy man? I do not know what others suspect, but my letters to friends will show that I have expressed scorn for pamphlets of this kind for many reasons in the past and find them despicable today, for, to say nothing else, they are a burden to the cause of the humanities, which I greatly favour.[150] In any case it is not my responsibility to justify

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146 See n86 above.

147 Ep 1053; see n91 above.

148 See 21 and n100 above.

149 The *Dialogus bilinguium et trilinguium* (Paris 1519) lampoons the faculty of theology at Louvain. The book appeared under the name of Konrad Nesen (1495–1569), but it was rumoured to be a collaboration between his brother Wilhelm (1493–1524) and Erasmus. Here Erasmus denies that he wrote the piece or knew its author, but in Allen Ep 2615:168–70 he appears to acknowledge authorship. Cf the introduction to the text in *Opuscula* 191–203; P.G. Bietenholz' introduction to the English translation in CWE 7 330–3; and H. Vredeveld in CWE 86 730–2. See also Introduction n27 above.

150 Cf for example Epp 694:81–7, 700:43–5, 785:41–6, 858:454–60, 908:3–18. See also Ep 1053 n162.

the pamphlet. Let the author justify it. I have not yet been able to ascertain who he is; if I knew his name, I would warn him to refrain from such nonsense in future. At this point I would like to ask: how dare Lee attribute such an unpopular work to me when he does not have a shred of evidence to prove it? And he does this before the whole world – for he states that he is writing for all the world – when it would be unbearable if someone were to do it before a single judge.

I do not know what German writers wrote to Lee or what they threatened to do.[151] I believe my warning[152] was a friendly gesture; whether it was prudent I don't know. Lee sings the praises of an excellent young German scholar[153] and of all German monks, whom he calls princes of all good literature, no doubt to win their favour. But the German princes of good literature are not so stupid as to love a man who gave the world a work that could not be more pleasing to the enemies of good literature.[154] It is not that easy to insinuate oneself into the good graces of scholars. In my many publications I have tried to be of service to the humanities. Many people admit that they found my works useful. Although writers have now appeared whose splendid talents put me in the shade, they nevertheless admit that it was I who motivated many to engage in these studies. There are countless people who believe that their name was enhanced through my writings. By these means I won the good will of many scholars, not only in one region, but almost throughout the Christian world. Does Lee believe that all these men will immediately desert me and cross over to his camp just because he said three words in their praise in such a booklet? But he claims to be a champion of the humanities. His words are friendly, but his deeds are bitterly hostile. There was no lack of people who wanted to undertake what Lee undertook, but some shied away from the work, other were deterred by the unpopularity; a few perhaps lacked confidence in their abilities; a few were embarrassed. We can imagine how they welcomed the appearance of a standard-bearer who was not afraid to

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151 Lee fol CC verso (Asso 244) speaks of 'letters from Germany full of threats.' Johannes Gerthofer threatened Lee with a beating in *Recriminatio adversus furiosissimum sycophantam Edouardum Leum Anglum qui ausus est primus Erasmum candidissimum luto aspergere* (Basel: Cratander 1520) 11. On this pamphlet see Introduction xxiii–xxiv (cf also xvii) above.

152 Ep 998:80–4, warning Lee that some Germans had uttered threats against him

153 The flamboyant German knight and humanist Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523); cf Lee fols CC verso–CCii (Asso 244) CEBR II 216–20. Cf Capito's comment in Ep 1083:22–3.

154 Echoed by Capito in Ep 1083:23–4

incur ill will on behalf of other bold men, as long as he got the credit for the deed.

With equal nonchalance he attributes to me some poster or other[155] about which I had scarcely heard even a rumour. I shall quickly be burdened with many crimes if he is ready to make me the author of every joke or nonsense written by this one or that one. Next, in the same context, he promises that he will play the sycophant and carp at my books.[156] For he considers this a good transition to get away from the subject discussed and begin to explain the purpose of his annotations. And here too he asks pardon if he has made a mistake anywhere, at the same time denying me pardon even in cases where I corrected a mistake on my own initiative, in a work composed not to criticize but to teach.

He proceeds to respond to some passages in my letter to Thomas Lupset,[157] concealing, however, that he has read it. He says he has his doubts whether it is true that the pope has approved of my work, as if only a few people had seen the papal brief[158] or as if I were a forger who made up papal briefs. The pope did not approve my work in the sense of saying that it was free of error (nor did I seek such approbation) but in the sense of saying that theology students would get some benefit from reading it. Who ever wrote anything that won the approval of all scholars everywhere? It ought to be enough for Lee to know that men approved it for whom he has the highest respect. Ath approved it.[159] Dorp approved it.[160] His Reverence, the bishop of Rochester, approved it not only in conversation but also in letters, and not just in letters written to me.[161] But in Lee's eyes no approval is valid

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155 See n72 above.

156 Cf Lee fol ccii verso (Asso 245). *Sycophantus* means 'slanderer,' 'informer,' as well as 'flatterer.'

157 Lee fols ccii verso–cciii (Asso 245), answering Erasmus' rhetorical question: 'Why should it not be lawful for me to do with the encouragement and approval of Pope Leo what he [Lee] takes upon himself on his own authority?' (Ep 1053:304–6)

158 The brief of 10 September 1518 (Ep 864), printed in *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 2

159 Cf Ep 1225:130.

160 The Louvain theologian Maarten van Dorp (1485–1525) was at one time critical of Erasmus but eventually became his supporter. Cf Introduction xi and n3; CEBR I 398–404. When asked to comment on the first edition of the New Testament, Dorp (according to Erasmus) had only minor queries; cf Ep 1225:126–7.

161 Fisher thanked Erasmus for a copy of the *Novum instrumentum* (Ep 432:4–6), but he did not praise it unreservedly. Cf Ep 592:18–21, where he pointed out what he politely called printing mistakes.

unless the whole work was read word by word and examined minutely. It is my right to assume that the pope will not approve of anything unless the matter has been examined to his satisfaction either by himself or his delegates. An examiner of Lee's calibre will perhaps find several things even in Ambrose or Jerome about which he could raise a tragic fuss.

Here Lee says a great deal he would not say if he had read my prefaces to the two editions.[162] He admitted to me previously that he had not read them, and from his remarks it appears that he still has not read them. For he appeals to me, pressing me with this horned dilemma: 'Your second edition differs from the first in some Greek passages. If this was your decision, what Christian ears will bear the thought that Sacred Scripture is being altered on the decision of a man? If you adopted a reading from another manuscript, it follows that there will be ten different Gospels if there are ten different manuscripts.'[163] Even if no one replies, you, prudent reader, will see what can be said in reply, or rather, how no reply need be made. I have stated again and again that I am not editing the text in order to displace the received translation.[164] I warn readers not to rely on my reading without looking up the text and interpretation of the orthodox writers, without checking it against ancient and correct manuscripts. Nor do I offer anything but what can be found in the books of the Greeks, correct or not. I offer this for discussion, not for adoption.[165] Under these conditions, what danger would there be to the Christian religion even if I had translated the Gospel of the Nazarenes, of Joseph, or of Nicodemus?[166] If variant readings are so dangerous, why does no one cry out against the Old and New Testament that recently appeared from the Aldine press?[167] There is much in that edition that differs from our books.

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162 That is, of the New Testament. The *Novum instrumentum* (1516) contained Epp 373 (to the reader) and 384 (dedication to Pope Leo X); *Paraclesis*, an appeal to study Scripture; *Methodus*, a curriculum proposal for theology students; and *Apologia in Novum Testamentum*, a justification of the enterprise. In the *Novum Testamentum* of 1519 Erasmus included Ep 864 (a brief from Pope Leo X), expanded on the *Methodus* (retitled *Ratio* and also published separately), and added several short pieces explaining his criticism of the Vulgate, including *Capita argumentorum* and *Soloecismi*.

163 Lee fol cciii verso (Asso 246)

164 Cf *Apologia in Novum Testamentum* LB VI **2 verso; Epp 373:199–200, 446:65–71, 456:86–92, 860:49–53, 1010:7–10.

165 Cf Ep 1006:186–7; *Capita argumentorum* LB VI **3 verso.

166 These are apocryphal Gospels, not accepted into the canon of Scripture.

167 Printed at Venice in the shop of Aldo Manuzio (c 1452–1515) in February 1518. Erasmus repeatedly cites this edition to corroborate his own readings. Modern

The Greek manuscripts differ among themselves, I admit, but so do the Latin manuscripts. If the Greek codices have no authority because they do not agree in everything, the Latin codices will have no authority either, because they differ in many things. Will there immediately be ten Gospels because the manuscripts differ in a few places? Augustine gives one reading, Ambrose another, Cyprian a third. Jerome himself is not always consistent in his readings. Did any danger to the Christian religion arise from that? Jerome corrected the old text of the Gospels. Did he immediately generate eight Gospels instead of four? He translated the Old Testament on the basis of the Hebrew or Chaldaic originals, differing in many places from the translation that had been current for many centuries. Did he immediately give us two Old Testaments for one? He corrected the Psalms over and over again. Did he therefore create as many Psalters as he undertook to correct? And yet he introduced the new translations for the purpose of removing old or corrupt ones; I advise beforehand that this must not be done except in a proven case and on the authority of those whose business it is.[168]

Lee praises Origen's modesty for indicating in the Gospels the correct reading in marginal notes rather than changing the traditional reading.[169] Yet Origen's notes are based not on Hebrew but on Greek manuscripts. I show even greater modesty, for I leave the Vulgate text completely intact, indicating where it agrees or disagrees with the Greek reading, which I do not want to be given any weight unless it corresponds to the trustworthy reading of old manuscripts and to the quotation and interpretation of good and approved authors. I add variant readings not in the margins but in my brief annotations, everywhere deferring to the verdict of the church, everywhere leaving it up to the prudent reader to pass his own free judg-

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scholars have questioned the validity of Erasmus' arguments, pointing out that the Aldine edition was based on Erasmus' text of 1516 (cf ASD IX-4 47:684n). However, John Mill, who collated the two editions, noted in his *Novum Testamentum* (London 1707) CXII that the Aldine edition, though based on Erasmus' text, was no mere reprint. The editors corrected obvious mistakes and emended numerous passages on the basis of new manuscript evidence, while adding new errors as well.

168 Cf *Apologia in Novum Testamentum* LB VI **2; *Capita argumentorum* LB VI **3 verso.

169 Cf Lee fol LXXXVII verso. The reference is probably to Origen's *Hexapla*, a work in six columns containing the Hebrew Old Testament, in both Hebrew and Greek characters, and four Greek versions, in which Origen used diacritical marks to indicate divergent readings.

ment. Unlike Jerome, I do not claim that this is the true reading or that the translation of the Seventy is a lie.[170] On the contrary, I warn the reader: Do not trust me, examine what I proffer; do not trust the Greek manuscripts – in some instances I do not agree with them; compare everything, and in this manner adopt what you fully support. I exercised such caution in this matter that I recently attempted to prevent my friend Dirk Martens from publishing the New Testament translated by me according to the Greek manuscripts.[171] When I could not achieve this, I added a preface[172] that was not at all in the printer's interest but that contained a warning to the reader to prevent him from going astray unwittingly. Given all this, I do not see what 'danger' to the Christian faith Lee is dreaming up.

I do not encourage anyone to use a different text either in the schools or in church, nor do I myself use a text different from the Vulgate. What I have written can be read without any danger in one's study.[173] Yet there are in the manuscripts now in circulation certain passages that cannot be defended. There are some that until now have not been understood even by great theologians because the translation is awkward. If anyone can show me two codices, either in manuscript or printed by different presses, that are in complete agreement, I shall admit that variant readings need not be given any weight. Recently someone[174] published the Old and New Testaments, noting the variant readings in the margin. The variants were taken from our [Latin] manuscripts, of course. Did the authority of Scripture suffer on this account? Not at all. Often the choir in church sings one version, the reading in the same church is another.[175] Does Sacred Scripture therefore have less weight? Not at all.

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170 Repeating *Capita argumentorum* LB VI **4 verso; cf Jerome *Praefatio in Pentateuchum* PL 28 (1890) 181A–182A. According to legend the Greek translation of the Old Testament was accomplished by seventy translators. The name Septuagint, from the Latin word for 'seventy,' is used to denote the Old Testament in Greek.

171 In 1519 Martens reprinted the Latin translation from Erasmus' first edition of the New Testament, without either the Greek text or the annotations.

172 Ep 1010; see especially lines 3–5.

173 For similar statements see *Apologia in Novum Testamentum* LB VI **2 verso; *Capita argumentorum* LB VI ***1; *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* CWE 71 58; *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'* LB IX 112E–F; *Apologiae contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 78:363–5; *Apologia adversus Petrum Sutorem* LB IX 752A–C. Cf also the discussion at Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 27–8.

174 Unidentified

175 That is, the choir sings one version of the Psalter, while the text of the mass has a different version (in the Introit or the Gradual, for example).

As for the argument that my second edition does not agree with the first, one of the reasons is this: Two men were put in charge of proofreading the formes, as they call them. They were the theologian Johannes Oecolampadius and Nikolaus Gerbel,[176] doctor of both laws. They had a manuscript from Reuchlin[177] that was written in elegant letters, but an elegant book is not necessarily a correct book. Following this manuscript they changed many things in my text before I realized what they were doing. As soon as I realized it, I instructed them to follow a manuscript that was not as neat but more correct. If I am able to obtain a manuscript even more correct than the earlier ones for the third edition, would it be wrong to depart from the second edition? The same applies if I prepare a fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth edition, each one more correct than the previous.[178] Should I be afraid to make it available to scholars, especially when I leave the reading of the church intact? Finally, what if the typesetters nodded off in the first edition? Would you not want me to correct the mistake in the second edition? Even in his short book Lee had a taste of what it means to deal with printers.[179] He ought therefore to have been more forgiving of me with respect to such a long and difficult work. Since I talk about this in so many places, in my letters, in the prefaces, in the apologiae, it would have been prudent of Lee to read them before bringing such accusations against me, accusations spoken seditiously rather than in a timely way.

He advises the reader that many people are eager for revolution and that one must avoid providing a stumbling block.[180] But whatever tumult has arisen has certainly not been my fault but rather the fault of those who

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176 For Oecolampadius, see n41 above. The Strasbourg jurist Nikolaus Gerbel (c 1485–1560) worked as a corrector for the presses of Schürer and Froben; see CEBR II 90–1. Erasmus had already complained in 1516 that Oecolampadius and Gerbel had not done their job properly, so that he was obliged to correct the final proofs himself (Ep 421:58–62).

177 Johann Reuchlin (1454/5–1522), a jurist and trilingual scholar, especially known for his Hebrew studies. See CEBR III 145–51. Erasmus asked Reuchlin to give him access to a Greek manuscript in his possession (Ep 300). It is probably the one now called Manuscript 1 (c twelfth century; Basel University Library AN IV 2). Cf Bentley 119, 130–2.

178 Erasmus published five editions during his lifetime, in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535.

179 Lee's book concludes with three pages of errata and an apologetic note from the printer to the reader (fols &–&ii).

180 Lee fol DD verso (Asso 248)

never cease to clamour before the people that the Our Father is being corrected,[181] the Magnificat is being corrected,[182] the Gospel of St John is being corrected;[183] the old gospel text is given no weight, a new one has appeared. These men spread the word among courtiers, silly women, the inexperienced crowd. They sing the same song in all the monasteries. If these rabble-rousers had kept silent, I cannot imagine that anyone in a hundred years would have been offended by my work. But the men who raise this fuss are so stupid that they do not understand what they criticize or so lazy that they have no desire to examine what they condemn. To such men no champion could have been more welcome than Lee.

He goes on, expressing his indignation that I did not restrict myself to providing the reader with an index of errata in the first edition, leaving the first edition intact, as was Augustine's practice.[184] But in Augustine's time books were copied by hand, not printed, so that it was hardly possible to remedy mistakes except by means of an index. If Augustine had had the services of a printer, I believe he would have done what I did. Augustine, moreover, wrote with authority, for he was a bishop, after all. He therefore had even more cause to see to it that he did not become the source of error. Yet, although Augustine retracted many things, he left not a few that need to be retracted. I speak as if there were many mistakes in my edition and as if I were the only one who had made mistakes, and as if the second edition had no other purpose than giving a cleaner text than the first. In actual fact, it had a double purpose: mistakes made

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181 At Matt 6:12 Erasmus substituted *remitte* for *dimitte* in the Lord's Prayer. The change was criticized by the Carmelites Sebastiaan Craeys (d 1523) and Nicolaas Baechem (see n58 above); cf the annotation *et dimitte* on this verse (Reeve 35); Epp 948:114–19, 1341A:984–94. For the identification of these critics among others cf Rummel *Catholic Critics* I 141–2.

182 The Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55) is the canticle of Vespers. An anonymous monk accused Erasmus of having changed 'and his seed' to 'and his seeds' at Luke 1:55; cf Ep 948:101–7. The charge was false; cf the annotation *Abraham et semini* (on Luke 1:55) Reeve 159. Another, a Dominican, also made accusations about Erasmus' treatment of the Magnificat and the Our Father; cf Ep 948:108–113.

183 At John 1:1 (*In principio erat verbum* 'In the beginning was the Word') Erasmus changed *verbum* to *sermo* in the 1519 edition. Cf his *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'* (1520), in which he defends his translation and identifies two of the critics as a bachelor of theology and his mentor. The latter is probably Baechem.

184 Lee fols cciii verso–cciiii (Asso 246). In his *Retractationes* Augustine recanted many opinions advocated in his earlier works, which he nevertheless left unchanged.

by the typesetters and proofreaders had to be corrected, and the whole work had to be enriched in many ways, so that it could seem to have been not revised but rewritten. And what need was there to call it a retractation when I promised even in the first edition of the book that I would change in the second edition whatever mistakes had been made in it?[185] Nor do I conceal in the second edition that I changed my mind in many places, that some things were rephrased – in a word, that everything had been improved. St Jerome replaced his early commentaries on Obadiah with others because he did not approve of them.[186] Does anyone criticize him because he did not indicate in an index what he condemned in the first version?

I pass over many things, good reader, lest I bore you and myself to death. For I readily accept that Lee likens himself to John the Evangelist, to Jerome, Augustine, and Origen, while he likens me to Cerinthus, Helvidius, the Manichaeans, and Celsus.[187] And the man who writes this finds me greatly lacking in Christian modesty and cannot bear my mentioning Erostratus[188] and Ortvinus.[189] And not content with this, he uses similar phrases

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185 See 5 and n14 above.

186 The commentary on Obadiah was Jerome's first piece of scriptural exegesis. For Jerome's evaluation of the subsequent versions of his commentary see *Commentarii in Abdiam* prologus PL 25 (1884) 1097–1100.

187 Lee fol cciiii verso (Asso 247) justifies his criticism of Erasmus by reference to John, Augustine, Jerome, and Origen. According to Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* 3.11.1, John wrote his Gospel against Cerinthus (fl c 100), who denied that Christ died on the cross. Jerome wrote his *De perpetua virginitate* against Helvidius (fourth century), an opponent, as Jerome thought, of chastity. Augustine combated the dualistic Manichaeans, the sect to which he had belonged in his youth, in several later works, including *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*. For Celsus see n2 above.

188 In 356 BC Herostratos set fire to the temple of Diana in Ephesus to make a name for himself. Erasmus compared Lee to Herostratos in Ep 1053:221. Others used the same comparison, for example Capito (n40 above) in Ep 1083:18; Udalricus Zasius (1461–1535) BRE 230; Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) BRE 233; *Hochstratus ovans* 485. For Lee's reaction cf Ep 1061:848–60.

189 Ortwinus Gratius (c 1480–1542), a member of the arts faculty of Cologne, made himself unpopular with the humanists by supporting the theologians of Cologne in their fight against Reuchlin. He was ridiculed in the anonymous satire of 1515 or 1516, *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, in which most of the (fictitious) letters are addressed to him. Cf CEBR II 124–5; E. Rummel *The Case against Johannes Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-century Germany* (Toronto 2002) 109–27. Erasmus suggested that Lee would suffer a similar fate (Ep 1053:224–6). Hermannus Buschius (c 1468–1534) also made the connection between Lee and Gratius (EEV 172).

over and over again. He says I slander Sacred Scripture,[190] whereas I use Greek sources, old and trustworthy manuscripts, and the quotations and commentaries of orthodox exegetes in an attempt to make our codices less vulnerable to corruption and to effect a better understanding of them. At the same time I leave intact the Vulgate text as it is, and everywhere subject myself to the judgment of the church. And to avoid the impression that I was acting by stealth, I dedicated the work itself to the Roman pontiff Leo X,[191] and did so only after informing him in a letter of my intention.[192] And Lee announces that some great danger was threatening Christianity, had he not risen up instantly and acted promptly to rescue a critical situation. As for his glorying in the fact that Dorp and Eck had likewise commented on some things in my annotations,[193] I only wish that he had imitated their modesty as readily as he imitated their criticism. For they both warned me privately and without bitterness or agitation. Lee was under a greater obligation to do so in proportion to their superiority, for they both surpass him in erudition and in the dignity conferred by a higher theological degree.[194]

He says that he could not be forbearing in matters that endangered the church.[195] Assuming that the New Testament has been corrupted in one or two places by heretics (which we shall prove is not the case), what danger is there to the church from that, I ask you, when Lactantius, who diverges in so many places from correct Catholic faith, is being read,[196] or Peter Lombard,

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190 Lee fol CCiiii verso (Asso 247); Ep 1061:852–3

191 In Ep 384

192 Cf Ep 456:222–4. Erasmus is referring to Epp 335, 338, and 339 (the latter two from Leo). He does not, however, specifically mention the New Testament in Ep 335. And when he published Leo's Ep 338 in *Epistolae aliquot ad Erasmum* (Louvain: Martens 1516) he inserted a reference to the New Testament: 'we shall look forward with a sort of agreeable impatience to the volumes of St Jerome [and of the New Testament] edited by you' (Ep 338:26–8). In Ep 864 (10 March 1518), however, Leo approved of Erasmus' work and said he was looking forward to the revised edition.

193 Lee fol DD (Asso 247). On Maarten van Dorp, see Introduction xi and n3, also nn106, 107, and 160 above. Johann Maier von Eck (1486–1543) taught theology at the university of Ingolstadt from 1510; cf CEBR I 416–19. If any of these comments were in writing, they are not extant.

194 Dorp had become a licentiate in theology in 1514 (CEBR I 400); Eck had received his doctorate in theology in 1510 (CEBR I 417). Lee graduated BA from Oxford (1501), and MA (1504) and B DIV (1515) from Cambridge. He took his doctorate in theology only in 1531, in Oxford. Cf Introduction xii.

195 Lee fol DD verso (Asso 247)

196 Cf Lee's reference to Lactantius' errors, fol DDii recto–verso (Asso 248). Lactantius (c 240–c 320) held dualist views and seemed to recognize only two divine Persons.

who does the same in more than a few places?[197] – especially when I insist that my edition should be read with discretion? I even objected, as noted above, when they recently wanted to print my New Testament without the Greek text and my annotations; and though it was not to my advantage I added a preface in which I cautioned the reader so that he could not be deceived.[198] What if I had discovered the books of Arius and published them, would the church be in danger? I think not. No more, at any rate, than when Jerome translated the books Περὶ ἀρχῶν, carefully rendering them for Latin readers, however impiously Origen had written in Greek.[199]

In the same vein Lee casts into my teeth the retractations of Augustine.[200] But, as I just said, to the present day there are things in Augustine's books that would require another retractation. I have changed what appeared to me mistakes, and I shall change other mistakes as well if I discover them. Johannes Oecolampadius was at hand and indeed in charge of the first edition. He is a man of exceptional integrity who, apart from being an expert in the three languages, is not inferior to Lee in theological matters, to put it in no stronger terms. I asked him to draw to my attention especially anything concerning the sincerity of the faith. Wolfgang Capito was a frequent visitor and helped me as well. Lee thinks highly of both men, or at any rate wants to give the impression that he does. And I wish Ludwig Baer could have spared the time to examine my edition in more detail.[201] What was I to do? Lee was not yet known to me. And who would believe that there is such exceptional learning in a young man who at that time had not yet acquired a reputation for scholarship?

But assuming he had good cause to admonish me, was it necessary to do it in such a seditious and hostile fashion – I know not whether with

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197 Peter Lombard (1095/1100–1160) is the author of the *Sententiae*, the standard textbook of theology in the medieval university. His Christology, partly rejected by Pope Alexander III in 1177, was accepted by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; fifteen of Lombard's opinions, however, were never accepted by the Sorbonne. Cf Ep 1033:48–51.

198 Cf 35 above.

199 On *Peri archon* or *De principiis*, of which Origen is the author, see CWE 56 243–4; cf Jerome Ep 124 PL 22 1059–72, where he discusses his own and Rufinus' translation. Jerome's translation is not extant. Arius (c 250–336) denied the full divinity of Christ as defined by the Council of Nicaea in 325.

200 Lee fol DD verso (Asso 248). Cf 37 and n184 above.

201 On Oecolampadius and Capito, cf nn41, 40 above. Ludwig Baer (1479–1554) taught theology at the University of Basel from 1513. Cf CEBR I 84–6. Erasmus reports that he consulted Baer, who had nothing but praise for his *Novum instrumentum*; cf Epp 413:13–16, 1571:15–16.

more discredit to me or to him? He himself expresses the fear that neither of us will earn laurels in this controversy.[202] But it was in his power to avoid it. And he would have, if he had chosen to heed the advice given in the letters of prudent friends rather than to please himself or to listen to the instigations of certain people. But, he says, he could not bear the barbs in my letter. It was not enough, then, to retaliate by answering one letter with another. There is no place in his whole work that does not give evidence of an uncontrollable hatred: the short preface in which he says that he is sending me his much desired work, another in which he salutes the famous University of Louvain, next an index, followed by the annotations, and another apologia[203] – as if nothing sufficed to satisfy his hatred against me. And in spite of all this he considers himself modest, for he thinks I deserve even worse – like someone who has slain his enemy but thinks the man worthy of even greater misfortunes. Soon he declares that he is human, that he can err, that he is aware how slight his erudition is. Next, he denies that he is asserting anything; on the contrary he wants the reader to be the final judge. Indeed he even promises to recant if he has erred anywhere.[204] If he writes this from the heart, why does he treat my work (and indeed myself) with such insolence? Is this the mark of a man who does not trust his judgment and leaves the verdict to others? What he writes about solecisms, grammatical monstrosities, the pernicious effects of eloquence I forbear to discuss, since it is not strictly relevant to the business at hand. We shall consider other matters that are more important to draw to his attention. But when I see that he derives his facility with words mostly from my books, indeed from the very work he is attacking, or, to put it in the terms of the Greek proverb, that he takes the leather for the whip from the ox himself,[205] I shall not make the mistake of arming him further against me. If only he had lived up to his promise – to make his case without biting and angry comments and without being wordy, even fearing to appear too modest.[206] Finally he threatens me with I know not what unless I restrain

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202 Ep 1061:612

203 Erasmus reverses the order of the first two items in this list of the contents of Lee's *Annotations*. See Introduction n36 and *Responsio 1* n3.

204 Lee fol DDii (Asso 248)

205 *Adagia* I ii 77

206 Actually he says the opposite; cf Lee fol DDii verso (Asso 248): 'I shall plead my case modestly, but it cannot be done without sharpness, without anger, without being lengthy and speaking freely.' He then goes on to apologize if he seems to have spoken too mildly in some places.

everyone's pen.[207] I can promise this for myself and shall live up to it, being more modest than Lee in the opinion even of my enemies; as for others, I shall do what I can. Not even the closest friend could demand more from me. At the end he says that one must not trust to feelings of hatred; but I fear that by that standard he himself must often be judged untrustworthy, for there is no place where he does not give way to his bile. And all the time he denies that he has acted on feelings of hatred.

So much for what I considered necessary in response to his first apologia. He adds to it an index in which he insults me in almost every single item.[208] If I follow the Greek text and translate anything in a way that differs from our text, I 'do violence to the reading of the church in a bold and impious manner.' He suspects that I am not on solid ground in what I think about the sacrament of matrimony, that I consider all sexual intercourse filthy, that I champion the Pelagians and other heretics. He incites against me all modern theologians and all the so-called mendicant orders. And other things of a similar nature.[209] And the man who promised us an almost immodest degree of modesty calls this an index. When I come to his annotations, I shall soon demonstrate how very inappropriate these atrocious labels are.

In the meantime I ask you, dear reader, whoever you are, to suspend your judgment for a little while and keep an open mind for my arguments. For I think it is better to stay on this subject and respond briefly to the concluding pieces[210] he added to his annotations in order to bolster his volume. In the manuscript supplied to me by the honourable College of Corsendonck,[211] there was among various illustrations one of the holy Trinity surrounded by a choir of angels. Beneath the picture there was in golden letters a list of characteristics attributed to the divine Persons, those which

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207 Lee's concluding words, however, do not seem overly threatening; cf Lee fol DDii verso (Asso 249): 'If he continues to attack me, you will have the prudence, dear reader, not to believe his angry words and to think no worse of me than if he had praised me.'

208 The index that precedes the annotations, Lee fols DDiii–DDiiii verso.

209 Erasmus repeats these accusations when he deals with Lee's index again at the beginning of his first *Responsio*; see 70–1 below, with nn6–18.

210 The two pieces following Lee's notes. One is a comment on an illustration in *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 98, the second is Ep 1061.

211 Erasmus borrowed a Greek and a Latin manuscript from the Augustinians of Corsendonck near Turnhout. He noted on the first leaf of each manuscript that he had used it for the second edition; cf Allen Ep 373 introduction.

are the same in all and those attributed to them by the plural number.[212] The Creed followed, and underneath was the figure of a man slightly raised above the ground, as if he were slowly ascending to heaven on the wings of faith. Froben was delighted by the picture, I suppose, and in my absence and without my knowledge added to his volume what he saw depicted there. Lee faults me for what happened[213] – as if I could be called into court if the printer put some obscene picture on the frontispiece of the work. If I have made any mention of this picture anywhere, I will not deny responsibility for it. But as it is, let someone else, whoever is willing, explain its meaning. Even assuming that there are things there that differ from the Latin Creeds, it would not have been inappropriate to learn in what points or in what words the Greeks differ from us. If anyone is suspicious of this codex on account of this illustration, he should know that it was the manuscript I trusted least, although none was more elegant.

I now come to Lee's dialogue,[214] and shall touch in passing on a few points, lest we never reach the end of this quarrel. Here he insists once again that I had seen all of his annotations before I left for Basel,[215] so that he may take credit for anything that was corrected. Even if he says it a thousand times his words will differ from the truth a thousand times. It is not surprising that he is so anxious about this, for if he fails to make his point, those grave protestations of his, which he sometimes adds to his annotations in the form of exclamations, will be in vain: 'I beseech you, Erasmus, in the name of Christian charity! I beseech you by the bowels of Christ, edit your work, retract your errors!'[216] His purpose is to influence the reader unaware of the comedy being acted here, and to make him believe that I undertook the revision of the first edition at Lee's urging and on his authority. If he wrote this before I began my work, how can he complain that my relentless demands obliged him to undertake the task in Louvain when it cannot be denied that I had completed the greater part of my revision before I laid eyes on Lee? If he gave me this advice after I began the revision, how does

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212 Lee fol CXXIX verso reproduces the text in question. Erasmus refers to the addition of 'one' or 'three' after some of the qualities in the list; see frontispiece.

213 Lee fol CXXX

214 Ep 1061, which takes the form of a dialogue between Erasmus and Lee. The lines ascribed to Erasmus are quotations from his Ep 998.

215 Ep 1061:39–41

216 Lee fol XLVI; cf *Responsio 1* Note 113 237 below. Cf also Ep 899:42–4 and Lips' clarification, Ep 900.

it make sense to advise me to do what he saw me doing already? Finally, why was I never allowed to read his notes until now, after the second edition has already been distributed throughout the world? There would have been no use for the many 'dialogues' between him and me, which give the impression that we completed the book jointly. Nor could he demand back from me 'his' plumage, as it were, which he added to his notes either after my departure or after the second edition had already been published. Nor indeed could he, I say, demand that I, most ungrateful of men, return to him the material which he added to his book out of my enlarged annotations. If I do not prove this to the prudent reader in the appropriate places, I shall gladly yield to Lee the entire credit for the whole work.

But it would be worthwhile to read the proofs he uses in his argumentation in Note 243 in order to retrieve from me the plumage I supposedly stole from him.[217] At the end of the Apocalypse, the manuscript I used (I had only one, for the book is rarely found in Greek) was lacking one or two lines. I added them, following the Latin codices.[218] They were of the kind that could be restored out of the preceding text. Thus, when I sent the revised copy to Basel, I wrote to my friends to restore the place out of the Aldine edition;[219] for I had not yet bought that work. They did as I instructed them. What, I ask you, do I owe to Lee in this case? Did he himself restore what was missing? But he had no text except mine. Ah, but he warned me! As if I had not stated in the annotations of the first edition what I had done and what was missing.[220] Not that Lee ever said a word to me about this matter. Nor did he notice it at that time, I think. Even he does not dare to say that he did, unless he hopes to persuade us that the note was communicated to me by the 'traitor.'[221] If he had not introduced the character of the 'traitor' into this play, the plot would not have held together.

And yet how grandiloquent he is in a matter that is completely untrue: 'Let this most ungrateful of all men acknowledge his creditor; and let

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217 Lee fol LXXVII recto–verso

218 Erasmus had only one Greek manuscript of the Apocalypse, a twelfth-century codex borrowed, like Basel University Library AN IV 2, from Johann Reuchlin (see n177 above). Conserved at Schloss Harburg, Öttingen-Wallerstein Bibliothek MS I 1 4 1 is now known as Manuscript 1 of the Apocalypse. In it, part of 22:19 was missing; cf *Responsio* 2 Note 243 343–4 below. Erasmus' creative solution was also criticized by Diego López Zúñiga (d 1531); see *Apologiae contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 262:574–9. Cf Bentley 128.

219 On the Aldine edition see n167 above.

220 Cf the annotation *etiam venio cito* (on Rev 22:20) Reeve 782.

221 See n67 above.

him no longer slander me, saying that he never saw my notes.'[222] What he asserts here with such force he had a little earlier depicted as doubtful, saying: 'At least I cannot convince myself otherwise unless he can produce another justification for deleting what was in the first edition.'[223] If I give a justification for changing the passage, it seems he will admit that I did not see his last note; and if I did not see the last note, his argument is spoiled, for he concludes that [if I have seen one] I have seen all the rest. But I have a very good justification. I did not have a manuscript in the first edition; in the second edition I had the help of the Aldine edition. Therefore I fulfilled the promise I had made in the first edition.[224] As for the argument 'That traitor had all the annotations in his hand; therefore he communicated them all' – let the 'traitor' himself answer. I do not know whether he had all the notes; to me he never communicated more than one, and he did so only after the work had been published. What Lee wants to be the basis of his plot the 'traitor' will forcefully deny; perhaps he would even accuse Lee of calumny if his religious status did not give him pause. He has a good case, in my opinion. But who will compensate me? On the basis of this nonsense Lee repeatedly calls me a most ungrateful man, a liar, a plethora of other names. 'I cannot convince myself otherwise,' he says. It would be easy to convince him if he had not firmly convinced himself that it was conducive to the plot of the play he had begun for things to appear in the light in which he had depicted them. Yet they are less credible because he is too anxious and repeats himself too frequently. And a little while later, as if he had lost his memory, he explains his reason for denying me the book, saying: 'No sane person trusts a man who sets snares. If he had had my book, he could have published it against my will.'[225] Why could I not have equally well (and to his greater detriment) published his [original] notes? He uses another argument: 'If he has seen the final note, he has seen them all.'[226] Since he gave me the bits of paper in no particular order, is there any reason why I could not have seen the final note without having seen even the first one? He reasons somewhere that I cited passages because he drew my attention to them,[227] as if I did not cite hundreds of passages in

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222 Lee fol XCI, in the index before his 'New Annotations,' as are the passages from Lee cited below in this paragraph. Cf *Responsio 1* n3 below.
223 Lee fols XC verso–XCI
224 See n14 above.
225 Lee fol XCI; see n129 above.
226 Cf Lee fol XC verso.
227 Cf Lee fol XCV.

the second edition which I had not cited in the first, and that without anyone bringing them to my attention. But I shall demonstrate many things of this sort when I reply to his annotations proper, which will come as a relief to the weary reader. Lee himself rouses suspicions in the reader by not contenting himself with making his point once or twice but anxiously repeating himself and insisting on the same things. Truth is not as solicitous as that. I believe I am known to scholars as a man who does not as a rule pride himself on stolen plumage. I often find my plumage adorning the writings of others, yet I have never been unpleasant to anyone on this account and never shall be.

But let us proceed with the rest. He calls me impudent because I am not afraid to say that no authority could move Lee to produce, even orally, one passage from his annotations to see whether I could justify myself.[228] What I say is the complete truth, although I do not deny that a few queries were communicated to me before I went to Basel, as I have already explained above. That I said his work was sprinkled with lies[229] may perhaps seem impolite. But at the time I deduced that from a single annotation, which he nevertheless toned down, as I will perhaps show in its place,[230] lest I am thought to have spoken without reason. Yet I do not have in mind to retaliate in an unpleasant manner in my reply to Lee, even though he repeatedly calls me a liar, an ingrate, an impostor, a cheat, or whatever else his glittering bile suggests to him.[231] He writes that he did not wish to give into my hands work which he had not yet polished sufficiently, so as not to give me licence to publish it whenever I wanted.[232] If it is true that I had his work, as he repeatedly claims, it was useless to keep his copy to himself.

As for his accusing me of an impudent lie because I referred to his three hundred notes as 'six hundred'[233] – do we not frequently say the same

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228 Ep 1061:84–6

229 Ep 998:20–1

230 Erasmus refers to the sequence of events described 8–9 above. The disputed passage concerned the genealogy of Jesus in Luke; cf *Responsio 1* Notes 35–44 below. Erasmus says Lee made modifications in his annotations before he published them; see Note 44 149–51 below.

231 Horace *Satires* 2.3.141

232 Ep 1061:79–82

233 Cf Ep 998:22–3 and Lee's protest, Ep 1061:118–9. In both instances 'hundreds of passages' translates Allen Epp 998:18 and 1061:102 *sexcenta loca*, literally 'six hundred passages.' This is, as Erasmus says, a standard Latin way to say an indefinite large number.

thing of ten items, using the expression when we want to denote a large number?

He says that he follows gospel teaching when, after warning me in vain once or twice privately, he now places the matter before the church.[234] Let us grant that raging against me in such books is 'placing it before the church.' I shall demonstrate in their own place that those annotations in which he treats me most atrociously and turns the world against me have never been communicated to me either in writing or in conversation, indeed not even to Ath, I believe. For Ath, a man not at all given to lies, assured me, not only often in private conversation but also in the company of many people, at the time when peace was made between me and the theologians,[235] – a peace that evil tongues made somewhat tenuous – that there was nothing insulting in Lee's annotations, at least those that he had seen.

Nor do I see any consistency in the following. He says that he had the gravest reasons to publish his annotations, namely that the Christian religion might not incur danger; yet he says that he would not have published them if he had not been forced by me. Right afterwards he returns to the point that I had twice hampered the publication of his book, by bewitching the second printer (for this is the term he uses), on whom I obtruded my *Paraphrase* on purpose so that he would not be free to print Lee's book.[236] Yet the printer himself forcefully denies all this and is indignant that such lies are spread about him. He himself explains why he changed his mind. Finally, what effect could my *Paraphrase* have, other than that Lee's work would be delayed for twelve days? Finally, what need was there to obtrude my *Paraphrase* and disturb the arrangement when I could have done the same thing with a word? As for his claim that I spared no expense to impede the business, the printers will have a good laugh, for they are quite aware that I spent not so much as a word on the matter, and that I never held it against Hillen that he had printed Masson's dialogue. I could only wish that Lee had imitated Masson's self-control so that he might at least equal his modesty, even if he is inferior to him in erudition. The truth is (if I have to justify my actions to Lee) that I used Hillen's services at that time because Dirk said he had no press free.[237]

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234 Ep 1061:119–24; cf Matt 18:15–17.
235 Cf Ep 1022:17–20.
236 Ep 1061:127–37, 680–732; cf 15–16 above.
237 On Hillen, see n73 above; on Dirk Martens, n94 above.

As for Lee's prolix praise of Reuchlin and Capito,[238] I am very pleased indeed. But all the time he does not scruple to think ill of Erasmus, of whom they think so well. In that respect at least he does not defer to them much, for he aims his poison darts at the man for whose honour they did not hesitate to risk their lives, and is supporting the party which for some years now has been trying to ruin Reuchlin.

He retorts that I act like some Aristarchus and imperiously apply the censor's rod to everyone as if I were pronouncing *ex cathedra*; that I tear apart the teachings of theologians of old, sparing neither old nor new, leaving not even the doctrines of the church untouched, for I seem to champion the fevered dreams of the heretics; that I play the judge in matters of theology and hold everyone in contempt except myself.[239] This is the catalogue of praises which this Christian man, this pillar of modesty, compiles against me. I shall not refuse to admit them all, if he can show that I have looked down on any mortal man. No one has ever claimed a smaller share in theology than I, who have chosen for myself the lowliest part of all, that is grammar, and have left more sublime matters to more talented men.[240] And even in matters of grammar I make no pronouncements. I call my remarks annotations, not doctrines. And I offer them for discussion, I do not bring them forth as oracles.[241] If disagreeing occasionally with an-

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238 Erasmus had accused Lee of being critical of Reuchlin and Capito (Ep 998:39–41). Lee denied this and praised both men (Ep 1061:228–38). Capito fiercely rejected Lee's praise (Ep 1083:19–24).

239 Ep 1061:262–70. Aristarchus of Samothrace (c 217–145 BC) was considered the father of literary criticism; cf Horace *Ars poetica* 450. Erasmus ironically compared Lee with him (Ep 998:45–6), a comparison echoed by Lupset; cf *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset* ed J.A. Gee (New Haven 1928) 308. Lee countered that Erasmus had assumed for himself 'this office of being the Aristarchus of the whole realm of literature.'

240 Cf *Capita argumentorum* LB VI ***3 verso; see also *Responsio* 2 Note 209 316 below. In the sixteenth century grammar was taught to schoolboys and beginning students in the arts faculties; theology, considered the queen of the sciences, was taught in its own faculty, accessible only to those who had finished the arts curriculum. In 1506 Erasmus had obtained a doctorate of theology from the University of Turin (on the circumstances, see P.F. Grendler 'How to Get a Degree in Fifteen Days: Erasmus' Doctorate of Theology from the University of Turin' *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 18 (1998) 40–69). Only occasionally did he refer to himself as a theologian, for example in the preface to his edition of Jerome (Ep 396:1); see also M. Hoffmann *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutics of Erasmus* (Toronto 1994) 18–20.

241 See 33 and n165 above.

cient or modern theologians is the same as 'not sparing' them, I share this fault with many – indeed with Lee himself. When it pleases him, he freely disagrees with Jerome, freely with Ambrose, and no doubt would do so even more frequently with Lyra[242] and similar writers if the opportunity arose. To what extent I champion heretics[243] will be established in the proper places.

Lee does not disapprove of my work; he merely desires in me a little more diligence, a little more modesty, and perhaps rather better judgment in a few places.[244] If that is so, what need was there to attack my work in such a seditious and tumultuous fashion? Yet what he desires in me everyone desires in Jerome and perhaps in Augustine. Lee would be justified in demanding perfect diligence in such an extensive, multifaceted, and complex work if he had shown such diligence himself in his slight work, over which he nevertheless sweated for more than two years. How slight his production is becomes evident if one discounts the prefaces, the apologiae (drawn out for no other reason, in my opinion, than to keep the book from looking too thin), and the dialogues in which he quotes my words, and finally if one discounts the passages in which he quarrels with me for no reason, not to mention the spurious stuff which he frequently repeats. For all this makes volumes insignificant in themselves grow larger. Yet he wants my work to appear extremely dangerous, although it was no more dangerous than the edition of the Old and New Testaments which recently appeared from the Aldine press,[245] for there likewise we see many passages that differ from our official reading. In fact, if I am not mistaken, there is less danger from my edition because it appeared armed with many arguments against that kind of danger, whereas the Aldine edition appeared naked and unarmed, offering no accompanying antidote. Nor have I been nodding, as Lee thinks, nor would I have been averse to using other people's eyes, if anyone had had the leisure to examine closely another man's books. But you can hardly find people who are such good friends that they volunteer their services or have so much time on their hands that they are free to do so. It is easier to find enemies to carp at the work after it has appeared than friends to correct it when it is about to appear. I certainly asked some

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242 The Franciscan theologian Nicholas of Lyra (d 1349) wrote a widely used exegetical work, *Postilla*, of which Erasmus was highly critical; cf Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 82–4.

243 As Lee alleged; Ep 1061:268–9

244 Ep 1061:274–7

245 See 33 and n167 above.

learned friends to advise me,[246] especially on points which in their opinion concerned Christian piety and faith. If I had known anyone who was so fortunate in his judgment that his decisions would please the whole world, I would certainly have consulted him first and foremost. But in this great variety of opinions and tastes, I adopted what appeared best at the time to the friends I have mentioned and to me.

Lee firmly denies that he ever spoke about me in a less than respectful manner. If that is true, I wonder how so many people could invent so many plausible scenarios and be in total agreement when liars are rarely consistent even in their own stories. But those to whom Lee often wrote about me, and in such a manner that they shuddered at a mind so completely hostile, are well aware of the facts. Yet, to give some evidence that he did not always speak of me respectfully, I produced a letter, written in his own hand, in which he calls himself the defender of the church's text, me its slanderer.[247]

As for his twisting certain passages in my books as if they referred to him and exaggerating everything with tragical words, I am once again obliged to find him lacking in prudence, just as I did when he applied to himself, without any need, a passage in the apologia in which I reply to Masson.[248] I shall quote the passage from the *Colloquia familiaria*,[249] in case anyone does not have Lee's book at hand:

> **Augustinus** What if I bring with me one or two 'shades'?
> **Christianus** All right, as long as you do not bring black shades.
> **Augustinus** What if I bring N?
> **Christianus** The Scotist?
> **Augustinus** Even Scotus himself,[250] if you wish.
> **Christianus** All right, he shall be admitted, as long as he leaves at home his sophistical monsters, his nonsense, sycophancies, arrogance, virulence, sardonic grin, Thrasonical boasts,[251] and self-love.
> **Augustinus** He'd rather leave behind his tail.
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246 See n107 above.
247 Ep 1061:460–1
248 See 29–30 above.
249 The passage was included in only one edition (Louvain: Martens, November 1519). Later editions omitted it. Cf ASD I-3 90:406 critical apparatus; CWE 39 131 n24.
250 John Duns Scotus ('the Scot') (1265/6–1308), an important Franciscan theologian and philosopher, was Erasmus' favourite target in his attacks on scholasticism.
251 Thraso is a braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*.

What is there, I ask, in this passage that pertains to Lee, unless he is willing to acknowledge that it pertains to him? Is he the only Scotist or such a famous Scotist that he can be recognized by this designation? Nor has Lee ever had a reputation for being adept only in monstrous sophisms, since he does not seem to value them so highly himself. As for the rest, I ask you, what is there that cannot be said against many people everywhere? Nor is Lee a Scotsman by nationality, although there I was speaking not of the nation but of the author who gave his name to the 'Scotists.' As for what has been added about leaving the tail behind,[252] I could not believe that this was in the printed version until the book was brought and I saw it myself, and I am still convinced that someone else added it. For I was not present when the book was printed.[253] And perhaps I shall discover the author of this witticism. I am far from saying anything of this sort against Lee specifically. Indeed, when Lee himself cast into my teeth this passage about the tail, I kept wondering where it had come from. Finally, what can be more seditious than saying that anyone who mentions a tail somewhere necessarily gives the impression of having attacked all Englishmen? Even Lee knows what *cauda* [tail] means to Latin speakers whenever it is applied to men, for he himself blames me for not having enough *cauda*.[254] And this is the man who is as modest as a virgin. But assuming that I wanted to allude to Lee (which is not at all the case), what need was there to reveal this to the world? In Louvain there are a few who might have interpreted it in this manner, but thousands of people would have suspected nothing else but that it was said in general against some arrogant theologian, of whom there are more than enough. And what a shocking tragedy Lee makes of this passage!

From the same book he adds another passage[255] which he considers unbearable to Christian ears. It runs as follows:

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252 This medieval joke on Englishmen is also found in Ep 1077:6; in *Hochstratus ovans*, in which Lee appears as a dog; and in *Dialogus bilinguium et trilinguium* CWE 7 343. For Lee's reaction cf Ep 1061:391–407 and n254 below.

253 During November 1519, when Martens was printing the revised *Colloquia* edition in Louvain, Erasmus was in Brussels and Antwerp; cf Epp 1038 introduction, 1061:725 and n79.

254 Lee fol CCi verso (Asso 244): *non satis caudatus*, literally 'not having enough tail,' that is, 'not being man enough.' Among classical authors Erasmus' favourite, Horace, uses *cauda* in a sexual sense (*Satires* 1.2.45 and 2.7.49); cf J.N. Adams *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore 1982) 36–7.

255 ASD I-3 82:169 critical apparatus; cf CWE 39 120 and n5 (page 129). This passage likewise appeared only in Martens' edition of November 1519; cf n249 above.

– Of what benefit are these inane writings?
– They can be used to wipe behinds.
– I know someone whose tongue I would prefer for this purpose.
– And I know someone whose tongue is no safer for wiping with than aconite leaves.
– Then this mountebank is worthy of eating aconite.

First of all, I ask you, dear reader, what is obscene about someone who teaches the Latin language giving this example: 'This book is good for nothing except wiping behinds.' Is it so obscene to name that part of the body when a part popularly considered more obscene is named in the Bible: 'vagina'?[256] Tell me, if a schoolteacher threatens his boys with the rod, is he considered to speak obscenely because he names that part of the body which is usually struck? Would it be considered obscene if those who discuss the nature of living creatures named all parts of the human body by their proper names? You will say: They do so for the purpose of instruction. In this case too I give instruction in the Latin language. Would the author of a lexicon be considered obscene when he explains words denoting in Latin what is commonly regarded as filthy? Just as no blame attaches to the surgeon or physician who treats obscene parts of the body, so the person who names them for some useful purpose ought to be free of blame. I should like to ask Lee: Has he never heard the male member mentioned frivolously at social gatherings with his friends, or the word for hinder parts that is used even by respectable people? And how does this agree with his quotation from Jerome in Annotation 31?[257] Jerome says that it is not dishonourable to mention any part of the human body. I shall not defend here the Cynics, who believe that it is not foul to say what is not foul to do.[258] I like modesty of speech, and have always been careful to preserve it, even in books written for sport and entertainment. In this passage I certainly cannot see anything obscene. It is spoken passionately rather than obscenely against a virulent tongue that deserves to be cut out with the sword and given over to the most abject uses.

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256 For example *vulva* 'vagina,' 'womb' in Luke 2:23. Cf Adams (n254 above) 101–8, especially 105; *De copia* CWE 24 315; *Purgatio adversus epistolam Lutheri* ASD IX-1 464:605–7.

257 Erasmus' reference must be wrong. Lee says nothing about this matter in his Note 31. But cf Erasmus' reply to Lee's Note 19, in *Responsio 1* 119 and n284 below.

258 Cf *De copia* CWE 24 315.

As a young man, I remember, I once travelled aboard a ship carrying the usual mixed crowd. Among them was a theologian who had made a great name for himself, a member of the Dominican order, whose sermons were popular with the people. He was a corpulent man. A sailor began joking about him for obviously leading a soft life. When he had said many ridiculous things – the kind of jokes common people usually make about prefects of nunneries – the theologian replied that he lacked only one comfort in life, which had not yet been mentioned. When the sailor asked right away what that was, he said: 'Your tongue, to wipe my backside.' Loud laughter ensued, and no one thought that it was spoken indecently, because it was spoken against a slanderous tongue. For this reason I cannot sufficiently express my surprise at Lee, whose eyes would discern a detestable obscenity in my words even though they are not spoken in my own person and are uttered during a drinking bout.

Moreover, since the context loudly declares that whatever is said is directed against a theologian with an insulting tongue, how is it that Lee is so annoyed? To what extent he is a theologian, I do not know. I certainly never heard that he was famous on that count, either among the English or among the people at Louvain.[259] He studies letters; he does not attend lectures in theology; nor does he himself teach any part of scholastic theology. If he wants to speculate, why does he not suspect that it is directed against that other one, a truly supercilious old man,[260] who in addition has the distinction of belonging to a religious order, and who in expounding the mysteries of the holy Psalms in well-attended public lectures did not scruple to vomit forth what is totally uncalled for: 'Lefèvre[261] and Erasmus attempt to subvert the authority of the old edition. And now they are fighting with each other. Someday they will fight each other in the pit of hell.' His madman's speech embarrassed even members of his own order, who were at great pains to find an excuse for the man's apparent insanity. They responded that he must be pardoned because he had said this when he was still tipsy, coming from a drawn-out dinner. Since this happened recently and just a little while before the *Colloquies* were printed, the oblique insult was more likely aimed at him (if a remark that is directed at no one by

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259 Cf n194 above.

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261 The French humanist and biblical scholar Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (c 1460–1536); cf CEBR II 315–18. In 1517 he became entangled in a controversy with Erasmus over the meaning of Heb 2:7; cf Erasmus' *Apologia ad Fabrum* CWE 83 1–107.

name and does not place a black mark beside any specific person deserves to be called an insult).

I wonder, moreover, who gave Lee the idiotic suspicion that the word *ardelio* [mountebank] alluded to him.[262] Observe what a blight on human affairs is an evil tongue interpreting good things. For he himself confessed to me that he had had this interpretation pointed out to him by someone else, since he has no leisure to read my works except when he wants to criticize them. Yet I have never acknowledged being the author of this booklet, although I do not deny that some material, while not actually written by me, still was taken over or excerpted. As for the rest, how grateful I felt to the man who published such nonsense is well documented in my preface to the book.[263]And yet Lee speaks with such emphasis of the many indecencies, virulent words, scurrilities, and filth fit for a latrine, as if I had written things more obscene than the Priapean jokes.[264] He even turns the word *ardelio* upside down, as if I had alluded to his name, by 'changing,' he says, 'the second letter from the end.' May I be struck dead if I understand this phrase even now after having read it over three or four times, let alone having made up such a thing on purpose.

Not content with this, he casts it into my teeth that in a private letter to Budé I complained about someone who was a great bother to me;[265] that I had written in a letter to the bishop of Rochester that a certain person was born for sycophancies, and that I wondered how he could regularly approach the Lord's table while conscious that he had done grave injury to the reputation of his neighbour.[266] Yet I do not name the person in either letter, nor do I give prominent clues to his identity, so that no one can possibly appear to have been hurt unless he betrays himself. In any case, is it not allowed to pour our joys and cares into the bosom of friends, conversing with them, as it were, in our letters? I could have used this justification even if my complaint had been about him. Whether it was I need not

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262 Ep 1061:477–8. Lee was referring to the corruption of the word *ardelio*, which in Martens' November 1519 edition of the *Colloquies* reads *ardeleo*; Lee interpreted *-leo* as a covert reference to his own name. See also Introduction xxv.

263 That is, Ep 909, the preface to Marten's edition of March 1519, where Erasmus explains that an unauthorized edition had appeared (Basel: Froben, November 1518) which contained much that was added or corrupted by the compiler, Augustinus Caminadus, with whom he had shared quarters in Orléans in 1500.

264 The *Priapea* is a collection of obscene verse from the first century AD, composed in honour of Priapus, a Roman god of fertility.

265 Ep 906:494–512; cf Lee's complaints in Ep 1061:482–5.

266 Ep 936:34–8; cf Matt 5:23–4.

admit or deny. As it is, he complains that he is being accused in my letter to the bishop of Rochester of the sacrilege of approaching the Lord's table unworthily.[267] I am speaking of myself,[268] not of him. And there are many people who are so superstitious that if hunger had compelled them to eat a bit in the morning, or if they had had dealings with a young woman at night, and if they then approached the Lord's table, they would fear that the earth was going to swallow them alive. But when they hate their brother relentlessly and leave nothing untried in their machinations against him, when their tongues aim virulent darts at his reputation and his life, which is a considerably graver sin than those I just mentioned, they touch the body of the Lord as if they were pure as pure can be. In fact their passionate hatred serves them as an extenuating circumstance. If we accept that excuse, we shall absolve poisoners likewise. The man who said about me the rabid stuff I have just recounted, and not infrequently did so both publicly before the people and privately in conversation, consecrates the body of the Lord almost daily and has never attempted a reconciliation with me. I am not quite as unaware of his 'friendly' talk about me as Lee believes I am. And from his apologiae and annotations it would be easy to guess what kind of letters he wrote to his friends, even if I had no knowledge of them.

I would pass over the fact that he calls me a monk if he did not repeat and emphasize it so many times.[269] Yet those he calls monks are commonly called canons even in England. They are not meant to be included under the name monks in the papal laws except when something is in their favour.[270] Then it applies to them by extension of the community's name. St Augustine, from whom this community takes its name, certainly never called those who shared his life 'monks.' For if community of goods makes monks, we may call the apostles monks and those who lived with the apostles in the beginning when the church was formed, for we read that they held everything in common.[271] For chastity and obedience are precepts they have in common with secular priests, as we call them today. I shall not adduce the argument I could in truth adduce: that I am not bound by a profession

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267 Cf Lee's complaints in Ep 1061:498–515.

268 Erasmus' words are: 'If I had on my conscience even the least portion of his malignant libels, I would not dare approach Christ's table' (Ep 936:37–8).

269 For example Ep 1061:117, 292; Lee fol BBiiii verso (Asso 243). Erasmus was a regular canon, and thus not a monk in the strict sense of the term.

270 For similar statements cf Ep 447:552–4; *Colloquia* CWE 40 629.

271 Acts 2:44, 4:32

which I did not choose by my own judgment and which I was obliged to make as a young man by a combination of force and deception on the part of my guardians, although I argued and struggled against it.[272] I say this not because I condemn an honourable institution but because I felt then, and understand better now, that this kind of life does not suit my temperament or my frail physical constitution. Apart from that, there has never been an order in the Christian church more time-honoured or more respected. The habit worn by them today was once the habit of bishops. The student of history will find that many cathedral churches had canons of this kind. A case in point is the Lateran church. Even in the renovated building not a few seats remain that can attest to this kind of monk or canon.[273] And the supreme bishop of Rome carries the title of that church, and he appears in no other habit but this one when he wishes to be dressed in full pontifical regalia.

I would not be embarrassed to belong to this order, therefore, but the frailty of my body obliges me to keep away from their houses. For I would be neither a fair boon companion nor a welcome conversation partner to those who live pleasantly among men totally estranged from letters.[274] Conversely I would be a bother and a burden to those who closely observe the rules and constitutions of their order, first of all because I am expensive to feed, and secondly because I would perhaps make the weak more sluggish by my example, for they will want to be allowed to do what my poor body forces me to do. Thus I could neither satisfy them nor give myself fully to my studies. Therefore, with the approval of the bishop under whose jurisdiction we are, and with the approval of the superiors of my order, I left the common life of the religious houses,[275] not to live with greater freedom but to have the free time to devote myself to good letters, a burden

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272 Cf Epp 447:109–14, 219–45, 280, 393–447, 473–91, and 738, 1581A:27–105; *Compendium vitae* CWE 4 405.

273 The basilica of St John Lateran in Rome is the episcopal seat of the bishop of Rome. After a fire in 1360, it was rebuilt and redecorated under Popes Urban V, Gregory XI, and Martin V. The seats Erasmus refers to may be the benches in the so-called 'Choir of the Canons'; cf ASD IX-4 63:176n.

274 Cf Ep 296:56–61.

275 Erasmus left the monastery of Steyn in 1493 to become secretary to Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai. At *Compendium vitae* CWE 4 408:109–11 he stresses that he had the approval of his bishop (David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht 1457–96), of his prior, and of the general of his order. Vanautgaerden (Introduction n39 above) notes that the prior was Johannes Christiani (prior of Steyn 1464–96).

to none but useful to everyone as far as in me lay. If the Christian world owes anything at all to my works, if anyone is made better or more knowledgeable through my writings, my decision should not be criticized.

Nor am I unaware of Lee's purpose here. He wants to give me a bad name for concealing my habit.[276] In that case he either does not know or does not remember that canons of this kind, when they leave England to go to Rome, cover their linen habit with a priest's outfit when they equip themselves for the journey.[277] Some while living in Rome use this outfit for years without papal dispensation. They return in a similar outfit and keep it while they go about their business among their people until they return to their monastery. I have seen this both in Rome and in England. Although I am well aware how small a part of religious devotion the habit is, what they do without papal dispensation I would never have done had not necessity driven me to it.[278] Not that I believe it matters a great deal in what habit a man serves Christ, but because I did not believe that I should kick against the pricks, that is, fight public opinion, which is too much ingrained to be changed fundamentally. I am satisfied that I can account for this to my bishop and my superiors, and to the supreme pontiff. I need not, indeed I cannot, give an account to everyone. And honest men ought to be satisfied that I use a habit that satisfies the supreme pontiff and the others to whom I am obliged to render an account of my life.

The reason why I did not return to my old habit was primarily that I did not want to double the offence given to the weak. Lee would have done them a greater favour if he had not mentioned the matter at all. For although there are many who know about it, there are even more who do not. What effect can Lee's action have other than that by spreading the word more widely he will tempt some minds who want to do of their own volition what I did reluctantly and to my great detriment? For I am not unaware that this matter, in itself of no importance, did me no good with respect to improving either my finances or my good reputation. Yet I have never advised and never will advise anyone voluntarily to take the path on which I was driven through necessity. And the only reason I ceased to put my affiliation on

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276 Erasmus repeatedly explained that he covered up his habit in Italy because it resembled that of a plague doctor and therefore caused misunderstanding (cf Epp 296:185–98, 447:514–45 and 575–99, 1581A:122–31). Lee does not specifically refer to Erasmus' dress, but in a general way mentions his obligations as a member of a religious order (Ep 1061:291–2).

277 Cf the slightly different explanation in Ep 296:191–8.

278 Erasmus obtained a dispensation from Leo X on 26 January 1517 (Ep 517).

the title-page of my books[279] was that I wanted to give offence to as few as possible. How much more civil is the supreme pontiff in this matter than Lee, for he does not wish me to mention my unfortunate condition in future documents even if I were to be given a bishopric.[280] But Lee thought he must not pass over anything that might contribute to my unpopularity. And although Lee slanders me on this account before many, he never said a word about it to me personally, not even when we were in close contact, forgetful of his resolve to make it his custom to complain loudly to the church only after he had admonished me once or twice in vain. But on this topic I shall perhaps reply to people's slanders elsewhere at greater length.

Now I hasten on to the remaining matter. Concerning the threats, I have given a sufficient response, I believe, in the letter to Thomas Lupset.[281] If I have made anything up in this matter I pray that it may recoil on my own head. And the truth will become clear of its own account from my letters to friends. Lee says he will not prevent my soul from resting in peace should I die. I in turn promise that I shall prevent, as far as I can, anything untoward happening to him while he lives. He wishes me peace after death and a sane mind in life.[282] Not wishing to be ungrateful to him in everything, I wish him the same in turn. Far be it from me to be the one who introduces such an example of ingratitude to the world (for I will not say to the church). But if it does happen, I will not protest against Lee's prophecy coming to pass, namely that Erasmus' name be execrated by all posterity as a blight and a plague.[283] As for the Germans, if they can love Lee, they have my permission, whoever they are, soldiers or scholars,[284] although there is no reason why a man cannot be both a soldier and a scholar. But Lee would have succeeded more readily in this endeavour if he had been more civil in this controversy. There are many, not only in Germany but also in Italy, in France, in England, and perhaps also in Spain, who believe that they have derived some benefit from my lucubrations and who, of whatever quality

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279 Cf for example the addresses in Epp 49, first published in Willem Hermans' *Silva Odarum* (Paris 1497), and 93, published in *Lucubratiunculae* (Antwerp 1503), where Erasmus identifies himself as an Augustinian canon.

280 Erasmus' 'unfortunate condition' was his illegitimate birth, from the consequences of which he received a dispensation; cf Ep 517:24–6.

281 Ep 1053:152–63; cf Ep 1061:527–80.

282 Erasmus accused Lee of intending to publish his annotations only after Erasmus' death in Epp 998:47–50, 1029:14, 1030:39, 1053:25–32 and 410–15; Lee rejects the accusation in Ep 1061:287–92.

283 Ep 1061:577–9

284 Cf Ep 1061:539–48 and 60 below with nn291 and 292 there.

my writings are, take pleasure in being mentioned in them. I do not know how they will receive the 'praises' Lee heaps on me, which cast aspersions on them as well.

He says he has not learned to fight.[285] But this small book shows him at his most pugnacious. For what are his words if not so many rocks, swords, and arrows? If I felt hostile towards an old man and were impious enough not to shy away from murder as long as I could do it safely, I would use no other weapons against him than a virulent book like this. I do not think so ill of Lee as to suspect he wrote the book in this spirit, but quite a few men, no older than I and in better physical health, would have been brought to death's door by such violent and seditious words. I am not even perturbed enough to interrupt honest studies, but it is irksome to waste good energy on a bad purpose in this quarrel.

He adds that he will not refuse to die in such a pious cause,[286] hoping, I suppose, for a martyr's glory. He will certainly not gain it with my help. He says he has no doubt that people will hold me responsible if anything should happen to him.[287] And he thinks that his saying so is more than sufficient justification for blaming such an atrocious deed on me. This is how much weight he thinks his bare assertions have with everyone. There is no need for written evidence or proofs or witnesses. 'He himself said it,'[288] and that is enough. I hope that nothing worse happens to him on my account than what he brings on his own head through his book, that men of authority and learning will not think well of Lee, that those who love the humanities will hate Lee, the standard-bearer of the opposing faction. If anything should happen to Lee, no one will doubt that it has happened on Erasmus' initiative (he says) – as if his book were not sufficient to rouse the anger of many people against Lee, not only among the Germans but also among the English, who consider it in their interest that Erasmus' reputation should remain unsullied. And to an affair atrocious in itself he adds another odious element. The book was already out; it could be excused by saying that anger had overcome a young man, that he was goaded on by others and burned with a passion out of control. But after the publication of such a book Lee is insultingly triumphant, as if for a deed well done. He sends me the book as a gift, with a short preface[289] – witty in his own opinion,

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285 Ep 1061:550–1
286 Ep 1061:551–2
287 Ep 1061:584–5
288 *Adagia* II v 87
289 Ep 1037

though it could not be more inept. He takes care that the book is deposited in a number of libraries, especially in monasteries,[290] as if it were a holy object worthy of a cedar casket. He sends it to kings, bishops, and cardinals. He even sends it to those he knew to be my close friends, as if boasting to them of his victory over Erasmus. And acting in this manner he thinks that no one will be angry with him unless at my instigation. If only Lee in writing this, in acting in this fashion, had laboured as much in suppressing his anger as I must labour in appeasing the sorrow of others.

He says he has nothing to fear from learned men.[291] Either he indulges his own fancy and is overly confident in his work, or he has a very poor opinion of all the learned men he thinks will approve of a work written in such a hostile and seditious spirit – for I will not add, such a boorish work. If he had governed his pen in accordance with the judgment of learned men, he would have written in a very different way. But with this phrase he wants to flatter and threaten them at the same time: flatter them because he is thinking well of their fairness, threaten them lest they as much as murmur against the book, in which case they would immediately be counted among the unlearned by Lee's standard.

One thing, by the way, is not quite clear to me. What does he mean when he says 'What have soldiers to do with bathhouses?'[292] No other kind of people takes more pleasure in bathhouses than they, especially among the Germans – unless Lee thinks there is no difference between a soldier and a dog.

He is indignant somewhere because, he says, I treat him without respect in two letters,[293] though he is a priest of Christ, if nothing else. I only

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290 Cf Allen Ep 2126:107–10 concerning a copy in the library of the Franciscans at Louvain.

291 Cf Ep 1061:527–62. Erasmus had warned Lee that he had aroused the hostility of Erasmus' supporters, especially those in Germany (Ep 998:65–91) and had cause to fear their violence. Lee replied that *milites Germani* would not meddle in the affair, since they were not interested in such things; German scholars, however, would not stoop to violence. *Milites Germani* is an odd expression and therefore queried by Erasmus in the next paragraph ('One thing, by the way, is not quite clear to me'). Most readers would interpret it to mean 'German soldiers,' but no doubt Lee meant 'militant' or 'violent' Germans.

292 Ep 1061:540; cf the previous note. To express the idea that *milites Germani* were not interested in literature, Lee paralleled the proverbial expression 'What has a dog to do with a bath?' (*Adagia* I iv 39), meaning 'What is the relevance of . . .?' It is clear from Erasmus' discussion of the adage that 'bath' means 'bathhouse,' 'the baths,' not simply bathing.

293 That is, Epp 998, 1053

wish he remembered the advice of John Colet,[294] who was a true Christian, who among much else advised him in his letters to take my age into account, to have some respect for my many sleepless nights spent labouring for the general benefit of scholarship. And I have no doubt that he had the same or similar advice from his other friends who are scholars and men of authority. But he wanted to follow his own mind rather than their friendly advice.

I shall not be disrespectful to Lee; I shall say only what he himself confessed was the truth. He is young, he has not yet commended himself to the champions of letters by any exceptional service; he does not even have the highest degree in theology, I believe, and makes no special claims for himself; he holds no public office.[295] Yet how arrogantly he treats my work everywhere, how he reproves, insults, censures, lashes out, and demands a recantation. How he threatens and flails me, how he mocks me, turns up his nose, and reproaches me with his sarcasms! The unsuspecting reader might think a severe master was castigating his young pupil. He might think an experienced and eminent theologian was taking the lead over a youngster, or an honoured bishop or great cardinal was admonishing a common fellow. At the end of his book[296] he can hardly keep from using insults to rouse the supreme pontiff asleep in his cave, as it were. Paul does not want a bishop to use violent language in reproving his flock;[297] for so Jerome interprets the word πλήκτην [violent person].[298] And Lee lashes out so fiercely against Erasmus, a young man against an old man, not to compare the other attributes, and looks down on him from above and ridicules him, freely abusing him 'from the wagon,' so to speak,[299] as if he were his domestic servant or hanger-on! In the end he prays that God may inspire in me a spirit of peace and right intention, that I may turn my talents to the edification of the church of God and not to its destruction.[300] If I do not become wise and repent, he says elsewhere, he will grieve for his

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294 John Colet (1467–1519), dean of St. Paul's in London. See CEBR I 324–8. See also n69 above.

295 See n194 above. For Lee's self-description as young and relatively new to the world of humanist scholarship, see for instance Ep 1061:162–4, 260–2, 305–12, 492, 573–4, 862–6.

296 That is, at the end of his annotations, fol CXXIX

297 1 Tim 3:3

298 *Dialogus contra Pelagianos* 1.22 PL 23 (1883) 539A, cited in the annotation *non litigiosum* (on 1 Tim 3:3) Reeve 671

299 That is, from a makeshift stage in a carnival-like setting; *Adagia* I vii 73

300 Ep 1061:605–7

mad brother.[301] What he wishes for me has been in my prayers all along; whether I have been successful I do not know.

Otherwise, if it had been my aim to increase my possessions, to make a name for myself, another path was open to me, both shorter and easier by far. I must necessarily pass over many details or there would be no end to this dispute. There is nothing he does not twist into a calumny, nothing he does not exaggerate with most tedious loquacity. He says he does not want to be put in the same category as I unless I acquire certain things I am lacking now.[302] While I admit that I am lacking in some things, another man could have said the same things about it in more modest terms. He says that this is the first time that he has tried his luck at writing.[303] One can certainly guess from this first taste how modest, how civil he will be in other things. I have published many volumes, some when I was still young. I am sure that in some places I joked rather freely, perhaps because I am by nature prone to this failing. But may I be struck dead if there is in all my writings as much anger, as much bile as in Lee's two apologiae.

There are many things he denies saying to me, though I remember his words as well as I remember yesterday's dinner, nor are they of a kind that are significant enough to be made up. And I am endowed with a memory that is, if not prodigious, certainly not bad. I should not like to label him a liar, although he brings this accusation against me frequently and without cause. I prefer to believe that he does not clearly recall the stories he told me in familiar conversation. In my opinion it is a good idea, however, for anyone who has serious business with Lee to put it on paper before witnesses that will stand up in court. Otherwise, if he has any complaint, he will consider it sufficient to have said, 'No doubt this was done on Erasmus' instigation.' Conversely if it is not convenient to acknowledge an accusation brought against him in turn, he believes it is sufficient to say, 'Lee certainly denies this.' And if others tolerate the liberties he takes, he will of course win every case. He adds that his book of annotations was at Ath's house for one or two months, so that he could put it at my disposal if he wanted to.[304] I think he means Ath could have done so if Lee had wanted it. But in fact, Ath said the book was entrusted to him on condition that he not share it with anyone. If Lee wanted it to be at my disposal, he could have given it to me himself.

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301 Lee fol ddii verso (Asso 249)
302 Ep 1061:863–4
303 Ep 1061:864–6
304 Ep 1061:898–900

But this is not the only point in which he is inconsistent; he often wavers and is stuck in the water, as they say.[305] In the preface he writes that I kept demanding the book for a whole year;[306] at the same time he frequently states that it was in my hands.[307] In one place he says a few things are lacking in my work; elsewhere he boasts that he has written many annotations of the greatest importance. Sometimes he does not disapprove of my industry; elsewhere he denies that it is my task to emend either the Greek or the Latin. In one passage he does not disapprove of anyone collating Greek with Latin manuscripts as long as he does so in a sober manner; elsewhere, by contrast, he completely denies all credibility to Greek books. If manuscripts must be collated in a sober fashion, could it be done more soberly than I did it, since I leave the Vulgate completely intact? Sometimes he makes light of his annotations and calls them too inane for anyone to claim them as his own. Elsewhere again he gives them so much weight that the whole Christian religion would be in danger if they had not been published. Sometimes he attempts to persuade us with many arguments that he had the gravest reasons for publishing his annotations, even after the second edition of my New Testament had appeared; soon afterwards he vows that he would never have published them if he had not been forced by me. At one point he depicts me using every trick and lying in wait for his book; elsewhere the same man insists that it has always been in my possession. Occasionally he implores me to recant my errors; elsewhere in turn he reproves me for shamelessly recanting what I have written in the first edition. Sometimes he says I am known to the whole world and carry great weight with people in high places and with learned men; sometimes he depicts me as so mean and contemptible that I have not a single friend either among the English or here, and says that no one would give credence to such an author. There are countless instances of this kind, which seem rather far removed from simple and true speech. How annoying this must be to the reader I can guess from my own reaction. But just as it would have been childish to respond to everything, likewise I could not silently accept the accusations he has brought together against me. In some places I have rebutted his slander, but I have never returned it.

I now leave it up to your judgment, fair reader, in which of us you prefer to trust and what part of my work you wish to attribute to Lee. I am

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305 *Adagia* I iv 100

306 Ep 1037:3–5

307 See, for instance, Ep 1061:84–96. In Ep 1581:205 (1525) Erasmus states that he had the manuscript in his possession before he completed his reply.

satisfied to have given you an account once and for all. I have no intention of spending more time on such quarrels. If Lee attacks me again with insults, I declare that I shall not respond. If he offers evidence, as is appropriate among scholars, I shall not desert my cause, as far as I am capable. I believe that nothing has been said by me so far that could be regarded as insolent by anyone. Let Lee come forward now and call me a clever fighter when I have responded with such moderation after being attacked with such atrocious insults, unless by any chance he denies that it is an insult to be repeatedly called a liar and an ingrate, and to be addressed by many other such names. By contrast, in the two letters which he considers exceedingly arrogant I accuse him of nothing worse than a thirst for glory.[308] After all, Jerome accuses Augustine when he was already a bishop of a thirst for glory too,[309] whereas I attribute it to a young man who is plain Edward Lee.[310] For the priesthood has been cheapened in the view of the people by the horde of priests we have today.[311] Yet it has not been my purpose to placate Lee. It is sufficient for me to have placated the impartial and unbiased reader. As for Lee, I shall not attempt to give him satisfaction until he has put away the anger with which he seethes and the hatred which he breathes everywhere.

This done, I am preparing to deal with his annotations. In the process I shall so govern my speech that I shall honestly admit any mistake I may have made. Nor shall I be ungrateful if Lee has justifiably made some criticism. But I shall not let him get away with what he wrote in the annotations to which I had no access or which he added recently, either out of his own resources or on the basis of the second edition of my *Annotations*. Nor shall I ever return his insults or his seditious outcries in kind, although the facts themselves show they are sometimes raised without reason. In the meantime I implore you, dear reader, whoever you are, to suspend your judgment for a while. For while it was possible to pour this out on the spur of the moment, I need a few more days to check passages before I can do the second part.[312] Nevertheless, no more than ten or eleven days

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308 Epp 998, 1053

309 Jerome Ep 112 PL 22 916–31, responding to questions and criticisms from Augustine about various translations and interpretations Jerome made in the revised Latin Bible. The older man is clearly annoyed at the bishop of Hippo, though not as much as Erasmus is at Lee.

310 Ep 1053:217–23

311 Cf *De esu carnium* ASD IX-1 27:221–28:240.

312 Here Erasmus anticipates some form of response to Lee's annotations themselves. His next publication (Hillen, April 1520), answering Lee's criticisms of material concerning the Gospels, indicated in its title that another volume

at most will be given to this business, whereas Lee polished his work for more than two years. Yet it is quite a bit more difficult to repulse a false accusation than to bring one. I would prefer peace to war. But if I have to fight, I would prefer a different subject. And I envy Jacques Lefèvre his adversary.[313] But what can I do if I am born to this fate? Let this be the end of the first volume.

TO THE READER

I beg and beseech anyone who favours good literature and believes that some support is owed to Erasmus, who has certainly laboured to deserve well of the humanities: do not rage against Edward Lee with insults, as I have seen some people preparing to do.[314] No one can fail to see the quality of the book he wrote against me, but I am concerned to defend in perpetuity the reputation for modesty which learned men have awarded me, in spite of Lee. I cannot think of myself as superior to Lee unless I surpass the man in both argumentation and modesty. Those who do not begrudge me this reputation should refrain from heaping insults on him, and even more so on his nation. My quarrel is with Lee; close bonds link me with his nation. If anyone will now have less respect for Lee, Lee must impute it to his own book. It is right, however, that all scholars favour a nation that has so many excellent men in every literary genre, that has rulers who wholeheartedly favour good studies. If we had similar rulers here, certain stupid people would not get away with their public ranting. Farewell.

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would soon appear. It did so in May, also from Hillen, labelled as the third volume and completing Erasmus' responses to Lee's criticisms. The titles of these two volumes were carried over, with some adjustments in wording and numbering, in the Froben omnibus edition, in which the *Apologia* did not appear. See the Introduction xix–xx above and ASD IX-4 75 and 203; and cf the Introductory Note to the *Responsio* 68 below.

As for the rapidity of his replies, Erasmus repeatedly stated that writing against Lee took him a month or more. Cf Epp 1098:31–2, 1102:20–1 (a good month); 1117:31, 1134:30 (a month and a half). Later Erasmus stated that he had wasted fifty days on it (Ep 1341A:30).

313 Erasmus himself; see n261 above. Petrus Mosellanus (Peter Schade, d 1524) *De ratione disputandi praesertim in re theologica* (Augsburg: Grimm 1519) fol Ci verso held up the dispute between Lefèvre and Erasmus as an example of a scholarly debate in the Christian spirit. On the other hand, Guillaume Budé thought that Erasmus showed a lack of restraint; cf Ep 810.

314 See n99 above.

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A RESPONSE TO THE ANNOTATIONS OF EDWARD LEE

Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei

The work to which Erasmus replies, Lee's *Annotationes*, contained, besides prefatory and concluding matter, a first book of 243 numbered criticisms of Erasmus' 1516 *Annotationes* on the New Testament, and a second book of 25 more notes on Erasmus' second edition of the same work (1519). Erasmus' reply came as a first book with note-by-note discussions of Lee's criticisms on material concerning the Gospels (Notes 1–113), entitled *Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei quibus incessit loca quaedam ex annotationibus eius quibus ille explanavit quattuor evangelia iuxta priorem editionem. Ex his interim coniecturam facito, lector, reliquum operis propediem accepturus* (Antwerp: Hillen, April 1520), and a second volume, also proceeding note by note, on Lee's Notes 114–243 plus the 25 'new notes' on material in the second edition. The latter volume was originally entitled *Liber tertius Erasmi Roterodami quo respondet reliquis annotationibus Eduardi Lei*, with its concluding section separately titled *Responsio ad annotationes Lei novas*. With minor adjustments in the titles and numbering (for which see ASD IX-4) these appeared as the constituent sections of a *Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei*, the second part of an omnibus volume published by Froben in August 1520, and continued to appear together thereafter.

The text translated here is that of LB, which in turn rests on the posthumous *Opera omnia* of Erasmus (Basel 1540), an edition which incorporated changes he made that had not appeared in any of the lifetime editions. The whole publication history is outlined in the Introduction xx–xxi above and with more detail in ASD IX-4 15–16; see also *Apologia* n312 above.

A BOOK RESPONDING TO THE ANNOTATIONS OF EDWARD LEE, IN WHICH HE HAS ATTEMPTED TO CRITICIZE SOME PASSAGES IN THE FOUR GOSPELS

When Edward Lee's book made its sudden appearance, leaving me speechless, as it were, like someone whom the wolf has seen first,[1] my friends expressed varying opinions. Some thought I should make no reply, others that I should reply in great detail.[2] The latter were influenced by the belief that others would be deterred from such an act of boldness if this book, which had aroused high expectations because of long-standing boasts, met with a lofty rebuttal. The former were influenced by a number of reasons. First of all, they thought that the entire book was of such a nature that, even if there was no response, any reader who was not completely devoid of intelligence could easily supply a response. I understand from the letters of many people that this is certainly the case. Secondly, they affirmed that, even if the book made sense and was intelligent, learned, judicious, eloquent, witty, and endowed with other qualities that usually commend the works of scholars to their readers, its uncontrolled raving and marked virulence would not please any decent or learned man. The book would therefore be rejected or passed over on its own account. I almost cast my vote with this second party, but in the end, when I thought the matter over at leisure, I decided to take a middle course: I would neither completely refrain from replying nor give a very detailed reply. After all, a fearful rumour concerning the book had spread practically throughout the whole world even before its appearance, and it had appeared in a form that could, through obfuscation and tricks, impose on a reader who was inexperienced or naive or not

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1 Cf *Adagia* I vii 86.

2 Capito and Pirckheimer advised Erasmus against writing an apologia (Epp 1083:4–11, 1095:16–44); Hermann von Neuenahr (c 1492–1530) and Philipp Engelbrecht (c 1499–1528) encouraged him to do so (Epp 1078:66–7, 1105:49–55).

sufficiently alert. I therefore decided not to keep complete silence, especially since there are people who approve of anything, however stupid or boorish, as long as it goes against the humanities and helps the opposite party.

How few people have the leisure to compare Lee's slander with what I have written or to check how artfully he twisted my own work and how completely irrelevant are the quotations from the authors he cites against me! And who has such presence of mind that he is not somehow affected at first blush by Lee's disturbing frenzy, all the reproaches, avowals, execrations, all the indexes, and the innumerable numbers he gives to his annotations, counting them over and over again like a special treasure?[3] Who would not be affected, even before he has read the book, by that terrible list of contents which he put at the beginning of his work,[4] by which he immediately takes away the reader's judgment, in the manner of Circe's potion?[5] Could anything more seditious or slanderous have been devised? How many times in that list do I boldly change the reading of the church,[6] how many times do I add or omit something on my own initiative?[7] In one place I criticize the church, in another an evangelist, elsewhere I accuse the Translator of heresy,[8] or note that some-

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3 Lee divided his annotations into two books: the first book, on Erasmus' *Novum instrumentum* of 1516, contained Annotations 1–243 and was prefaced by a descriptive index of the annotations (fols DDiii–DDvi verso). In the second book, Lee revisits some of his annotations in the light of Erasmus' revised *Novum Testamentum* of 1519. These 'New Annotations' were numbered 1–25. They were prefaced by an index in three parts: *De his locis qui emendati sunt* 'Passages that have been revised' (fols LXXXVIII verso–XCII); *De his locis qui alioquousque mutati mitigatiue sunt* 'Passages that have been slightly altered or mitigated' (fols XCII–XCV); and *De his locis, qui non mutantur in secunda aeditione* 'Passages that have not been changed in the second edition' (fols XCV–CVII verso). The third part has the running head *Manentia* 'Passages remaining.' See also Introduction n36 above.

4 That is, the index to the annotations on Erasmus *Novum instrumentum* of 1516 (Lee fols DDiii–DDvi verso)

5 *Adagia* IV ix 43

6 Lee fol DDiii (three times)

7 Lee fols DDiii verso, DDvi verso

8 Lee fol DDiiii. In distinguishing between 'the Translator' and Jerome, Erasmus was well aware that Jerome was not personally responsible for the complete Latin translation of the Bible but only for revision of an existing text; cf for example Jerome's preface to the Gospels, reprinted in Weber II 1515–16. Erasmus' views about Jerome's authorship were shared by Valla, Lefèvre,

thing is heretical according to Chrysostom,[9] or do not think about marriage in a Catholic manner,[10] or speak rather petulantly and in a lascivious way of Gabriel's greeting,[11] or sink my teeth into Augustine, the most approved doctor of the church,[12] or agree with the Marcionites that all intercourse is filthy,[13] or champion the Pelagians,[14] or favour the Arians,[15] or shake up the authority of Holy Scripture, or bring to life old heresies, or ridicule the language of the Translator, which Lee believes to be that of the Holy Spirit.[16] Elsewhere professional theologians are stirred up against me, the mendicant orders, as they are commonly called, are provoked against me.[17] Elsewhere heresies are inculcated repeatedly.[18] In sum, is there any crime I do not commit? When we come to the actual passages, however, the prudent reader will realize that this is unadulterated nonsense; that the boasts in this index cannot be further from the truth.

This is what persuaded me to say something in reply. Yet, to avoid putting a great deal of work into this business, my plan was this: first, to take into consideration that it would be very tedious for me and not very fruitful for the reader if the work were prolix. For the book could grow to enormous length if I followed Lee's procedure and first listed what I was going to rebut, then attacked each single point with all my resources. Secondly, I correctly surmised that this type of book is only in people's hands as long as recent interest is alive; as soon as it wanes, the books are left to be gnawed by worms, especially if it is the type of quarrel that is not commended by any usefulness. And who would want to spend all his

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and others. Cf Ep 182:165–78, the preface to his edition of Valla's notes on the New Testament.

9 Lee fol DDV verso
10 Lee fol DDiii verso
11 Lee fol DDiiii
12 Ibidem
13 Lee fol DDiiii verso. The followers of Marcion (d 160), opposed marriage as an institution of the Old Testament creator, not the God of the New Testament.
14 Lee fol DDiii verso. Pelagians took up the ideas of Pelagius (c 354–after 418) and held that humans can make an initial choice for virtue without divine grace preceding, a position strongly opposed by Augustine and Jerome.
15 Lee fol DDiiii. On Arius see *Apologia* n199 above.
16 Lee fol DDV verso; cf fol DDvi verso.
17 Lee fol DDiiii
18 Ibidem

energies on something that he knows will not live in posterity, indeed that he knows will be a dead issue in a few years? Finally, it seems stupid to wish to give a detailed rebuttal when an attentive reading amounts to a rebuttal. For if I wanted to list how often Lee does not understand either what he reproves or what he says, how often he clearly ascribes to me what I neither said nor meant, how often he makes an atrocious fuss about what is well said, how often he maliciously twists the words of authors to give them another meaning, how often he writes the most absurd things in his desire to criticize, how often he attempts with amazing arrogance to explain what he does not understand at all, how often he makes a tragedy of something without reason – immortal God, how many and what lengthy indexes could I create! And how greatly reduced would be those much vaunted and often counted numbers of his![19] But you need not believe me, dear reader, unless you yourself find the matter so obvious that it would be clear to a blind man, as they say,[20] unless you see that Lee's stupidity is worst where he makes the greatest fuss.

Moreover, my intention in replying is very different from Lee's in criticizing. He tried to make his book grow as voluminous as possible; I shall make an effort to bring the matter to an end with as little quarrel as possible. For what else is this but an almost womanish quarrel? Lee was most diligent in everything that contributes to deceit; I shall be more diligent in clarifying the matter. He is full of insolence; I shall abstain from insolence as far as possible. I only wish Lee had wanted to act in the literary arena to gain fame for himself rather than bring ruin on his adversary. But he liked the law applying to gladiators better: Kill or be killed. Yet the prudent reader will know that I have avoided, as far as I can, gravely harming my adversary when I defend my life – not that he deserves such civility, but I prefer civility because it is more becoming to a Christian.

Just to help the reader new to these matters avoid misconceptions, I shall briefly explain how matters stand. I published an edition of the New Testament, translated and revised according to the Greek manuscripts.[21] There I declared that the text I offered should not be taken on trust unless it agreed with the old manuscripts and the old exegetes.[22] And I promised

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19 See 70–1 and nn3 and 4 above.
20 *Adagia* I viii 93
21 *Novum instrumentum* (Basel: Froben 1516)
22 Cf *Apologia in Novum Testamentum* LB VI **2. Cf also *Apologia* 5, 33, and nn164–5 above.

to improve everything in the next edition.[23] I invited scholars to bring out into the open any suggestions for improvement. And I had undertaken this task with the encouragement of His Holiness Leo X.[24] Lee declared, before the work appeared and before he knew me and had learned Greek himself, that he would find in my work something to criticize.[25] The second edition appeared,[26] much improved and further emended, as the facts show. And yet Lee writes in an atrocious tone against the first edition, provoked by nothing else but my calling certain notes of his, as they were then, petty and jejune minutiae[27] – a comment made to one friend, while otherwise I praised rather than criticized Lee. And he defends his attack on the pretext that the second edition was not available to everybody,[28] as if his book would be disseminated more widely than my second edition, though he would have found neither a publisher nor a reader if he had not written against Erasmus. Even granted that I made serious mistakes somewhere, what glory is it to make an insolent fuss about something I would have corrected myself? How uncivil of him, moreover, considering that he learned Greek (and even Latin) by reading my first edition and discovered much that he had not known before, never to acknowledge the benefit received, but to attack even what is correct in a more than hostile spirit? But what is most impudent is the fact that he now publishes as serious comments certain brief remarks of mine, which at the time I had jotted down on the side and extempore, and in such a way that I am surprised he could make out my writing;[29] and he now replies to the world, whereas then he said not a word in reply to me. It is especially impudent because he has enriched his own notes out of my second edition, the advice of others, and his own researches, and uses them to attack mine, which are left unarmed.

Furthermore he criticizes my work, which was written for the benefit of scholars, in such a way that he does not merely disapprove of some things but subverts the whole work, as if no one before me had written a work that was flawed in some respects. Not even Augustine (to whom Lee

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23 Cf Ep 417:7–8. Cf also *Apologia* 5 and n14, 38, and 45 above.
24 See *Apologia* n192 above.
25 Cf *Apologia* 7 and nn30–1 above.
26 *Novum Testamentum* (Basel: Froben 1519)
27 Erasmus is referring to Lee's queries; cf *Apologia* 10 above
28 Cf Lee fol cciv (Asso 246).
29 Erasmus is referring to his informal replies to Lee's queries.

attributes so much now that he decided to read him) succeeded in producing a flawless work. If the labour I undertook must be condemned in its entirety, Lee's business is with Leo, not with me. Leo twice approved it,[30] and even if his approval does not apply to every single part of the work, it certainly applies to my zeal and enterprise. I suppose no one will blame me if I put more trust in Leo's judgment than in Lee's.

So far I have spoken as if I had made dangerous mistakes in a good many places. If that were so, I would have it in common with the most approved authors of our religion. But as it is, may I be struck dead if you can find two among Lee's notes that are of any significance. And yet I allow him even those notes that were supplied to him by certain scholars.[31] I have, moreover, so humbled my style that Lee cannot complain that he has been overwhelmed by my rhetorical resources. I shall ask only one favour of the reader: that I not be judged less modest because I am less keen to point out my modesty. Indeed, it should add to my reputation for modesty that I preferred to accept some loss of this glory rather than stand on my rights to the disadvantage of my adversary. So far I make no pronouncements about Lee's work, except that for many years now I have read no book from which I have learned less, and yet I am criticized throughout. But whatever your thoughts on reading it, dear reader, I ask you again and again to attribute anything positive to all of Britain, anything displeasing to Lee alone.[32] For since that nation has many men endowed with notable prudence, goodness, modesty, learning, and trustworthiness, it would be unfair to judge the whole nation by the character of this one man. Yet this is the usual practice of common people, so that it seemed all the more important to warn you.

The matter has given me a great deal more trouble than I expected, not because it was difficult to rebut what he wrote in such a way that I imagine not even the author was pleased, but because I had to spend much time comparing passages, especially since the references he gives for his citations are often unreliable. I would have preferred to spend six years on something that would advance the studies of good men than even one month in rebutting such nonsense. But this is enough by way of a preface.

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30 Cf Epp 338, 864. Cf *Apologia* n192 above.
31 Cf *Apologia* n106 above.
32 See *Apologia* 20–1, 28, and 65 above.

THE FOLLOWING IS A RESPONSE TO THE NOTES OF EDWARD LEE, IN WHICH HE ATTEMPTED TO CRITICIZE SOME PASSAGES IN THE FIRST EDITION OF THE *ANNOTATIONS* OF ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM, CONTAINING HIS EMENDATION AND EXPOSITION OF THE FOUR GOSPELS

[MATTHEW]

Concerning Edward Lee's Note 1

In the first set of queries, which was in the hands of Jan of Ath, one-time vice-chancellor of the celebrated University of Louvain, I briefly noted that for our reading[33] *Christi generatio sic erat* [the generation of Christ was in this way] the Greeks have 'now the generation of Jesus Christ was in this way.'[34] Lee elaborates on this in a prolix disputation, slaying me with my own sword, as he says.[35] In my annotation on the fourth chapter of 2 Corinthians I had said that 'it was unlawful for anyone to change even one iota in Sacred Scripture willingly and knowingly.'[36] Lee accuses me of disregarding a law that the church holds inviolable and of which I approve myself.[37] But here I would like to ask Lee how he will deal with a scribe who has omitted one or two words in copying the holy books, as frequently happens. Will he bid him be punished under this law for having violated the majesty of Scripture? Or will he say in his defence that he did it unwittingly, that he had been nodding off? What if Lee himself, in quoting a passage from the sacred writings, omits or adds a word unwittingly or be-

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33 Matt 1:18. Here and elsewhere 'our reading' refers to the Vulgate of Erasmus' day. For Jan Briart of Ath's role in the controversy between Lee and Erasmus, see Introduction xvii and *Apologia* 11–14 above.

34 Lee's point was that in spite of his Greek text (which read 'of Jesus Christ') Erasmus translated *Christi* 'of Christ.' Only from *1522* did Erasmus discuss and reject the addition 'Jesus' in his annotation *Christi autem generatio* (on Matt 1:18) Reeve 4.

35 Loosely citing Lee fol III; cf *Adagia* I i 51.

36 Cf the annotation *semper mortificationem Iesu Christi* (on 2 Cor 4:10) Reeve 535.

37 Lee fol II; cf *Responsio* 2 Note 170 below. The inviolable law is found in Deut 4:2, Rev 22:18–19.

cause he misremembers, which[38] sometimes happens to him – will he accept liability under the law in Deuteronomy or the Apocalypse?[39] I think not. Rather he will say in his own defence that it was human error, which creeps in occasionally and can happen to anyone, however careful he is. And in my case he wants a grave sin imputed to me if something was omitted by the printer's workmen? For this part was printed in my absence.[40] I believe this would be a fair excuse even if a mistake had been made in the edition that is now in general use and whose authority Lee wants to be sacrosanct, even though the church does not use this edition exclusively. For who has ever produced either a manuscript or a printed copy of the holy books with such scrupulous care that no corruption can be found in it anywhere? In the present case nothing was wrong except that a single word included in the Greek texts is omitted from the Latin. Thus the reading of the church suffered no injury; on the contrary, it was respected.

My first plan was to add our Latin version as is to the Greek text, and to leave it to the reader's care to discover where the texts agreed or differed. And I would have done just that if some people had not, on the spur of the moment, advised me otherwise.[41] At the time it was not my principal concern that the Greek and the Latin should be in complete agreement; in fact I sometimes did not even compare the two texts,[42] especially in Luke, because I was in poor health and unequal to the various tasks facing me. If Lee had had a taste of them, he would not be so peevish in criticizing another man's edition. Nevertheless I would cede the victory to Lee if I could not actually prove that at least in one of the two manuscripts the word 'Jesus' was written in the margin in the hand of my secretary. But let us absolve the typesetters of this crime, let us absolve the proofreaders on whose attentiveness I relied in such matters, and let us say that the fault was mine, that I erred in both editions – what accusation can Lee possibly bring against me in that case other than the fact that through an oversight one word added in Greek was not added in our Latin edition? There is no reason here to bring down on me the law I cited: that it was wrong for any-

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38 which sometimes happens to him] Added in *Basel 1520*

39 See n37 above.

40 Cf *Apologia* 9 above.

41 Cf Note 67 below. See also Allen Ep 2758:12–14; *Apologia adversus Petrum Sutorem* LB IX 751D: 'I had decided to add the Vulgate text; to add my own translation was not my idea. Certain learned friends urged me to do it, and I listened to their wishes rather than to my judgment.'

42 Cf *Apologia* 23 above.

one to change anything knowingly and willingly. What reason did I have for omitting anything knowingly and willingly if it was my intention to render into Latin whatever was in the Greek manuscripts? Who would be mad enough to change on purpose what is written in the sacred books? If we knew what the apostles and evangelists wrote, it would of course be wicked to attempt to change even one iota. But in the present case, when neither the Greek nor the Latin tradition is consistent, when manuscripts are corrupted every day by scribes, we must willy-nilly change something occasionally. Nor does it follow (as Lee reasons) that everyone, even shoemakers, will be allowed to make changes in Scripture because one suitably qualified person undertakes the task.[43] If it is unlawful to change anything in the reading of the church, why did Jerome venture to change so much in both Testaments? Why does he so often quote in his commentaries passages from the Hebrew books or from the Greek codices – passages that differ from the text Lee calls 'the church's'? And why does he quote them in a way that gives preference to the Greek manuscripts over our reading? If anyone doubts this, let him read Jerome's exposition of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Epistle to the Ephesians. These are the arguments I could have used in my defence, even if I had changed anything in the received text and had done so knowingly. If the holy books had never been corrupted, correctors would be superfluous and indeed wicked. If anyone ventures to say that nothing in the manuscripts used by the church today has been deleted or added, nothing corrupted, nothing badly rendered, I shall agree that all correctors, however learned, must be rejected. If, however, the facts are too obvious to be denied, I do not suggest abandoning the text of the church, but I should be allowed at any rate to point things out to students of the Bible. Lee argues that great danger threatens if anything is changed and that the authority of divine Scripture will shortly collapse, but I cannot convince myself that Lee is stupid enough to believe sincerely what he writes. I suspect that he sings this tune either out of hatred for me or to please certain people, and one man in particular,[44] whose name you can easily guess, dear reader, even without being a diviner. What shall we do about the Greeks, who read the appointed scriptures out of a Gospel text and for this reason sometimes add the name 'Jesus,' taking it from the preceding passage, or put the name instead of the pronoun 'his'? What shall we do about our liturgical practice, when we routinely add 'In

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43 Lee fol 11 recto–verso

44 Perhaps Jan Briart of Ath, who had died in January 1520; Lee seems to have had close connections with Ath, who had not been a friend of Erasmus.

those days Jesus said to his disciples,' when the Gospel does not always have the phrase there? What shall we do about St Luke, who left out a part of the Lord's Prayer?[45] Or about the Latin Translator, who left out the conclusion[46] found in the Greek – an omission of which Lee does not approve? But to avoid the impression that I am joking in a serious matter, let me say that there were variants in the Greek manuscripts in Origen's time, there were variants in Ambrose's and Augustine's time. Today too there are variants in a number of passages, and yet the authority of Sacred Scripture does not waver.

'The Holy Spirit is the author of Scripture,' Lee says. 'He is not the author of dissension and lies. Therefore what varies cannot be from the Spirit, and what is at variance with him goes against him and must be rejected as inimical to the Spirit.'[47] With this syllogism Lee shakes the authority of all sacred books. If whatever is at variance must be rejected, and there are variants in some passages in the sacred text of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins as well, everything must be rejected. Let Lee point out the text dictated by the Holy Spirit and we shall embrace it alone and reject anything that differs from it. If he is unable to do so, let him search with me for the most plausible reading by collating manuscripts in different languages, liturgical readings, and interpretations of reputable authors. But I have responded at length to arguments of this kind in my letters and apologetic tracts,[48] which I see from many indications Lee has not read. Yet it was his duty to read them before preparing to slander my work. Lee acts as if every time someone translates a book from one language into another, his version must be attributed to the Holy Spirit. But Jerome thinks quite otherwise, for he believes that there is a great difference between the prophet who speaks inspired by the Spirit and a translator, who renders as much as he can understand on the basis of his knowledge of languages and his facility with words.[49] If whatever does not come from the Holy Spirit goes against the Holy Spirit, and if whatever goes against him must be rejected, we must reject even the version Lee considers sacrosanct, for Jerome believes that no translation is from the Holy Spirit. Indeed he does not scruple to deride the story of the cells of the Seventy translators as a piece of

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45 Luke 11:2–4 presents a considerably shorter version than Matt 6:9–13; cf the annotation *sed libera nos a malo* (on Luke 11:4) Reeve 189.

46 The doxology; see Note 4 below.

47 Loosely citing Lee fol II verso

48 The prefatory material to his New Testament editions; cf *Apologia* n162 above.

49 *Praefatio in Pentateuchum* PL 28 (1890) 181A–182A; cf *Apologia* n170 above.

fiction. The judge who passes sentence does not do so inspired by the Holy Spirit. Does this mean that his verdict goes against the Holy Spirit? Indeed orthodox writers often introduce an interpretation that differs from that of the author who wrote under the inspiration of the Spirit. The fact that they differ in their interpretations is proof of this. Does a pious man go against the Holy Spirit when he draws conclusions from the sacred words according to his own understanding, even if he does not comprehend the true meaning of the Holy Spirit? Especially when his interpretation is pious and, although not in accord with the passage in question, in accord with morality? Finally, if variants in interpretation cannot be trusted, the sacred exegetes cannot be trusted, for they frequently disagree with one another; Jerome cannot be trusted, because he is often inconsistent with himself.

Note the many instances, dear reader, where Lee attacks me with dialectical sophistries, the snares he sets for me. Soon, as if he had proved his case with ironclad arguments, he concludes: 'Furthermore, since we agree that nothing must be changed, let us consider whether the passage at the beginning of your annotations is liable to the charge of introducing change.' Who, pray tell, is in agreement? Does he think such frivolous phrases will persuade anyone that nothing must be changed in the sacred texts? If he wanted to be regarded as a dialectician, it would have been more appropriate to define what he means by 'change' and, once that was established, to bring out those Chrysippean[50] inductions. But whatever the quality of his disputation and however irrelevant it was to this passage, it added volume to his annotation, which was in itself petty and jejune. Nevertheless I added a note on this passage in my next edition,[51] and not only on it but on others as well that Lee does not touch upon. Here Lee will again raise his voice and call me a liar and an ingrate. I might let it go if I could not bring forward witnesses to show that I made corrections and additions in my own hand to a few places in the text and many places in the annotations, mostly in the course of examining many places more closely when writing my *Paraphrases*.[52]

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50 That is, puzzling or sophistical, used in the latter sense by Jerome Ep 69.2 PL 22 655. Chrysippus (c 280–c 206 BC) was the principal systematizer of Stoic philosophy, in particular of propositional logic.

51 See, however, n34 above.

52 At this point Erasmus had published *Paraphrases* on Romans (1517), Corinthians (February 1519), Galatians (May 1519), and the set from Timothy to Philemon (November/December 1519).

Lee furthermore states that Chrysostom agrees with the Greek manuscript reading,[53] because in his book we likewise find the name 'Jesus' added. I expect this will stop him in future from clamouring that any passage in the Greek texts that differs from the Latin ones has been corrupted by heretics – unless Chrysostom by chance adopted a heretical reading. If he approves of Chrysostom's adding the name 'Jesus,' he deprives our reading of its authority; if he distrusts Chrysostom, let him refrain henceforth from citing Chrysostom's authority against me. Yet what proof does Lee offer that Chrysostom read 'Jesus Christ'? Because it is written thus in the manuscript? As if scribes did not often write in the manuscript not what they find in the original but what is imprinted on their memory. Certainly Chrysostom's interpretation offers no clue that he added the name 'Jesus.' He speaks of 'Christ,' that is, 'the Messiah'; he does not mention 'Jesus.' Where now is that two-pronged dilemma by which Lee has me cornered, wretched man that I am: 'If the Greeks have it right, why have you omitted it? If they have it wrong, it would likewise be wrong to add it to the Latin text.' As if it were my intention immediately to correct the Latin text whenever the Greek manuscripts differ from ours.

I do not understand what follows [in Lee's note]: 'Thus the Latin manuscripts would be corrupted rather than corrected on the basis of the Greek books, at least in this case, not to say in general, except where such a place occurs.'[54] If he means that the Greek texts are corrupt, why does he say 'at least in this case'? Are not the Latin texts corrupted every time they are corrected after a corrupt Greek text? Secondly, what does he mean by 'not to say in general, except where such a place occurs'? I cannot argue against what I do not understand. And this is the man who attributes to me a marvellous eloquence,[55] while he himself speaks with such artifice that I, who am not entirely without experience in classical Latin, cannot follow. But I believe that the man[56] who here and there added a certain polish and 'Erasmian' elegance, as Lee calls it, was not at hand.[57] My guess is, however, that Lee meant that it is right to correct in our texts what has been corrupted if we come across an uncorrupted Greek text. But in this case, where is the law that forbids us to change anything? And how neatly he turns up the pitch when he adds: 'It is more nefarious to omit the name

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53 *Hom in Matt* 2.1 PG 57 23
54 Loosely citing (without distorting) Lee fol III
55 See *Apologia* 4 and 27 above.
56 Vives; see *Apologia* n106 above.
57 Lee fol CXXVIII verso; cf *Responsio 3* Note 25 414 (and cf 415) below.

of Jesus because of its proportionately greater holiness.'[58] As if it were not much more nefarious to omit from the sacred writings the little word 'not' or to add it where it does not belong than to add or remove the name of Jesus, however sacrosanct, and[59] as if it were more excusable to omit the name of Herod or Pilate! Not to mention that the name 'Jesus' is contained in the word 'Christ.' Finally he says he does not want the name of Jesus, however sacrosanct, added to the Latin books, as if this would happen instantly had Lee not forbidden it.

That is the law whose force, he claims, he will bring down on me throughout this whole disputation. Yet this law constrains the Translator to whom Lee attributes so much no less than it does me. It is agreed that the New Testament was written in Greek and written at the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. On this point Lee and I agree. Yet the Translator adds something of his own in quite a few places, either for the sake of explanation, or being obliged to do so by a quirk of Greek idiom which has no equivalent in Latin, or because it was his fancy. Why was he not afraid to offend the Holy Spirit? But enough of this nonsense. And from these auspicious beginnings Lee goes on to the remaining points.

Before I proceed to respond to them I believe I may rightly claim in turn that Lee is lacking in sincere gratitude when he plucks his plumage from me so mercilessly that he often takes mine along with it. On the page snitched from a scribe at Ath's house,[60] Lee's first annotation stated that on the basis of Chrysostom's reading the text in Matthew should read: *ad virginem desponsatam viro, cui nomen Joseph, de domo et familia David* [to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house and family of David].[61] And this sentence, he thought, was extremely pertinent to the explanation of Christ's genealogy. But in this case he realized his mistake, partly on account of what I had said in conversation, partly on account of the second edition of my annotations.[62] He has prudently omitted what he had written in error, but he does not acknowledge who it is he has to thank for avoiding this mistake. Lee thought that the passage from the Gospel of Luke, cited by Chrysostom in his interpretation, must be added to the text of Matthew, whom Chrysostom is interpreting. Lee must admit that

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58 Lee fol III

59 and ... Pilate] Added in *Basel 1520*

60 See *Apologia* 14 above.

61 Luke 1:27, cited by Chrysostom *Hom in Matt* 2.3 PG 57 27

62 In *1519* Erasmus added a brief reference to the passage in Chrysostom in the annotation *mater Iesu Maria* (on Matt 1:18) Reeve 5.

what he wanted to add here is not in the Latin books, yet he will not allow anyone to emend them because he is suspicious of all Greek manuscripts. And from what source did he want this to be added, if not from the Greek manuscripts? But (he says) he is adding it on the authority of Chrysostom. As if I did not everywhere rely on the authority of such men. Finally, if he admits that in some places something is missing from our books, he takes away from them all authority – if we accept his own reasoning, that is. He has omitted another note as well, then numbered fourth, if I am not mistaken. In that note he criticized me for regarding *noli timere adjungere tibi* [fear not to join to yourself] etc a better translation than *noli timere accipere conjugem* [fear not to take thy wife].[63] For *accipere conjugem* is said in Latin of someone 'taking a wife,' but Joseph had already done so. And here he confronts me with Chrysostom in a Latin translation[64] when I am speaking of the idiomatic meaning of the Greek verb παραλαβεῖν. This too I pointed out to him. And if he had shared more of his annotations with me then, he might have made fewer mistakes in them; and I, whom he considers his enemy, would have given him better advice than he who loves himself too much, who prefers to besmirch his own reputation equally with mine rather than take advice that would have benefited us both.

Concerning Note 2

In my annotation[65] I had concluded from Jerome's commentaries on Matthew that Jerome read *Ecce virgo in utero habet* [Behold, a virgin is with child].[66] This matter is treated by Lee in such complex fashion that I believe he himself barely understood what he was writing. Not to waste too much time on repeating a great deal, I ask the reader to examine the evidence I have collected concerning this passage in the second edition. Lee[67] confronts

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63 Matt 1:20; cf *Novum instrumentum* I 2 and the annotation *accipere Mariam coniugem* on that verse (Reeve 9).

64 Cf *Hom in Matt* 4.6 PG 57 46.

65 *In utero habebit* (on Matt 1:23) Reeve 10–11

66 Cf *Comm in Matt* 1 PL 26 (1884) 25C on Matt 1:23. In all his editions of the New Testament Erasmus retained the Vulgate's future tense. The Latin expression *habet in utero* literally means 'has in her womb.' It is used without a direct object, like the English idiom 'is carrying,' to mean 'is pregnant,' 'is with child.' In the discussion that follows the verb is sometimes translated by forms of English 'is' and sometimes 'has,' depending on the point Erasmus is making about the Latin.

67 Lee fol III

me with Chrysostom, who reads *habebit* [shall be],[68] as if I denied this or did not give the same reading. He confronts me with Jerome, who in some places quotes *in utero habebit* [shall be with child],[69] as if it were unusual for Jerome to use the reading of the Vulgate in one place in spite of criticizing it in another. And it could be that here too the scribe wrote *habebit* for *habet*. And here Lee quotes Jerome's words to me, of which he had made no mention in the notes that Ath had, so that the uninformed reader might think that I added this in my second edition out of his annotations. Furthermore he draws an incoherent conclusion from Jerome's words, which I myself found offensive, and for this reason I rejected Jerome's comment even in the first edition.[70] Lee says that *habet* is the present tense,[71] as if anyone were ignorant of this. But it denotes something that took place in the past, namely, conception. For *habere in utero* has no other meaning in Greek than being pregnant, and no woman is said to be pregnant unless she has conceived; therefore Jerome speaks of the past. But to preserve the past meaning, Lee wants the reading *habuit*, a verb in the past tense.[72] By the same token he could have read *habuerat* or *habuisset*. But [the past tense] *habuit* would not have accorded with what follows: *et pariet filium* [and shall bring forth a son]. For if we believe Jerome, the prophetic speech renders one part as past time, the other as future time. The virgin is already pregnant and will in due time give birth to the child she carries in her womb. Lee, however, thinks it would fit together neatly if all verbs were changed to the same tense: *Virgo in utero habuit, peperit filium, et vocaverunt nomen eius Jesum* [The Virgin was with child, gave birth to a son, and they called his name Jesus].[73] He says if the tense changes, the meaning is no longer the same. But this happens frequently in the predictions of the prophets, as Jerome shows. In Latin too it is common to say *vicisse* [he's won] if we want to say

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68 *Hom in Matt* 5.2 PG 57 56

69 Cf *Divina bibliotheca* PL 29 (1865) 574C.

70 Lee argued that Jerome's commentary on the verse was spurious; cf Lee fol IIII recto–verso and the beginning of Erasmus' next paragraph. Erasmus had questioned Jerome's verb tense in his annotation (cf n65 above); in *1519* and *1522* he elaborated on his belief that the passage in Jerome was corrupt.

71 Lee fol III quotes Erasmus' observation of Jerome's use of a present-tense verb.

72 Lee fol IIII recto–verso. Erasmus' sarcastic comment in the next sentence suggests two additional past tense options, the pluperfect and pluperfect subjunctive of the verb 'to have.'

73 In this reference to Matt 1:23 'Jesus' is substituted for 'Emmanuel' (cf Matt 1:21).

that someone will certainly win, and *perisse* [he's done for] if we want to assert that someone will die. The tense is different, but the meaning is the same.

In the end Lee becomes unsure and decides that the passage in Jerome's commentaries is not genuine and must therefore be excised, and he reproaches me for having overlooked this when I was busy with emending Jerome. As if I had undertaken to emend the complete text of Jerome! – although I did help the Amerbach brothers any time they had difficulties.[74] In this case they had no difficulties, and I was not always in Basel. Finally, he acts as if it were unheard of that any flaw should remain even in the volumes that were my specific task. Indeed I have no doubt that flaws do remain. If Lee thinks the passage is not genuine, why does he instruct me to emend it? He prefers to excise it even without the support of the manuscripts. Lee, then, wants a passage excised in the middle of Jerome's commentaries just because he does not approve of it. How much more modest by comparison am I, for, fearing to mutilate the commentaries which Jerome acknowledges as his own, I merely indicated what gave me offence. If I wanted every passage in Jerome that does not meet with my approval cut out, no one would put up with me and my razor. Lee himself would call me a forger for boldly mutilating a highly respected author. You see, learned reader, that there is abundant material here for jokes if I were as ill-disposed towards Lee as he is towards me. And afterwards, when he goes about reclaiming his plumage from me, he is surprised that I maintain a position that is so dangerous! But what is this position? That Jerome appears to have read *habet* for *habebit*? That cannot be denied; not even Lee denies it. But that is what I said in my note, and yet I disagree with Jerome even in the first edition. Nor do I see what glory Lee wants for himself on this account. 'He admits,' Lee says, 'that I pointed out to him that this passage is corrupt, which he mends by substituting *habet* for *habebit*. The evangelist, however, talks not of the future but of the past; therefore he changed *accipiet* [will receive] to *habet* [has]. For he who "has" something is not "about to

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74 The edition of Jerome's work that appeared from Froben's press in 1516, six months after the New Testament, is usually ascribed to Erasmus, but when he joined the project, much of the work had already been done by the Amerbach brothers (see n145 below) and their collaborators, among them Johann Reuchlin. Erasmus' specific task was the edition of Jerome's letters and tracts (vols I–IV); he edited none of Jerome's Bible commentaries. He claimed nevertheless that the restoration of Jerome's works cost him greater effort than Jerome had spent in writing them; cf his preface, Ep 396:259–61 (CWE 61 10), and Epp 333:85–6, 334:139–40, 335:308–10, 337:747–9.

receive."'[75] Then he adds my words from the second edition: 'Certainly it is clear from the phrase "For he who has something is not about to receive" that Jerome read *habet*, not *habebit*.'[76] Next, Lee connects the two passages in a more convenient manner.

What is it, pray tell, that Lee has brought to our attention here? That we must read *habet* in Jerome? I call on those who have had the manuscript of Lee's annotations in their possession for some months now to check if they can find anything of this sort in it. If so, let them believe that everything Lee says is the truth. What[77] can be more impudent, indeed more insane? It is clear from Lee's own annotation that he learned from me that the reading *habebit* in Jerome is a corruption for *habet*, yet he conveniently forgets this in his index, saying: 'He admits that I pointed out to him that this passage is corrupt.'[78] Anyone writing this is either shameless or brainless, or believes that the reader is brainless. At another time too he informed me that we must read *habet*. But in the printed version of the annotation itself he attempts to prove that the word in the present tense is unacceptable and contends that we must read *habebit*. Does he call this 'bringing to my attention' that we must read *habet* in the commentaries? Nor do I say anything different in the second edition from what I said in the first, except that in the first edition I said it succinctly, trusting to the reader's intelligence, whereas in the second edition I say it at greater length, after I found out what so great a man could dream up on this occasion. If I did not know that we must write *habet* in Jerome's commentaries, what is the relevance of my words in the first edition: 'Furthermore, St Jerome in his commentary on this passage appears to have read ἔχει, in the present tense, not ἕξει, in the future tense.'[79] Lee will say: Why did you not mention that the passage is corrupt? Is it not notification enough to have drawn the passage to the reader's attention? I did not want to be uncivil in dealing with a work not yet published.[80] I understood, moreover, that a past action was

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75 In the index preceding his New Annotations, Lee (fol xcv recto–verso), comments on *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 3; on the indexes, see n3 above. Lee's sentences from 'the evangelist, however' to 'about to receive' quote Jerome *Comm in Matt* 1 PL 26 (1884) 25C, though with Erasmus' *habet* rather than the PL text's *habebit*.

76 The end of the annotation *in utero habebit* (Reeve 11)

77 What ... At another time, too] Added in *Basel 1520*

78 Lee fol xcv recto–verso; cf n3 above.

79 Cf the annotation *in utero habebit* (Reeve 10).

80 When Erasmus was writing his annotation the edition of Jerome had not yet appeared.

implied in the verb of the present tense. This is borne out by the words I add shortly afterwards: 'as if the prophet spoke of the future, whereas the evangelist looked back on what had happened.' But Lee does not approve of my reasoning that 'being pregnant' was not exactly the same as 'having conceived,' because a woman who has delivered a child is also said to have conceived [*concepisse*]. However, if you speak of a woman about to give birth to the child in her uterus, 'having conceived' and 'being pregnant' are indeed the same. But why does he not on the same account reject Jerome's argument: 'For someone who "has" is not "about to receive."'[81] Is the woman who conceives not able to conceive a second time? You will say, one must give it a suitable meaning, [that is], she will not conceive what she has already conceived. Why not give a suitable meaning to my words as well?

I cannot believe that Lee wrote this in earnest. He merely wanted to take his revenge on me for having once challenged him, as he says, to a competition in dialectic.[82] I know, dear reader, you have been smiling for some time at such puerile silliness, but this is the stuff with which I am burdened by those who make me out an arsonist destroying the church of Christ.

Finally, caught up in these difficulties and labouring over them, Lee takes refuge in the Hebrew Gospel, which he says has been wrongly translated by someone or other,[83] whereas it is more probable in my opinion that Matthew wrote in Greek than in Hebrew; nor are there authors lacking who believe that this Gospel was translated into Greek by John the Evangelist. But whoever the translator, the Catholic church has approved of this translation until now. If this translation has no credibility and there is no other, from what source do we derive our translation? You see, dear reader, what the consequences are. But Jerome testifies in his *Catalogue* that he has seen the Gospel according to Matthew written in Hebrew.[84] Then why does he never fall back on it for help when he has so many difficulties with

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81 *Comm in Matt* 1 PL 26 (1884) 25C

82 See *Apologia* 9–10 above.

83 Lee fol XCV verso. For the idea (rejected by the majority of modern scholars) that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew cf Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.39 PG 20 300C–D (citing Papias), 5.8 PG 20 449A (citing Irenaeus *Adversus haereses* 3.1.1), 6.25 PG 20 581B (citing Origen *Comm in Matt* praefatio PG 13 829); at 3.24 and 5.10 PG 20 265A, 456B Eusebius subscribes to the idea himself. Erasmus discusses the subject at greater length in his response to another critic, Diego López Zúñiga; cf *Apologiae contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 72–3 and the notes.

84 *De viris illustribus* 3 PL 23 (1883) 643B, cited Lee fol XCVI

Matthew? If Jerome saw anything, it was the Gospel of the Nazarenes,[85] which some want us to believe was written by Matthew himself. From that source Jerome often cites testimony, whereas he never cites a word from the other one, though he is otherwise not careless in such matters. But of this I shall speak at greater length elsewhere,[86] because it is not very relevant to this passage.

As for Lee's arguments concerning the Hebrew words in the prophecy,[87] let Johann Oecolampadius, on whose initiative I added this to my commentaries, reply. I place a great deal more trust in this one man than in many men of Lee's calibre. The former's knowledge in languages is attested to by his published books. Lee has only begun to learn Hebrew – and practically without a teacher. Nor can he accuse me of appropriating the praise due to another man when I frankly declared that I used my Theseus[88] in this respect, even though I cut out a great deal in the second edition. And what was added in the first edition was included to meet the wishes of the printer more than my own. The purpose was to make it difficult for anyone to copy the text, for very few printers had Hebrew type at that time. I believe no one will take credit for this annotation, for it is unmistakably Lee's.

Concerning Note 3

Christ told his disciples not to swear an oath at all.[89] I see the theologians labouring over this matter, for it cannot be denied that the apostles swore oaths on some occasions,[90] and the oath is so common among Christians today that practically nothing is considered valid unless it is done on oath. The populace swears an oath to the prince, the prince to the populace, the priests to the bishop, the cardinals and bishops to the Roman pontiff. I tried

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85 The *Evangelium Nazareorum* or *Evangelium Hebraeorum* was a Gospel used by the Nazareans, a Jewish-Christian sect whose members believed in Jesus but strictly observed the Mosaic law.

86 See *Responsio* 2 Note 239 340–1 below.

87 Isa 7:14, quoted at Matt 1:23

88 *Adagia* I v 27 'not without Theseus.' Erasmus' comment on the adage describes the ancient Athenian hero Theseus as a helper to many figures in Greek mythology, notably the heroes Hercules and Perithous. Cf *Apologia* 8 and n41 above.

89 Matt 5:34; cf the annotation *his abundantius est* (on Matt 5:37) Reeve 30, especially with the addition of *1519*.

90 Cf for example Rom 1:9, 2 Cor 1:23.

to find a way out of this tricky situation, proposing four ways of meeting the objections. First we must distinguish between persons, second between reasons. Furthermore, we must consider the trope inherent in the wording. Finally we must consider the spirit and the form in which an oath is sworn. With respect to the persons involved, we could say that the Jews were permitted the oath because they were imperfect; to Christians it is forbidden because they pursue a perfect form of righteousness. As far as reasons are concerned, that is, the substance and content of the oath, I suggest that oaths need not be avoided when they pertain to the greater glory of Christ or to the business of Christian devotion and faith; the same does not apply to less important matters. As far as figures of speech are concerned, I show that expressions of this sort must not be examined minutely for their sophistical arguments but for the essence of the subject. Just so Christ forbids us to carry around a satchel or a walking stick,[91] not meaning that anyone who carries a walking stick and satchel has violated gospel teaching (something that even those who practice the profession of the apostles do without blame), but to free his messengers from the worry about provisions that troubles messengers sent by human masters. As far as the spirit and form of the oath is concerned, this fourth point is not very different from the first three; but I point out that Christ did not categorically forbid us to swear oaths, but forbade us to swear in the way in which the common people did at that time. For the Jews swore oaths thinking that they were not obliged to fulfil promises unless they were constrained by an oath or a vow. The reason was that there was no punishment prescribed in their law for a simple lie. In the same way Christ forbade us to greet anyone on our way or to become rich.[92] In the same sense he did not want us to resist evil or to be called teachers or fathers on earth.[93]

Here too, Lee introduces a dialogue.[94] I cannot remember with certainty whether I gave him a reply; I am inclined to think that I did not reply and that what he says I replied is taken from the second edition of the annotations. But I shall not quarrel about this, although it is silly to use in a serious discussion what I jotted down extempore, scarcely expecting that the man for whom it was intended would read it. Lee concedes that weak people were allowed to swear an oath. By 'weak' I believe he means

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91 Cf Matt 10:10.
92 Cf Luke 10:4 and Matt 6:19.
93 Cf Matt 5:39–42 and 23:9–10.
94 Lee fols IIII verso–v verso alternately quotes Erasmus and gives his own reply.

'imperfect.' I say exactly the same, yet he says that we are not in agreement because I distinguish the perfect from common people. On the contrary, I distinguish the perfect from the Jews. And this is my interpretation of the passage 'If you wish to be perfect, go and sell,' etc.[95] The man was a good Jew; he had kept the laws of Moses. 'If you wish to be my disciple,' Christ said (that is, if you want to be perfect), 'follow me.' Lee says Christ's precepts pertain to all Christians. I shall concede this to him, although hundreds of theologians past and present will not. Not that all Christians are perfect, but by comparison with the profession of the Jews their profession of faith is perfect. They strive as far as they can to imitate the perfect example, which is Jesus Christ. If we call 'Christians' all those who profess Christ, can anyone deny that there are imperfect persons among them, when there are even parricides? Not to mention that Lee's statement is inconsistent. He criticizes me for distinguishing between perfect and common Christians. If there are common people among Christians, how can it be that there are no imperfect people among them? Yet[96] I call 'perfect' those whose profession of faith aims at the ideal of perfect piety.

But to come to the point: Is it a crime to show that there are methods – and methods that are perhaps not as absurd as Lee believes them to be – by which we can solve difficulties of this kind? He accuses me of rejecting the views of the theologians of old, and he deduces this from one little conjunction, 'but,' which has the force of opposition.[97] Granted that what he deduces from that little word 'but' is true, why am I not free to do sometimes what Lee presumes to do whenever it is convenient? When I wrote 'but I think,' I merely added my opinion to theirs, leaving it to the reader to choose what he approves most.

Here too he advises the reader that I failed to recant,[98] especially in such a dangerous matter! I ask you, dear reader, what benefit is there in arguing in this puerile fashion about such details? But if Lee had not written these notes, the Christian religion would have fallen into great danger!

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95 Matt 19:21

96 Yet . . . piety.] Added in *1522*

97 Lee fol v recto–verso, referring to the annotation *his abundantius est* (on Matt 5:37) Reeve 30: 'The [*1519* Some] theologians have twisted this passage in an astounding way . . . but I believe that Christ simply meant that the perfect should not swear oaths in situations in which the common people generally do.'

98 In the index preceding his New Annotations, Lee fol XCVI verso; cf n3 above.

Concerning Note 4

At the end of the Lord's Prayer, the Greek manuscripts add this concluding phrase: 'for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever.'[99] I comment that in my view this was added from a regular practice in church liturgy, just as in Latin at the end of the Psalms we sing the 'Glory to the Father.' The reason for my comment was that no one among the exegetes touches on this closing formula except the Bulgarian bishop Theophylact.[100] But Lee counters that Chrysostom does interpret it,[101] and that the phrase can be found in the manuscripts circulating under his name.[102] However, practically every Greek commentary on Holy Scripture is attributed to Chrysostom.[103] Apparently his name was popular among the Greeks. The commentaries on Matthew attributed to him vary so greatly that they are sometimes diametrically opposed to each other. Would it be surprising, moreover, if a scholar had added from some other source what he thought was missing in Chrysostom, as did the excellent theologian Josse Clichtove, who supplied out of Augustine what was missing in Cyril's commentaries on John?[104] Finally, granted that Chrysostom wanted to interpret something in church liturgy, that does not immediately prove that it is part of the Lord's Prayer, any more than if someone, after explaining a psalm, also commented briefly on the two additional verses, 'Glory to the Father,' etc. But what does Lee want here? Does he want this added or not? If not, he agrees with me. If he does want it and it cannot be added except on the basis of Greek manuscripts (those, I say, which the Greeks use today), where does this leave the argument he uses elsewhere, forbidding anything in our texts to be corrected on the basis of Greek manuscripts? And if we must quibble, if he wants it added, I did add it in the text.[105] If he does not want it added, I have shown in my notes that it should not

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99 Cf the annotation *quia tuum est regnum* (on Matt 6:13) Reeve 35–6.

100 Cf *Enarr in Matt* PG 123 206B.

101 *Hom in Matt* 19.6 PG 57 282. Erasmus had already admitted in the 1519 edition that Chrysostom and his 'abbreviator' Theophylact retained the doxology.

102 Lee fol v verso

103 For the then current Latin translations of Chrysostom and the texts wrongly attributed to him see Baur 60–7.

104 The Flemish theologian Josse Clichtove (1472/3–1543), a disciple and collaborator of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples in Paris, substituted material from Chrysostom and Augustine for what was missing in Cyril in his second edition of Cyril's commentary on John (Paris 1520). Cf CEBR I 317–20.

105 *Novum instrumentum* I 11

be added. There is no doubt that Jerome consulted the Greek manuscripts, and Lee wants us to believe that this edition was emended by Jerome. Yet Jerome does not mention this concluding phrase even in his commentaries, not to speak of Cyprian, who devoted a book especially to this prayer.[106]

Lee advises us that it is more tolerable to omit something from the sacred volumes by mistake than to add something. If Lee means that both are done by mistake, I do not see the difference. Or else why was he so indignant earlier on[107] about the omission of the name 'Jesus'? Finally he praises me here because I give so much weight to the authority of sacred writers and the Catholic church. 'I only wish you did so everywhere,' he says; 'then you would not have changed the reading of the church so many times.' I can hardly repress my anger. What? Do I ever disregard the authority of the church or of sacred writers? Do I ever change the reading of the church? I, who clearly state that I have no such presumptions but leave this whole province to the leaders of the church? Certainly[108] in this place I prefer the reading of the church, which Lee wants regarded as truncated – by mistake, that is. And yet all Latin texts and exegetes are in complete agreement. How much more respect I show! I both approve of what the Roman church consistently reads and have shown that the Greeks do not differ from us on account of the added conclusion. For they do not intend their addition to be taken as part of the Lord's Prayer. I shall forego complaining that once again he confronts me with the handwritten notes I never proofread. If he wants them to carry weight, let him in turn produce his notes in their original draft form, before he decked them out with the charms and perfumes of rhetoric, before he polished and perfected them to a nicety.

In passing he also criticizes the fact that I call Theophylact 'an abbreviator of Chrysostom,'[109] although he disagrees in some things with Chrysostom. As if one could deny that Florus wrote an epitome of Titus Livy's *Histories*,[110] just because he added something of his own. And Lee promises to return to this enormously important point elsewhere in his annotations!

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106 Cf *De oratione Dominica* PL 4 535–62.

107 See Note 1 above.

108 Certainly . . . the Lord's Prayer.] Added in *1522*

109 In a *1519* addition to the annotation *quia tuum est regnum* (on Matt 6:13) Reeve 36; cf Lee fol v verso.

110 L. Annaeus Florus (second century) wrote a concise history of Rome known in Erasmus' time as *Epitoma de Tito Livio*, now mostly called *Bellorum Romanorum libri duo*.

'There is less danger in cutting than in adding something,' he says. The law in Deuteronomy or in the Apocalypse with which he scores me[111] makes no such distinction here. That law wants nothing added or subtracted. Finally, did Jerome, who changed so much both in the Old and in the New Testament, not defer to the authority of the church? I myself do not intend that anything I change in a text for private use should carry any weight unless the authority of the church approves it.[112] I have [Pope] Leo's verdict.[113] Will that have no validity unless Lee subscribes to it? Shall I be said to disregard the authority of the church if what I write does not measure up to Lee's rule? Such are the annotations of the man who looks down on Erasmus with such great arrogance, attributing to him nothing except eloquence, claiming for himself erudition and intellectual acumen.

Concerning Note 5

'You are criticizing the evangelist,' says Lee,[114] 'because he sometimes invokes the authority of Isaiah[115] in a somewhat forced manner.' The word 'criticize' is Lee's, not mine. Indeed, my purpose here is the same as Chrysostom's: to justify Matthew, who twists the passage in the prophet somewhat to suit his purpose, and accommodates to the healing of the sick what is said in the prophet about the suffering of Christ and the taking away of the sins of humanity.[116] 'But Jerome does the same thing with a great deal more respect,' says Lee. As if my words 'in a somewhat forced manner' were spoken irreverently! 'If Jerome comes across something of this sort, he attributes it to apostolic authority,' says Lee. As if I did not do the same, for I note this only to keep the reader from being offended by the quotation in Matthew. Jerome, moreover, does not scruple to say of Paul that he twisted an inscription[117] that he encountered by chance into a proof of faith,[118] or that scriptural passages as quoted in Paul are inconsistent, whereas they are not inconsistent in their original contexts. He is not afraid to examine the testimonies that the evangelists cite from the

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111 Lee fol II, see Note 1 75–6 and n37 above.
112 See *Apologia* 35 and n173 above.
113 See 73–4 above.
114 Lee fol VI
115 Isa 53:4, quoted at Matt 8:17; cf the annotation *ipse infirmitates nostras* (on Matt 8:17) Reeve 41, with the modification of *1519*.
116 *Hom in Matt* 27 (28).1–2 PG 57 345
117 On the altar at the Areopagus; cf Acts 17:23.
118 Cf *Comm in Titum* PL 26 (1884) 607B.

Old Testament. 'I do not believe,' says Lee, 'that he by whose inspiration Matthew wrote spoke in a forced manner.' Are not all expressions in Holy Scripture inadequate because they are adapted to our intellectual ability? Does not Christ himself say many things in an oblique or covert fashion? Does he not sometimes even use irony in order to adapt his speech to the sensibilities of those with whom he was conversing at the time? Paul has views of his own which are not from the Lord;[119] he has instructions from the Lord which he himself does not impose on others.[120] Need we be surprised if the evangelist adapts the words of the prophets to his own purpose? And yet I softened my expression in two ways. First of all, the comparative itself, *coactius* [somewhat forced] has a softening effect; and not content with this, I added 'a little.' Furthermore I use 'somewhat forced' not in reference to the meaning of the Spirit, but in reference to the form of speech, from which Paul sometimes departs with remarkable freedom, so that he could seem occasionally to twist it rather violently. Nevertheless he does not depart from the counsel of the Holy Spirit.

In his index Lee does not acknowledge the fact that I tempered my words, for I changed them to 'he diverted them a little to his purpose.' 'If diverting means to stray from the path somewhere,' he says, 'and not to go straight, it would clearly be audacious to think that the evangelists strayed from the path.'[121] Why interpret the verb 'divert' in this sense? How often did Christ divert a person's talk to another purpose, as for example, in his conversation with the Samaritan woman, or when he pointed out the temple building, or when he showed the coin with Caesar's image?[122] How shall we defend Paul, who twisted the inscription on an altar into an argument for preaching Christ?

Concerning Note 6

There is no need to reply to Lee's sixth note because there is no disagreement between us. When I first edited this work in Basel, the library of the Dominicans supplied me with a volume of Greek homilies on Matthew with Chrysostom's name in the title.[123] It was incomplete. I took some notes

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119 Cf 1 Cor 7:12, 7:25.
120 Cf 1 Cor 7:6.
121 Lee fol XCII; for the indexes see n3 above.
122 Cf John 4:10, Mark 13:1–2, Matt 22:19–21.
123 For Erasmus' access to the exegetical works of Chrysostom see Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 63–6.

from the chapters it covered. Among other things I noted[124] that whereas our Translator seems to have read ἰδών, since he translated *videns autem Jesus* [Jesus, however, seeing],[125] this manuscript had εἰδώς, that is, 'when Jesus knew,' with the verb somewhat changed, but the meaning remaining the same. Although I noted this in my annotations, I nevertheless followed the reading in the Greek that agreed with our text, especially because I noticed that those commentaries were[126] full of mistakes through the fault of the scribe. And in this matter Lee agrees with me. What then is the point of his note, or what did he want me to change? And yet he lists this passage among those I did not want to recant,[127] dangerously stubborn man that I am. For[128] I translate according to our reading. Is it wrong to point out briefly that there was a manuscript that had εἰδώς? Lee writes that there is no Latin version of Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew, chapter 9. Either I do not understand his meaning, or I must wonder about his eyesight or the quality of his manuscripts, for I found Chrysostom's exposition of chapter 9 together with his commentary on the rest. But in this commentary the translator writes *videns* [seeing]; what the Greek text had is uncertain.

What follows in Lee, however, I find even less comprehensible. He says in his index that the authorship [of the commentary], which I say is suspect for the reason given above, is even more suspect to him 'because the translator of Chrysostom left out chapter 9. Clearly he would not have omitted the chapter if it had been in one of the Greek texts he used. For I have no doubt that he used several Greek texts when he did the translation.'[129] Thus Lee. Assuming that the translator omitted a chapter, which the facts disprove even without my saying so, what does this demonstrate? Did the translator have all Greek texts at his disposal? Suppose he had a hundred, could there not be another that had what those hundred lacked? Furthermore,[130] how could the authorship of the Greek codex be suspect in Lee's eyes? He never saw it. And why was it suspect in his eyes? Because

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124 Cf the annotation *et cum vidisset Iesus* (on Matt 9:4) Reeve 44, citing Chrysostom *Hom in Matt* 29 (30).2 PG 57 359.

125 Erasmus is confused: the Latin phrase is taken from Matt 9:2, on which he had also written an annotation, but he is talking about his annotation on 9:4. Cf the annotations on the respective verses, *videns autem Iesus* and *et cum vidisset Iesus* (Reeve 44).

126 were ... scribe] Added in *1540*. Cf Lee fol VI.

127 Lee fol XCVI verso; cf n3 above.

128 For ... εἰδώς?] Added in *Basel 1520*

129 Actually, in Lee's annotation, fol VI

130 Furthermore ... and drowned] Added in *Basel 1520*

the translator did not translate chapter 9? Then the codex that was not lacking in this respect should have been even less suspect. But that Greek codex was suspect in my eyes because it clearly differed from our Latin version and was no match for it in erudition, expression, and style. But it is surprising that Lee agrees with me in this case, which he generally does not do elsewhere – although I abandoned the suspicion I conceived at first blush after I had inspected the text more closely. But Lee is pleased with anything that goes against my opinion. In that respect he appears not unlike the ignorant woman in the popular story. She was asked again and again to come away from the bank of the river and go further inland but did not stop going backward until she fell into the fast-flowing current and drowned. How unfortunate I am to be obliged to respond to drivel of this kind. And what nerve he has who writes this for the world, who writes this against Erasmus, and twists it to give the impression that the Christian faith is at risk.

Concerning Note 7

His seventh annotation has nothing to do with the emendation of the New Testament text. I had merely asked the reader to consider that the Hebrew word for 'brother' is applied not only to those who have parents in common but also to those who are members of the same family or even the same clan or tribe.[131] On this topic St Jerome jokes smoothly about the ignorance and insensitivity of Helvidius, who, reading the expression 'brothers of Jesus' in the Gospel, thought that Mary, forever a virgin, had borne other children to Joseph after she had given birth to Jesus.[132] I wonder why the same Jerome, explaining this passage, wrote: 'Are you surprised that they err concerning his brothers when they err concerning his father?'[133] For concerning his father they were in total error, thinking that Jesus had been born in the ordinary way through intercourse between Joseph and Mary. But my question concerns the nature of their error with regard to the brothers, when nothing prevents us from supposing that they were relatives of Jesus. For the Jews did not consider Jesus the son of Joseph in the sense in which the evangelist Luke narrates it.[134] Or else they would not have erred concerning the father, as Jerome says.

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131 Cf the annotation *et fratres eius* (on Matt 13:55) Reeve 63, with the addition of *1519*.

132 *Adversus Helvidium de Mariae virginitate perpetua* 11–16 PL 23 (1883) 203B–211A

133 *Comm in Matt* 2 PL 26 (1884) 99C

134 Luke 4:22; cf Luke 1:26–38, 3:23.

Lee explains the difficulty in this manner: 'Just as Joseph was falsely believed to be the natural father of Jesus, so Jacob, Joseph, Simon and Judas were falsely believed to be natural brothers of Jesus.'[135] If by 'natural brothers' Lee means those who are relatives, nothing prevents us from thinking that Jesus had 'brothers.' But I assert nothing. I merely pose questions, and that in passing. But not content with bringing against me what I have noted in passing, Lee also produces what I noted,[136] likely on the spur of the moment, on a piece of paper in his possession. As if I had to justify everything I jot down in some fashion or other! Suppose I write something in the margin of my book, intending to examine it further – am I then obliged to defend the note? Even if Lee had published his draft notes as they were then (and they were quite immature), his demand would nevertheless be unfair to me, for he wrote his stuff at leisure; I was occupied with other matters and did not so much write as dash off things. If he had a mind to refute them, why did he not refute them at the time? Why does he produce my light-weight stuff now, when my New Testament has already appeared twice? Why hide his own? When I said then that the jury was still out on whether Mary and Joseph were of the same family, I meant only that Lyra, Paul of Burgos, Jacques Lefèvre[137] and others were not in complete agreement.[138] And there is no lack of people who argue against the law forbidding marriage between those from different tribes,[139] and who point to historical accounts telling of the frequent intermingling of families on account of wars or migrations. If one could show that Joseph and Mary were from different tribes, it would not be difficult to explain the error concerning Jesus' 'brothers.' It does not escape my notice that the Jews call brothers those who are of the same tribe, since in Hebrew even those who are of different tribes but ethnic Jews are termed brothers. But in this passage it is not plausible that the Jews were thinking of a distant relationship or a relationship in the general sense, for they were judging Christ by his brothers and sisters, just as they were judging him by his parents.

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135 Lee fol VI

136 Cf Lee fol VI verso.

137 For Lyra, see *Apologia* n242 above. Paul of Burgos (Pablo de Santa Maria, c 1350–1435), a learned rabbi who converted to Christianity and was made bishop of Burgos, wrote *Additiones* to Lyra's *Postilla*. On Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, see *Apologia* n261 above.

138 On the various efforts by Christian authors to harmonize Matthew's and Luke's genealogies of Christ cf J.M. Bell *The Roots of Jesus: A Genealogical Investigation* (New York 1983).

139 Cf Exod 34:16, Deut 7:3, Ezra 9, Neh 10:30 and 13:23–9, Mal 2:11–12.

Lee records this passage too among those left unchanged by me and adds that I am still unable to understand that Joseph is related to Christ.[140] I know that this can be shown, but I am asking myself whether it is relevant that those related by marriage are called brothers by the Jews, for those who had the wrong impression of Jesus' relationship to Joseph likely also had the wrong impression of his relationship to his brothers. But to discuss this in all detail was not my plan then and is not my intention now, especially because it is irrelevant.

Concerning Note 8

I had pointed out[141] that when Peter opposed Christ, he was repulsed in as many words as the devil had been repulsed earlier.[142] Indeed, he was addressed by the same name, 'Satan.' What I point out is correct. For this is the reading consistently found in the Greek manuscripts. This is the reading in the manuscript from Corsendonck,[143] in that from St Paul's,[144] in the edition of the Amerbach brothers,[145] which is based on very old manuscripts, and in the edition of Johann Petri of Langendorf and Johann Froben,[146] which is now in the hands of many people. What Lee read in his manuscripts I do not know. Nor is there any reason why he should be angry with me as if I had implied that he was blind,[147] just because I noted on his page (I believe) that this is the reading of all manuscripts, and especially the old ones. For whenever I speak in this manner, I speak of the manuscripts I had an opportunity to inspect.

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140 Lee fol XCVI verso; cf n3 above.
141 In the annotation *vade retro satana* (on Matt 16:23) Reeve 72
142 Cf the annotation *vade satana* (on Matt 4:10) Reeve 23–4.
143 See *Apologia* n211 above.
144 Cf the prefatory letter to the reader in the New Testament edition, Ep 373:20–5, where Erasmus explains that John Colet showed him two very old manuscripts he could hardly decipher because of the ancient styles of writing. The two manuscripts are not extant.
145 After the death of their father Johann in 1513 the brothers Basilius (1488–1535), Bonifacius (1495–1562), and Bruno (1484–1519) Amerbach carried on his publishing activities in the firm of his successor, Johann Froben (c 1460–1527). The text to which Erasmus refers here is probably *Comm in Matt* 3 in Jerome *Lucubrationes* IX fol 24 verso / PL 26 (1884) 123A–124B.
146 Johann Petri of Langendorf (d 1511) published several editions of the Vulgate in collaboration with Froben (1498, 1506–8, 1509). Cf CEBR III 73.
147 Cf Lee fol VII verso.

I admit that I am indebted to Lee for causing me to re-examine the passage in Origen that might otherwise have escaped my notice;[148] but perhaps I would have come across it too, as was the case with many others I added without anyone prompting me. But if praise is due, I do not begrudge it to Lee. I am also indebted to him in another matter: In the first edition I wrote that Peter was repulsed 'in as many words as Satan had been repulsed before.' In the second edition I added the adverb 'practically'[149] to avoid any quibbling, even though 'in as many words' means 'practically the same words.' If Lee so desires, he may put this tiny feather in his cap. But if Lee [in referring to my note], not content with the phrase 'so many words' adds 'and the same,' he attributes to me more than I have written.[150] Moreover, I do not understand why Lee, who mentions the text repeatedly, quotes it as *retro me* [behind me].[151] I have never come across this reading before, nor do I cite it. And up to this point I agree with Lee, but he is still not satisfied because in the second edition I added that it did not seem important to me whether one said ὀπίσω [behind] or ὀπίσω μου [behind me], although one denoted repulsion, the other was an invitation to

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148 Lee fol VII verso refers to either *Comm in Matt* PG 13 1033A or the first 'homily' under *Vetus interpretatio* PG 13 1033–4. Erasmus as well as Lee frequently cites Origen's 'homilies' on Matthew. Erasmus generally believed in their authenticity (cf Note 13 105 but also Note 91 201 below) and included them in his own edition of Origen (1536). Homilies 1–21 are printed in PG 13 993–1600 as *Vetus interpretatio*, homilies 22–35 in PG 13 1599–1800 as *Series veteris interpretationis commentariorum Origenis in Matthaeum*. For the division of the commentary into homilies and the numbers given to them one must consult the early sixteenth-century Latin editions of Origen (Paris 1512 and later), from which Erasmus' own edition differs only slightly. The authenticity of many works attributed to Origen, and the identities of the Latin translators of some of them, remained a matter of dispute even later than the compilations of PG and PL in the nineteenth century. Cf also Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 66–7; Henri Crouzel *Origen* tr A.S. Worrall (San Francisco 1989) 41–3; Hermann J. Vogt 'Origen of Alexandria (185–253)' in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis* ed Charles Kannengiesser (Leiden 2004) I 539–45.

149 In the annotation *vade retro satana* (on Matt 16:23) Reeve 72, where *pene* 'practically' is mistakenly identified as belonging to the 1516 text. In *vade satana* (on Matt 4:10) Reeve 23 Erasmus excised the corresponding sentence in *1519*.

150 In the same annotation on Matt 16:23 Erasmus says that Satan was repulsed 'in as many words'; cf Reeve 72. Lee fol VII uses the phrase 'in as many and identical words.'

151 Lee fol VII verso. Erasmus quoted the reading simply as *retro* 'behind,' explaining in the annotation *vade satana* (on Matt 4:10) Reeve 23 that the term covered the Greek ὀπίσω μου 'behind me.'

follow.[152] I am aware that this has been pointed out by Origen, who has a knack for exploring such minutiae. But here I would like to ask Lee whether it makes a difference whether someone on the point of departure says to his servant 'follow' or 'follow me.' Whether you say ὀπίσω or ὀπίσω μου, the meaning is the same. Unless we prefer to think that the devil was commanded not to get himself behind Christ, but to recede, that is, turn on his heel. Nor is the person who is commanded 'to get himself behind us' necessarily commanded to follow us. Rather the person we have rebuffed and left behind ceases to resist us to our face. Why should we be more offended by the addition here of the pronoun 'me' than the actual word 'Satan,' which Christ applies to Peter as he does to the devil? Since what Origen points out is not found consistently in either the Greek or the Latin manuscripts, I noted somewhere in one or two words that I considered Origen's remark elegant and refined.[153] Many things of this kind can be found in Ambrose and even Jerome. They are interesting notions, but will not carry weight in a serious and detailed discussion. Yet I like Origen's annotation. Nor do I think that anything ought to be changed in our texts. Since, moreover, I have not yet found any Greek text that tallies with Origen's note, I did not wish to diverge from the text I had undertaken to translate. If Lee does not trust me, let him consult the Aldine edition,[154] to which everyone has access.

Concerning Note 9

He makes a great tragedy out of my explaining that ἀντάλλαγμα [exchange], which the Translator rendered as *commutationem*, could, without changing the meaning, be rendered more clearly by *Quid dabit homo, quo redimat animam suam* [What shall a man give to redeem his soul].[155] Lee cries out that I have boldly changed the reading of the church[156] whereas Jerome says that he did not dare change the word *clarificare* because it was the conventional translation [of δοξάζειν], although the meaning of δοξάζειν [to glorify] is closer to *glorificare*.[157]

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152 Not in the annotation under discussion (on Matt 16:23) but in *vade satana* (on Matt 4:10) Reeve 23.
153 Cf *Ratio* LB V 124D.
154 Cf Aldina fol 358 verso.
155 In the annotation *quam dabit homo commutationem?* (on Matt 16:26) Reeve 72
156 Lee fol VIII
157 Ep 106.30 PL 22 848; see Note 108 224–5 below.

First of all, when will Lee cease to slander me, accusing me of changing the reading of the church when I have not touched it? Finally, he foists that 'authoritative ecclesiastical reading' on us everywhere, as if the Greeks do not have now or have not always had an even more authoritative ecclesiastical reading. He does not see, moreover, that Jerome's undertaking is different from mine. He introduced a new text into the church, I introduce it only into private homes and studies.[158] Furthermore I do not know what scruples Jerome had [about changing the text]. In some places he was certainly bold enough to say that the reading, which Lee calls 'the authoritative ecclesiastical reading,' contained superfluous words. For example, in the passage *qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa* [whosoever is angry with his brother without cause], he says that 'without cause' had been added in Latin, not written by the evangelist.[159] And[160] he does this in more than one place. Some words he freely rejects or criticizes. How many changes did he introduce in the books of the Old Testament, which at that time differed from the reading of the church! How he derides those 'pumpkin-farmers' in Africa, carrying on like gods and causing an uproar on account of one little word being changed in Jonah![161] The translation of the Septuagint was once the reading of the church, and yet Jerome condemns it freely and somewhere calls it a lie.[162] If Jerome occasionally refrained from boldly changing a traditional term, he had no other motive than to avoid offending the unlearned people with unfamiliar words. For at that time even artisans knew Latin. But today there is no fear of such risks. My text is meant for scholars; the church retains the official reading and will retain it, certainly as far as I am concerned.[163] My text is of no concern to the people, except when certain seditious characters make a silly fuss before the inexperienced multitude, on whose stupidity they generally rely for support whenever they wish to avenge themselves on someone. Finally, what sort of prudence would it have been if I had prudently shrunk from correcting faulty expressions when, at the urging of learned men,[164] I undertook to

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158 See *Apologia* 35 and n173 above.

159 *Comm in Matt* 1 (on Matt 5:22) PL 26 (1884) 37B

160 And ... rejects or criticizes.] Added in *1522*

161 Ep 112.22 PL 22 930–1. Jerome's translation *hedera* 'ivy' in Jonah 4:6 was criticized by an African adversary (some texts erroneously mention two adversaries), who preferred *cucurbita* 'gourd,' 'pumpkin.' Jerome facetiously referred to his adversary as a pumpkin-farmer.

162 See *Apologia* n170 above.

163 Cf *Apologia* 33 and n164 above.

164 Cf Note 1 76 above.

free the New Testament from solecisms as far as possible, so that it could be read with less offence to those who like pure speech. The Translator translated the text in this way as a concession to inexperienced people at a time when the gospel was read by all the laity, when it was recited by farmers at the plough, by cobblers in the shop, and by women at the loom, because Latin was the common language of all. Among the common people and on their account Augustine prefers to use the corrupt Latin form *ossum* rather than the correct *os*.[165] Today life is different and requires a different approach.

But observe how neatly Lee proves that we must not change *commutatio* [exchange]. This word, he says, can be read in the commentaries of Origen according to Jerome's translation.[166] It can also be read in his commentaries on the prophet Hosea.[167] If Lee hauls me into court and accuses me of violating the reading of the church every time my translation differs from that of Jerome, he is going to produce a huge volume of annotations. But since such minutiae are countless, Lee tells them to 'give place' (for this is how he expresses himself),[168] so as not to delay the reader. He adds another argument. According to Lee,[169] Jerome says in the commentary in which he expounds the prophet Amos that ἀντάλλαγμα means *pretium* [price].[170] What's this I hear? If ἀντάλλαγμα means *pretium*, we must therefore translate it as *commutatio*? Does *commutatio* mean *pretium* in Latin? How much more in tune with Jerome's interpretation is my translation! For I translated: *Aut quid dabit homo, cujus permutatione redimat animam suam* [What will a man give and in exchange for it redeem his soul]?[171] And I would like to know what text Lee followed when he made ἄλλαγμα out of ἀντάλλαγμα.[172] Was he not afraid that the law in the Apocalypse[173] applied here? Or does he want us to excuse him in this case because he or the typesetter was careless, although he never gives me the benefit of this excuse? And I would heed

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165 *De doctrina christiana* 3.3.7, 4.10.24 PL 34 68, 99–100; cf *Ratio* LB V 123D–E.

166 Cf *Comm in Matt* PG 13 1043B.

167 Lee does not make this claim but refers to Jerome *Commentarii in Amos*; see n170 below.

168 Lee fol VIII. In classical Latin the expression used by Lee, *dare locum*, means 'to provide an opportunity,' which does not suit the context here. What Lee probably means is 'to indicate the passage.'

169 Lee fol VII verso

170 Cf *Commentarii in Amos* 2.5 PL 25 (1884) 1047A.

171 *Novum Testamentum* (1519) 38

172 A spelling mistake in Lee's quotation from Jerome.

173 See Note 1 75–6 and nn36, 37 above.

him if he didn't make this accusation so frequently. Here too his index criticizes me for failing to change such dangerous wording,[174] especially after having been warned by Lee.

Concerning Note 10

I had noted that the reading *quod ipse esset Jesus Christus* [that he was Jesus the Christ] was found neither in the Greek manuscripts nor in the better Latin ones. They had only *quod ipse esset Christus*.[175] Here, as I recall, Lee advised me that 'Jesus' was added in Origen,[176] to be specific, in Origen's commentary.[177] And in one instance I found it to be the case, although more often it is not added in the passage in question. Yet many things of this sort are commonly added by the scribe from memory; certainly we cannot deduce from Origen's exposition that 'Jesus' was added [in the Gospel text]. In this case Lee goes so far as to argue in his index against what I added in the second edition,[178] namely, that the pronoun αὐτός [he himself] precludes the addition of 'Jesus.' Lee thinks it makes good sense to ascribe the expression to the narrator of the Gospel rather than to Christ. If Lee concedes that αὐτός here is either a demonstrative or a relative pronoun, what could the phrase *quoniam ipse Jesus esset Christus* [that he himself was Jesus Christ] mean other than 'Jesus was Jesus Christ'? This is the same as if someone who had just spoken about Peter and subjoined 'I asked that you take him away' wanted to add the name: 'I asked that you take him, Peter, away.' For clearly αὐτός stands in place of the name. Unless we argue that in this case αὐτός marks a distinction, making us understand that this Jesus is different from other Jesuses. How awkward such an interpretation is you can see yourself, dear reader. And the expression is no smoother whether you apply it to Christ teaching or the evangelist narrating.

As for my further comments on the word order in the sentence, Lee either ignores or fails to understand them. For while it is correct to say *ne*

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174 Lee XCVI verso; for the indexes see n3 above.

175 See the annotation *quia ipse esset Iesus Christus* (on Matt 16:20) Reeve 71. This Note is out of sequence in Lee and (as in other cases below) answered out of sequence by Erasmus.

176 Lee fol VIII

177 Origen quotes the passage in *Comm in Matt* PG 13 1016A–1020A, 1028A, 1084C, 1368B.

178 In the index preceding his 'New Annotations,' Lee fol XCVII; cf n3 above.

cui dicas quod Petrus est fur [don't you tell anyone that Peter is a thief], it is not correct to say *ne cui dicas quod est Petrus fur* [don't you tell anyone that it is Peter the thief]. In Lee's opinion either expression is possible, '*quoniam ipse Jesus esset Christus*, not *quoniam ipse esset Jesus Christus*.'[179] First of all, if the second word order is not possible, how does it make sense to say that either is possible? Secondly, since Lee decrees that I must not change anything on the basis of the Greek manuscripts, how dare he claim the right to differ from the reading of the church without relying on any authority? For he has *quia ipse esset Jesus Christus*. But I do not wish to be quarrelsome. I simply want to point out to the reader that the Greek in the Aldine edition[180] agrees with our codices, rightly or wrongly I do not know. 'Jesus'[181] is not added either in Theophylact[182] or in the Latin translation of Chrysostom.[183] In Luke, chapter 9, Peter replies 'the Christ of God' and is told not to tell anyone.[184] I suspect that someone glossed this by writing Ἰησοῦς above αὐτός, lest someone refer the phrase 'that he was Christ' to Peter. This gave rise to the error, if it can be called an error.

Concerning Note 11

We agree on 'snow' and 'light,'[185] for I state in the first edition that Jerome[186] and Chrysostom[187] interpreted 'like snow.' Lee[188] adds that in Origen both words are found, but (I think) in different evangelists.[189] Since I myself do not deny this, what is the point of Lee's note against me? Or what glory can he derive from this for himself?

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179 As it stands (and as Erasmus says), Lee's sentence (fol VIII) does not make sense, perhaps because the Latin *non* 'not' is a printing mistake for *aut* 'or.'
180 Aldina fol 358 verso
181 'Jesus' ... called an error.] Added in *1540*
182 *Enarr in Matt* PG 123 321A
183 *Hom in Matt* 54 (55).3 PG 58 535
184 Luke 9:20–1
185 Cf the annotation *duxit illos* (on Matt 17:2) Reeve 72–3. The controversy was over whether the correct reading was *nix* 'snow' or *lux* 'light.' Erasmus translated *lumen* 'light.'
186 Cf *Comm in Matt* 3 PL 26 (1884) 126B.
187 Chrysostom *Hom in Matt* 56 (57).1 PG 58 549
188 Lee fol VIII recto–verso
189 Origen *Comm in Matt* PG 13 1069B and *Vetus interpretatio* 1069–70 has 'light'; in *Vetus interpretatio* 1071–2 the parallel passage in Mark has 'snow,' though the Greek text at PG 13 1071B has 'light.'

Concerning Note 12

I shall not respond to the twelfth note[190] at present, for I believe that it is more convenient for the reader if the whole question is dealt with in one place,[191] although I think I have already argued the matter sufficiently elsewhere in the *Annotations* and in the letter to Jacob Hoogstraten,[192] at least to the point of acquitting myself of slanderous accusations. I am not in favour of divorce, but support a permanent union; nor do I disturb the custom and constitution of the Catholic church. On this point there is no quarrel between Lee and me. I merely compare the evidence and raise the question whether, on the authority of church leaders and for suitable reasons, spouses who are tied to one another at peril to their souls may separate so that both are free to marry someone else, and whether the words of the Apostle can be interpreted in this sense. I believe that bringing this to the attention of the reader is sufficient for the time being and will avert grave suspicions. The rest I shall defer and discuss in its proper place, where I shall make clear that the tragic fuss Lee raises over my remarks on matrimony is nothing but a smoke screen.

Concerning Note 13

With respect to the passage *Verebuntur forte filium meum* [they will perhaps fear my son] in Matthew,[193] I noted that *forte* [perhaps] was added neither in the Greek manuscripts nor in the older Latin ones, nor is it added in the quite recent Basel edition that gave us all the works of Jerome in one collection.[194] So far I have certainly made no false statement. But our sharp-eyed Lee proves[195] that the adverb *forte* must be added on account

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190 Concerning Matt 19:8 on the question of divorce; cf the *1516* annotation σκληροκαρδίαν on this verse (Reeve 78); the annotation was removed in *1519*.

191 See *Responsio 3* Note 17 below.

192 Ep 1006. Jacob of Hoogstraten (d 1527) taught theology at the university of Cologne and was inquisitor of the archdioceses of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier. He is best known for his prosecution of Reuchlin. He attacked Erasmus' views on divorce in *Destructio cabalae . . . ab Ioanne Reuchlin Capnione iam pridem in lucem editae* (Cologne 1519). Cf CEBR II 200–2. Erasmus and Hoogstraten seem to have concluded a truce at two personal meetings in Louvain in 1520; cf Ep 1064.

193 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Matt 21:37) Reeve 86.

194 Cf Jerome *Lucubrationes* IX fol 31 verso.

195 Cf Lee fol IX.

of Jerome's own interpretation.[196] I would raise no objection to this if he assumes that in the confusion at the time I did not inspect the passage carefully enough (as does happen). But there is no reason why he should accuse either me or the Amerbach brothers of falsifying the text. For they did not follow my text in that edition but consulted the most trustworthy old manuscripts. Indeed that part of Jerome's works was printed before I began my edition. And it could be that Jerome or someone else added *forte* in that passage (if it was added at all) out of the Gospel of Luke, which undeniably has ἴσως [perhaps].[197] And what had undeniably been added there could also be added here. But lest anyone regard this as just divination by the sieve, as they say,[198] let me point out the interpretation of Origen, who is much more diligent in such matters than Chrysostom. In his interpretation of this passage in Matthew, in the work that is without doubt Origen's,[199] his exposition agrees with my annotation. In Homily 19 he raises this question:[200] When the head of the family, who represents God the Father, said 'they will fear my son,' and the conclusion shows that they did not fear him, it would appear that God was ignorant of what would happen. But I had better quote Origen's own words. 'In the end,' he says, 'he sent his son, saying, "they will fear my son." You will ask how God, sending his son, can say "they will fear my son" as if he did not know in advance what would happen to him.'[201] For it appears that according to the text in its present form, the Jews did not fear him, and in this God is found to have been ignorant of the future. But to say that something contrary happened is impious; at the same time, to say that the tenant farmers feared him is false. But to put it briefly, Origen solves the problem by saying that 'they will fear my son,' meant in the general sense, was correct, for some of the Jews, those who accepted Jesus, did fear him and were not responsible for his death. Although the phrase is repeated so many times in Origen's discussion, *forte* is consistently omitted. Nor would the question raised by Origen make sense if you added *forte*, nor can it seem a coincidence that it was consistently omitted. So since it cannot be denied that Origen

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196 Cf *Comm in Matt* 3 PL 26 (1884) 163B–C.
197 Luke 20:13
198 *Adagia* I x 8
199 Cf n148 above.
200 In *1522* Erasmus added a shortened version of the following explanation to the annotation *verebuntur forte filium meum*, alluding to the criticisms of Lee and Zúñiga; cf Reeve 86–7. Cf *Apologiae contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 104:885.
201 Origen *Hom in Matt* 19 PG 13 1507–8 under *Vetus interpretatio*

supports my argument, what shall I say concerning Jerome's scholium and the remark there about ambivalence and tempering of speech?[202] Of course, that one could neatly argue that Jerome has the same reading as Origen! For we often say that something will happen when we have good reason to believe that it will happen. This is how we ask that someone be spared a beating: Forgive him, he will be good henceforth. God spoke in the same manner. Although he knew in advance that the Jews would kill his son, he spoke as if there was hope that they would fear his son and repent. Nor is the tempering of his speech predicated on the adverb *forte* but on the outcome itself. For he spoke in a human manner, pretending that he did not know the outcome, to leave them an opportunity to repent if they wished. If they did not repent, they would understand that they perished through their own sin, not through the fault of the head of the family.

Lee may protest that I am dreaming this up – except that Jerome consistently reads *verebuntur filium meum*, as does Origen, whom Lee values so highly. What can I say? Jerome approaches the question in a way similar to Origen. 'Furthermore,' he says, 'what follows, *verebuntur filium meum*, is not said in ignorance. For what was unknown to the head of the family, who stands for God the Father in this passage?' You can see that Jerome is troubled by the fact that the outcome differs from what God predicted would happen. Even more clearly in our favour is what follows in Jerome: 'Let us ask Arius and Eunomius: behold, the Father is said to be ignorant, and he is tempering his speech, and as far as you are concerned, he is demonstrably a liar.'[203] If Jerome had read *forte reverebuntur filium meum*, God might have seemed ignorant but he could not have appeared a liar. For if anyone says, 'Tomorrow perhaps the king will call,' and the king does not come, no one will call him a liar, for he made no certain pronouncement. What, then, is meant by 'tempering his speech'? Leaving an opportunity for repentance, since he indicates by his words that he still has some hope. And does not one who holds out hope appear similar to one who is ambivalent? Yet this appears to be adapted from the prophecy Chrysostom adduces,[204] and before him Origen. Indeed, in speaking of this matter, Jerome digressed from what he had discussed earlier on: 'But God is always said to be ambivalent, in order to leave room for

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202 Cited in n196 above.

203 Ibidem. For Arius see *Apologia* n199 above. Eunomius (d 395) was a radical Arian leader.

204 *Hom in Matt* 58 (59).1 PG 58 640, citing Ezek 2:5

human free will.'[205] I suggest, though, that in this passage 'often' should be read in place of 'always.' For God does not always speak so in Scripture; in many places he speaks to human beings in a human manner, sometimes threatening them unless they repent, or being sorry himself or pitying them, or doubting, hoping, despairing, although none of these feelings is proper to God. Since these things are clear enough by themselves, what arrogance, what insolence it is on Lee's part to make me out a blind man,[206] to accuse me of some unheard-of forgery, to tell me with authority that I should emend this corrupt passage in the commentaries of Jerome, in the Latin text, and in the Greek manuscripts! Who could be more confident than this man? Although the Greek manuscripts agree among themselves and the old [Latin] manuscripts agree with the Greek, although Jerome reads and interprets thus, Origen reads and interprets thus, and[207] Theophylact reads and interprets no differently, Lee demands that on his authority we erase what is in the Greek and Latin codices. For the Aldine edition too agrees with the manuscripts I was able to see.[208] And who was that forger who was able to corrupt all these texts at the same time? Manuscripts Greek and Latin, the printer's copy Bade followed in his edition of Origen,[209] the copy the Venetian printer followed in the works of Jerome[210] (and they were corrected by a monk who was neither ignorant nor careless), and the very old copies followed by the Amerbach brothers, young men of proven integrity and anything but forgers! I in turn demand that Lee retract this annotation of his and henceforth refrain from boldly corrupting what is correctly written and corroborated by a widely held consensus.

But, someone might say, Chrysostom, Homily 69, supports Lee.[211] Agreed, but he is the only one, and in this context at least a somewhat lesser authority than Origen. It may be the case, moreover, that Chrysostom repeated the word *forte* from somewhere else, just as in his exposition of Matthew he brings in from Luke the phrase *de domo et familia David* [of the

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205 Jerome *Comm in Matt* 3 PL 26 (1884) 163C

206 Lee fol IX verso

207 and Theophylact ... differently] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Enarr in Matt* PG 123 380B.

208 Cf Aldina fol 360.

209 Edited by Jacques Merlin (Paris 1512). Josse Bade of Ghent (c 1461–1535) was active as a printer in Paris; cf CEBR I 79–81.

210 Perhaps the edition of Jerome's Bible commentaries *Opera divi Hieronymi* (Venice: Gi. and G. de Gregori 1497/8) or of Origen's homilies by Lazarus de Soardis (Venice 1513)

211 *Hom in Matt* 68 (69).1 PG 58 640–1

house and family of David],[212] which is not in Matthew's text. Here again I find Lee lacking in modesty, for in his annotations, which he wants to appear a most serious work, he brings against me now what I jotted down then on the spur of the moment and for his eyes only. And out of these notes he fashions dialogues at will and shores up his case and answers in earnest. But he should have done so when the work was in hand. If he had, he could have perhaps persuaded me with his arguments to change, that is, to corrupt, some part of my annotation. He may, if he wishes, imagine to be true what I have shown is completely false, but it is not my intention to change anything in the text unless I have a manuscript I can follow. For I do not profess to emend the Greek manuscripts; rather, I translate them, and sometimes I translate a text of which I do not approve. But to avoid any danger arising from this, I added my annotations, in which I point out what I think of the Greek reading. Consider, dear reader, how poorly such an arrogant and insolent attitude accords with such obvious blindness.

Concerning Note 14

I do not consider it worthwhile to respond to the fourteenth annotation, for Lee himself, after consulting the Hebrew books, opts for my view,[213] even though he was reluctant to delete what he had written incorrectly. But whatever the Hebrews read, whatever Jerome interprets or translates,[214] it cannot be denied that the Greek text agrees with my note. I am not in a position at present to establish what Chrysostom read because I do not have access to the Greek text. The Latin translator gave the Vulgate reading, and it is not sufficiently clear from the exposition whether he read τοῦτο or αὕτη.[215] My conjecture is that Chrysostom referred it to the cornerstone which joins in one religion two nations that are greatly at variance, for he writes thus:

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212 Luke 2:4; the reference is probably to *Hom in Matt* 2.3–4 PG 57 27–8. Cf the end of Note 1 81 above.

213 Lee fol x verso. At issue is the point of reference of 'that' in the cue phrase 'that was done by the Lord.' See the annotation *a Domino factum est istud* (on Matt 21:42) Reeve 87.

214 Cf *Comm in Matt* 3 PL 26 (1884) 164A–B.

215 That is, whether Chrysostom used a neuter pronoun (referring, as in the Vulgate, to the whole preceding sentence) or a feminine pronoun (referring to either 'head' or 'cornerstone,' both mentioned in the preceding sentence). Erasmus did not have the Greek text of Chrysostom at his disposal in Louvain at this time. In Basel he had used an incomplete copy belonging to the Dominicans; see Note 6 93–4 above. Cf Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 63–4.

'And that they may see that none of this was against God's will, but rather completely acceptable and agreeable to him, indeed that it had been made by the Lord and was miraculous and wonderful, he added: the stone,' etc.[216] If you compare this with what follows and ponder it, dear reader, you will see that Chrysostom speaks of the stone, although the translator, or perhaps the scribe, relying on his memory, muddled the text. For he indicates that the teachers of the Jews wanted to build, but without the stone that is Christ, who connects the two nations. Certainly Origen in Homily 19 refers *a Domino factum est illud* [it was made by the Lord] to the head.[217] And[218] Theophylact evidently read αὕτη and refers the phrase to γονία,[219] that is, 'corner.'[220]

Concerning Note 15

First of all, we agree, whether Lee likes it or not, that in the books of the Greeks, at least those which I have seen, there is no mention of 'bride' in this passage.[221] If Lee has seen it somewhere, let him produce his manuscript. Nor does the word occur in any Latin manuscripts in the passage where they are awakened with a shout to meet the bridegroom.[222] We also agree that in the commentaries in which Jerome explains this passage,[223] there is nothing from which you could conclude that he read 'bridegroom and bride.' The same must be said of the biblical text in St Hilary.[224] But Lee boasts that he pointed out to me the passages in the commentaries of Origen and Chrysostom.[225] Oh what blindness! I am unable to see even what this grand guide points out to me with his finger – as if the same service had not sometimes been provided by my servant. What Lee reads or points

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216 Cf Chrysostom *Hom in Matt* 68 (69).2 PG 58 641–2.
217 Origen *Hom in Matt* 19 PG 13 1511–12 under *Vetus interpretatio*
218 And . . . 'corner.'] Added in *1540*
219 *Enarr in Matt* PG 123 381B–C
220 In *1522* Erasmus added this passage (with minor changes) to his annotation; cf Reeve 87–8.
221 Cf the annotation *obviam sponso et sponsae* (on Matt 25:1) Reeve 99, with the additions of *1519*. Erasmus maintained that *et sponsae* 'and bride' was a later addition.
222 Matt 25:6
223 Cf *Comm in Matt* 4 PL 26 (1884) 190D.
224 Cf *Comm in Matt* PL 9 1059C.
225 Lee fol XI, referring to Origen (see n230 below) and to Chrysostom's fifty-third homily on Matthew 25. The latter reference is mistaken, as Erasmus points out.

out in his codices, I do not know. In my Chrysostom at any rate, in both Basel editions,[226] there is no mention of 'bride' in the biblical text prefacing the commentary nor anything in the commentary itself from which one could conclude that he read 'bridegroom and bride.' If you want to put my statement to the proof, dear reader, examine Homily 79 on the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew.[227] You will find no clue from which you could deduce that he read 'bridegroom and bride.' In the text at the head of the commentary we read: *Quae accipientes lampades suas, sponso obviam exierunt* [who took their lamps and went forth to meet the bridegroom]. And again in the commentary: 'When the bridegroom was late, they all closed their eyes and slept.' And soon afterwards: 'What then is the meaning of the trumpets, what is the meaning of the shouts: The bridegroom is coming?' As you can see, there is no mention here of 'bride,' nor will you find anything like it in the interpretation. From what source, then, did Lee get what he cites out of Chrysostom? Lee had a codex from the Aldine press[228] in which there were many things, as I said before, which are diametrically opposed to the Basel edition. Certainly in the homily numbered 53 in our edition nothing of the kind can be found, although I can see nothing even in what Lee cites that could convince anyone who pays close attention that Chrysostom read the word 'bride' in the parable in the gospel. For it could be the case that Chrysostom, or whoever it was,[229] added mention of a bride in the same way Origen did, as when from the word 'father' one understands an allusion to a son. Yet I do not recall Lee pointing out this passage in Chrysostom. I remember that he mentioned Origen, although Origen does not give him solid support. For first of all he agrees that in the passage where a cry goes up to meet the bridegroom, only the bridegroom is mentioned. When Origen first mentions the bride, he does so to indicate that those who hurry to meet the bridegroom will lead him to his bride, the church. The other passage, in which he writes 'that we must hurry to meet the bridegroom, that is, the Word, and the immaculate church,'[230] does not prove that the bride is mentioned in the Gospel. It is true that no one is a bridegroom unless he

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226 Probably the Latin editions published by Wolfgang Lachner in 1504 and Johann Froben in 1517; cf Baur 149 no 55, 150 no 68.

227 Cf *Hom in Matt* 78 (79).1 PG 58 711–12. Chrysostom's Homily 52 (53) in PG actually concerns Matt 5:21–31.

228 Erasmus probably means the first Latin edition of Chrysostom (Venice: B. Stagnino and G. de Gregori 1503); cf Baur 148 no 54; Allen Ep 2359 introduction. Aldo Manuzio appears not to have published an edition of Chrysostom.

229 Cf n103 above.

230 *Hom in Matt* 32 PG 13 1700C, 1701C

has a bride, and one is implied by the other. If we imagine that the bride at some point met her bridegroom and, vice versa, the companions of the bridegroom met the bride together with him, the statement is plausible, yet nothing compels us to believe that it was written by the evangelist – which is what Lee contends. Yet I do not strenuously oppose the addition of the word 'bride.' I myself was under no obligation to add the word 'bride' unless I found it in some Greek codex. Yet Lee is indignant because I did not add it on my own initiative, on account of a single passage in Lee's codex and even though neither Jerome nor Hilary nor Chrysostom nor indeed Origen supports me in doing so. There[231] is no mention of 'bride' in either the text or the commentary of Theophylact. Here Lee once again accuses me of having written in the margin of his pages (I believe): 'Indeed, the contrary is the case.' See how dangerous it is to deal informally with this man!

ON MARK

Concerning Note 1, that is, 16

Here again, as if we had transacted this business before notaries and witnesses, he brings against me what I had jotted down on his pages in a rather casual manner.[232] He is so fond of engaging in dialogue with me! He has no quarrel whatsoever with me about the rest, but one thing bothers the man: that I left undecided the question whether the evangelist put one name for another because of a lapse of memory. I changed the wording of my annotation in the second edition on the advice of the excellent theologian Maarten van Dorp, before Lee was personally known to me. And I changed it not because I thought the [original] wording was impious but because I wanted to remove any occasion for giving offence. For why else would I be afraid to say what St Jerome was not afraid to write in the commentaries in which he explains the fifth chapter of Micah? I quote

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231 There ... Theophylact.] Added in *1540*. Cf *Enarr in Matt* PG 123 423A.

232 Lee fol XI, on the annotation *sub Abiathar principe sacerdotum* (on Mark 2:26) Reeve 119. The point under discussion is the reason for the apparent substitution of the name Abiathar for Ahimelech (as found in 1 Sam [Vulg 1 Kings] 21:2–9). In *1516* Erasmus offered three possible explanations for the form 'Abiathar': a lapse of memory, a scribal error, or the Hebrew practice of giving different names to the same person. In *1519* he deleted the reference to a lapse of memory.

his words: 'That this testimony does not agree with either the Hebrew or the Septuagint,' he says, 'is evident even if I keep silent.'[233] And similarly a little later: 'There are people who say that in almost all testimonies taken from the Old Testament, we find some kind of mistake. Either the order is changed or the words. Sometimes even the meaning itself is different, because the apostles or evangelists did not take their testimonies from a book but trusted their memory and were sometimes deceived.' Thus far Jerome. If anyone objects that Jerome reports this as the opinion of others, I admit that such is the case, but if this holy man had considered the opinion impious or blasphemous, he would have clearly rejected it. We have responded to this elsewhere, however, both in the second edition of the *Annotations*[234] and in the letter to Johann Eck.[235] Let the reader look there for any arguments he might find lacking here. Yet I prefer the opinion of those who quite deny that the apostles and evangelists suffered a lapse of memory to those who occasionally blame them for it, especially in written works.

Concerning Note 17

Cognoscens virtutem quae de illo exierat [knowing the power that had gone out from him]:[236] I do not consider it necessary to respond to this annotation of Lee, since he himself admits that he misunderstood my words, which he complains are ambiguous.[237] They would not have been ambiguous if before criticizing me he had compared the Greek I quote there with the Vulgate, which has *de illo* for *ex sese*[238] Then the word 'unbearable' would

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233 *Commentarii in Michaeam* 2 PL 25 (1884) 1197A–B. 'This testimony' refers to Matt 2:6.

234 In the annotation *et tu Bethlehem* (on Matt 2:6) Reeve 13

235 Ep 844:26–62

236 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Mark 5:30) Reeve 124.

237 Lee fols XII–XIII. Lee misunderstood Erasmus' comment in his annotation 'what our [Vulgate] text has, *de illo* ["from/about him (Christ)"], is unbearable' and interpreted it to mean 'what our text has about him is unbearable.' That is, he thought Erasmus' parenthetical explanatory phrase was an integral part of the sentence. The misunderstanding arose because there was no universally accepted convention of marking a quotation to distinguish it from the running text. The preposition *de* added to the confusion since it can mean 'from' or 'about,' 'concerning.'

238 That is, the Vulgate used a personal instead of a reflexive pronoun; in line with normal Latin practice Erasmus preferred the reflexive, which shows that the meaning is 'knowing the power that had gone out of him(self),' not out of some other person.

not have disturbed him or led him into thinking that it was an impious comment about Christ, whereas I begin my annotation with: 'I ask you, what inelegant speech is this?' Thus I make it quite clear that I am criticizing nothing but a linguistic flaw. Although this is nothing new in the Translator, I thought it best to indicate this significant solecism lest someone slander me, saying that I boldly changed the reading. Now observe the tragic fuss Lee raises over this matter. 'Who,' says Lee, 'is bold enough to say that what the Catholic church has read till now concerning Christ without anyone's objecting or criticizing it is "unbearable"?'[239] What arrogance! If anyone spoke in the following manner of Christ – *Christus regnit unum cum Patrem per omnes seculos* – would you not exclaim that the wording is unbearable?[240] Yet 'concerning Christ' has been added by Lee on his own initiative; there is nothing of this sort in my phrase. In this case there was not much Lee could say that was relevant, so he fills his pages with fables and complaints that have no bearing on the matter, for fear that his note might otherwise be too short. He talks a great deal about his zeal for me, about his service to me, and about my ingratitude.[241] He refers to a 'third admonition,'[242] whatever that means, when he never had so much as one word of advice for me after giving me those pages of his. On the contrary he made the greatest effort to conceal what he was criticizing. Indeed, if he calls these annotations 'old,' why does he here mention threats of which he had no inkling except from a letter only recently published?[243] And unless I am mistaken, his suspicion is more feigned than real. However, since he mixes old with new, he should have called his notes παλαιονέας [old-new]. And how inappropriate is his witticism that 'the mountains moved and gave birth to a ridiculous mouse.'[244] Am I a mountain giving birth if he in his zeal to find fault conceives an atrocious suspicion on account of words he has misunderstood? Since I already cleared up Lee's suspicion

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239 Lee fol XII; an inaccurate quotation, as Erasmus complains a few lines later. Where Lee has *de Christo* 'concerning Christ,' Erasmus had *de illo* 'concerning/from him.' See n237 above.

240 Erasmus' example contains five 'unbearable' grammatical errors: the preposition *cum* must be followed by the ablative *Patre*; the idiom is *una cum*, not *unum cum*; because *seculum* is neuter not masculine, the phrase should be *per omnia secula*; *regnit* should be *regnat*, first conjugation.

241 Lee fol XII verso

242 Lee says that Erasmus forced him to publish his notes by refusing to accept his friendly advice.

243 Ep 998:80–4, published in the *Farrago* (1519)

244 Cf Lee fol XIII. The witticism is a quotation from Horace *Ars poetica* 139.

in my response, which I had added, I think, to his memo, why did he not delete this note from his book? Because he preferred it to overflow with superfluous material rather than seem skimpy. Indeed since he admits his error, why did he not temper the harsh words preceding the admission – that I gave him no thanks for his great services, that I repaid him with slander, threats, and public defamations; and so he could not cease marvelling that I was so oblivious to both Christian modesty and Christian civility.[245] This little sermon may have been in order elsewhere, but there was certainly no place for it here, where he admits that he has criticized me without reason.

Please observe, dear reader, how consistent Lee is in his manoeuvres. When he cannot avoid acknowledging his mistake, which he would not have noticed without my telling him, he says: 'As for the rest, we shall now deal with this passage briefly.' Why does he not rather say: 'We shall retract this passage'? If he begins only now to deal with the passage, what was the purpose of all he has said so far? If he speaks so grandly when he has made a mistake, what will he do when matters go well for him? And he admits his mistake in a manner that blames me for it. 'You should have warned the reader in some fashion,' he says, 'to make him realize that *de illo* was a quotation.' But how would Lee like me to do this? Why does he demand from me what is not usual in scholarly writings, and before he himself devised the rule? Or did he want me to add *ly*, an Arabic word, I believe? Or a Greek article?[246] For parentheses, which he uses constantly, are not used by educated people for this purpose only. But let us assume there is an accepted convention among writers for this situation and I ignored it trusting to the reader's intelligence – was that a crime? For I have not written those notes for beginners or for blockheads; I have written them for learned readers endowed with human intelligence, not for asses. He also carps that I noted, I believe on the page he gave to me, that 'dialectical quibbling was not relevant to the subject,'[247] for I was speaking to philologists about common usage.

But Lee does not want to have the language of the Translator examined by the standards of common usage, because 'it is often inept.' If

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245 Lee fol XII verso

246 The Arabic *li* or *ly* was customarily used by scholastics to set off a quotation. The Greek article τό 'the' was used predominantly by humanists to set off a word or phrase as a lexical item or quotation.

247 Lee fol XIII

he admits that the speech of the Translator is often inept, why is he angry with me for correcting him in some places, when this was the task I undertook? If he means that the usage of the philologists is inept (for Lee's wording is quite ambiguous),[248] let him deal with the philologists, who teach a very different matter, namely how to speak correctly – unless Lee by chance sees no difference between correct and inept speech. But here Lee states that he will be gracious; the only point in which he finds me lacking is my 'staying with the party' (for this is how he expresses himself)[249] that tries to elicit from the incorrectly translated words of the evangelist the meaning that some power was unknown to Christ.[250] He objects: '"The Lord knows who are his."[251] It does not follow immediately,' he says, 'that he does not know those who are not his.'[252] On the contrary, it does follow. Just as the Lord knows his own in a certain sense in which he does not know the impious, so he sometimes does not know certain people in the sense in which he knows others, for example, when we read: 'I do not know you'[253] or conversely 'The Lord knows who are his.' In the same manner, if we are said to know the North Pole, it is understood by common sense that we do not know the South Pole. And someone who specifies that he lost the money he invested in A or B implies that he did not lose money invested elsewhere. But, Lee says, it could be that he lost that money as well.[254] As if we were arguing here with sophists rather than discussing the common language in which the Gospels are written. Finally he wants to be praised[255] because I added three words in the second edition[256] to make the matter clearer, so that no one in future would stumble over the same stone

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248 In Lee's Note it is unclear whether 'inept' refers to the Translator's language or to common usage.

249 Lee fol XCVIII. Lee uses the awkward expression *penes eam partem*. *Penes* is an uncommon preposition meaning 'in the presence/power of'; it is regularly used only with personal names or pronouns, not with abstract nouns.

250 Another reference to the annotation *cognoscens uirtutem quae exierat* (on Mark 5:30) Reeve 124, where Erasmus explains why he changed 'knowing the power that had gone out of him' to 'knowing that power had gone out of him'

251 2 Tim 2:19

252 Lee fol XII

253 Matt 25:12

254 Paraphrasing Lee fol XIII

255 Lee fol XCVIII, in the index preceding his New Annotations; cf n3 above.

256 In *1519* Erasmus added 'for *ex se*' after *de illo* in the sentence Lee criticized; cf nn237 and 238 above.

as Lee. Remember, dear reader, that this too is owed to Lee. But in the meantime pity me for being obliged to waste my efforts on refuting nonsense of this kind, which cannot even be read without utter nausea. Yet observe in what hateful terms he refers in his seditious index to this passage, which is concerned only with correcting an awkward wording: 'He attempts to elicit a heretical meaning from this passage,' he says, 'which he considers to be incorrectly rendered by the Translator. But he tries in vain.'[257]

Concerning Note 18

Quid inter vos conquiritis [what are you discussing among yourselves?]:[258] Here I show the reading of the Greeks and the reading the Translator appears to have followed, and I noted in a few words the discussion about resurrection between the Pharisees and the disciples and the crowd. I cannot remember whose authority I followed, but I suppose it was Theophylact,[259] whose book I do not presently have at hand. Lee prefers to connect this with what follows about the possessed person.[260] This[261] is Bede's conjecture,[262] and I do not reject it myself, although Bede adduces it as a conjecture rather[263] than as an assured fact. I do not see why we need to quarrel about this matter, for on the basis of what follows it is possible to offer a conjecture but no certain proof. We read that the Pharisees disputed with the disciples but that it was a man from the crowd, not the disciples, who answered Jesus. The Pharisees, moreover, asserted that there was a resurrection of the dead.

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257 Lee fol DDiiii; cf n3 above.
258 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Mark 9:16) Reeve 135. Erasmus, connecting this verse with the preceding passage (9:9–13), had noted that Jesus blamed the Pharisees for disputing with the crowd concerning resurrection; Lee, making a connection with the following passage (9:17–27), believed that they disputed about the man's possessed son. Erasmus excised the remark about resurrection in *1522*.
259 *Enarr in Marc* PG 123 584D–585A. Erasmus had used the text contained in one of the Greek New Testament manuscripts he had borrowed from the Dominicans at Basel; cf Bentley 128–9.
260 Lee fol XIII recto–verso
261 This ... as a conjecture] Added in *1522*
262 *Exp in Marc* 3 PL 92 220D–221C
263 rather than as an assured fact.] Added in *1540*

Concerning Note 19

Erunt duo in carne una [the two shall be (in) one flesh]:[264] I have given abundant proof elsewhere,[265] citing both Greek exegetes and even Jerome himself,[266] that we must read *erunt duo in carnem unam* [the two shall be (for) one flesh], not *in carne una*. According to the Hebrew idiom we must understand this to mean that marriage and the close bonds of matrimony, which we agree to be a union of minds more than bodies, make one person out of two, so to speak. In this context I criticize certain inexperienced people who are deceived by the faulty reading and think that this passage refers specifically to the sex act, and I call their interpretation *sordidam*, that is, mean and lowly, and hardly in keeping with the divine meaning. Here Lee comes up with some Marcionites or other, who thought that all sexual relations were filthy.[267] I beseech you, dear reader, what is this? Nothing but slander! When we speak of concerns that are *sordidas*, meaning 'humble,' such as household concerns, do we mean 'filthy'? Do we not delegate tasks that are *sordidiora* [rather humble] to our servants or to people who are *sordidiores* [rather humble]? Do we not call a table setting that is very frugal and not very elegant *sordidum*? Do we not call *sordidatos* people who are dressed in mourning or in simple or untidy clothes? Do not teachers of rhetoric note that *sordida* words (which are very different from obscene ones) must be avoided? Do we not say *sordent munera illi* [the tasks seem menial to him] if someone thinks his tasks vile and despicable?[268] Observe how dangerous it is to deal with people who do not know Latin, who in their ignorance keep insisting that we suggest blasphemies and heresies. If this is not Latin usage, let Lee associate me with the Marcionites if he wants to. For this is how he puts it: 'For they too believed that intercourse between spouses was filthy.' What does he mean by 'they too,' if not that I share the views of the Marcionites? Is this an instance of Lee supplying what he promised in his introduction: to play the slanderer in deal-

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264 Cf the annotation *duo in carne una* (on Mark 10:8) Reeve 137

265 Cf the annotations *duo in carne* (on Matt 19:5) Reeve 78 and *erunt enim duo in carne una* (on 1 Cor 6:16) Reeve 459. (In *1516* and *1519* the latter began *et erunt duo*.)

266 In the annotation just cited on 1 Cor 6:16 Reeve 459 Erasmus cites *Libellus ad Gerontiam de monogamia* (= *Ad Ageruchiam de monogamia*) Ep 123.12 PL 22 1053 and *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.14 PL 23 244B.

267 Cf Lee fol XIII verso.

268 Cf Virgil *Eclogae* 2.44 (*sordent tibi munera nostra*).

ing with other people's books?[269] The declamation which I wrote long ago and published recently proves that I respect marriage.[270] Some theologians were displeased with it because they thought it gave marriage more than its fair due.[271] Is not the historical sense humble by comparison with the anagogical sense?[272] That does not mean that it is filthy. If you interpret the daily bread for[273] which we ask our heavenly Father merely in the sense of bodily sustenance, would it not be a humble, a *sordida*, interpretation? I do not deny that sexual relations between spouses are allowed, but they have something lowly about them, and if I may say so, something *sordidum* compared with the purity of more sacred things. Or else why is it that in the Old Testament those who performed sacred rites abstained from relations with their wives?[274] And why are those who abstain from sex said to be pure vessels?[275] Why does St Gregory want those who have had sexual relations with their wives to abstain for a while from entering the temple and to enter it only after washing?[276] Why does St Ambrose write that priests were deprived of the right to marry for the same reason,[277] because,[278] that is, they are the ones who every day perform the sacred rites? Why do the writers of old, among them Augustine,[279] want men to abstain from sexual intercourse with their wives on holy days? Finally, although a husband can have intercourse with his wife without sin, still it is rarely done without sin, unless I am mistaken, and sometimes not without serious sin – not to bring in the views of theologians at the universities, where they are still

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269 *sycophantus*; see *Apologia* 32 above.

270 *Encomium matrimonii* (Basel 1518), written about 1499; cf Ep 1341A:652–3 and J.-C. Margolin's introduction at ASD I-5 337.

271 The work was attacked by Ath, who acknowledged in a private meeting with Erasmus that he had misunderstood the latter's purpose. See *Apologia* n57 above; cf Epp 946 introduction, 1341A:846–52.

272 Exegetes of the Bible recognized a literal or historical sense and three spiritual senses: allegorical, tropological, and anagogical or mystical; cf B. Smalley *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1952) 242–6.

273 for ... Father] Added in *1522*

274 Perhaps a reference to 1 Sam (Vulg 1 Kings) 21:4–6; cf Lev 15:16–18.

275 Cf 1 Thess 4:4, Prov 25:4.

276 Gregory the Great Ep 11.64 PL 77 1196B (from the *Libellus responsionum* addressed to Augustine of Canterbury), cited Gratian *Decretum* C 33 q 4 c 7 (see *Responsio 3* Note 14 n74 below) and Peter Lombard *Sententiae* IV 31.8 PL 192 922. The latter text was presumably Erasmus' source; cf Ep 916:289–302.

277 *De officiis ministrorum* 1.248 PL 16 (1845) 97B–98B / (1880) 104B–105A

278 because ... sacred rights] Added in *1522*

279 *Sermo* 207.2 PL 38 1043

disputing whether intercourse can in principle take place without sin. And yet I do not remember that Jerome, whose authority he cites against me,[280] or anyone else interpreted this passage as a reference to intercourse rather than to the joining of bodies and minds. Are husband and wife, according to the divine word, not 'one flesh' except when they have intercourse? Do these words not apply to Joseph and Mary, who had a close physical and spiritual bond without intercourse? Physical because of their joint life, spiritual because of their mutual love.

Lee says that Jerome in the commentaries he wrote on the Epistle to the Ephesians read in accordance with the Vulgate edition *in carne una*, not *in carnem unam*. Of course this is what we have in printed books, but the context does not allow any such conclusion, and elsewhere we have shown that he reads as we say in our note.[281] But granted that Jerome in that place read *in carne una*, does it immediately follow that he spoke of intercourse? Whom then do you reprove, he will say. I reprove the stupidity of inexperienced people who usually twist these words to give this meaning while also appearing to think that the meaning is not quite decent. And they think *in una carne* has no other meaning than '*membra in membris habens* [member penetrating member], as the law code has it,'[282] referring to a man caught in the act of adultery. Not to insist on a small point, when we want to say that two people are one [*unum corpus*], we do not say 'they are in one body' [*in uno esse corpore*], just as we say of those who are in complete agreement that they are one mind [*unam animam*], not 'in one mind' [*in una anima*]. In the same manner we may call those who are linked by the closest bonds one flesh [*una caro*], but it is not correct to say 'they are in one flesh' [*in una carne esse*].

I shall not go on to examine what Lee brings up[283] in passing from Jerome, that it is not indecent to name anything that is not indecent to do.[284] Who would tolerate a person who speaks of intercourse between spouses listing every part by its proper name and explaining in bare language what husband and wife do bare naked? I am naturally embarrassed to give an

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280 Lee fol XIII verso cites *Comm in Matt* 3 PL 26 (1884) 139B–C, *Comm in Eph* 3 PL 26 (1884) 567A. Both instances have *in carne una*, but Jerome does not unequivocally interpret the passage as bearing on sexual union.

281 Cf nn265, 266 above.

282 Erasmus is quoting his own translation of Lucian *Eunuchus* 10; see ASD I-1 597:1–2.

283 Lee fol XIIII

284 Jerome *Commentarii in Isaiam* 13 PL 24 (1865) 471C–472B

illustration of this point. But are not some words regarded as obscene even though they denote the same things as decent words? It is decent to say 'the female parts' [*natura muliebris*] but not 'cunt' [*cunnus*].[285] When Matthew, wanting to refer to intercourse between husband and wife, said 'before they came together,'[286] did he not wish to express in a discreet manner what would have been rather shameless expressed in different words? And when Paul said 'return together again,'[287] did he not refer to intercourse in a discreet and oblique manner? 'If that conjoining is not sordid,' says Lee, 'why does this interpretation seem sordid to you?' First of all, if he means by 'interpretation' the words of the interpreter, that is, his mode of interpretation, it may well be sordid even if the subject itself is not. For example, someone may speak of the supreme ruler in sordid words, or even offer sordid praise if he touches on no spiritual quality and praises nothing in the ruler except that he has a strong and robust body, that his digestion is good, that he is a skilful ballplayer, that he is dressed magnificently. Likewise those who evaluate the whole in terms of its most insignificant part are giving a sordid interpretation to the marital bond praised by the divine word. These are the arguments by which I could defend myself, even if I had meant something of the kind [implied by Lee]. Now I have explained what I meant when I wrote the note. This passage Lee also lists among those which I left uncorrected,[288] though I thought that my answer had satisfied him, especially since he kept silent when he ought to have replied.

Concerning Note 20

Dictum a Daniele propheta [spoken by the prophet Daniel]:[289] I had reason to suspect that the prophet's name had been added, which I have shown had happened elsewhere as well. In this case, however, I accepted Lee's advice. For I have no desire to argue that someone could have added it in Origen.[290] Yet I never asserted that it had been added, nor did I change anything in

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285 In *De copia* CWE 24 315 Erasmus qualifies this word as highly indecent, as indeed it was; cf J.N. Adams *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore, 1982) 80–1.

286 Matt 1:18

287 1 Cor 7:5

288 Lee fol XCVIII verso, in the index preceding his New Annotations; cf n3 above.

289 Cf the annotation *abominationem desolationis* (on Mark 13:14) Reeve 141. Erasmus suspected that the reference to Daniel (cf Dan 9:27), added in the Greek codices, was taken from Matt 24:15.

290 Lee fol XIIII verso refers to Origen *Hom in Matt* 29 PG 13 1656B, where Matt 24:15 is quoted, not Mark 13:14. In *1519* Erasmus added a reference to Origen to the annotation; cf Reeve 141.

the text. Finally, whether or not it was added by the evangelist, there was no danger in it. Lee therefore need not congratulate himself[291] so heartily on[292] having saved the church from peril.

Concerning Note 21

He nags me[293] because I wrote that Mark had written nothing but a summary of the gospel according to Matthew, though there are some things in Mark that differ from Matthew.[294] Did Florus[295] write anything other than a compendium of Livy's history just because we find some things in it which are not in Titus Livy? Why, moreover, am I not allowed to say what Augustine wrote before me?[296] And I knew (and told Lee then) that there are some things in Mark that are not in Matthew. Nor do a few passages make a compendium not a compendium.

Concerning Note 22

I had noted that instead of our reading *omnem veritatem* [the whole truth], one Greek manuscript had written πᾶσαν αἰτίαν, that is, 'the whole case.'[297] Yet my text agrees with the Vulgate reading. What can Lee deduce from this[298] other than that when I first wrote this note the manuscripts I used had this reading? Afterwards I found a different text in the manuscripts I obtained in Brabant and in Basel,[299] so that I preferred to be in agreement with our manuscripts. But he will say: 'Why did you not say so in your note?'[300] As if in such a mass of material some things would not escape my

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291 Lee fol LXXXVIII verso claims credit for the Origen reference.
292 on ... peril] Added in *1522*
293 Lee fol XIIII verso
294 In the annotation *nunquid ego* (on Mark 14:19) Reeve 143. Reeve fails to indicate that *fere* 'almost' was added in *1519*, as Lee fol XCII correctly notes. Modern scholarship regards the Gospel of Mark as the oldest of the four.
295 Cf 91 and n110 above.
296 *De consensu evangelistarum* 1.3.6 PL 34 1045
297 Cf the annotation *omnem veritatem* (on Mark 5:33) Reeve 124. This Note is out of sequence.
298 Lee fol XIIII verso
299 For the manuscripts Erasmus consulted when preparing his second edition of the New Testament see Bentley 132–3, 136.
300 Cf Lee fol XCVIII verso, on the 1519 version of Erasmus' annotation: 'Now he adds that some manuscripts have ἀλήθειαν "truth," as if his manuscript had a different reading.' In *1522* Erasmus added a remark to the annotation to remove all ambiguity.

notice, however attentive I might be. Nor was there any risk here. For who could divine that Lee would appear on the scene and gravely slander me on the basis of such insignificant stuff and reap such a rich harvest of glory from it?

Concerning Note 23

The same argument applies to the objections in his Notes 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29.[301] In these annotations he speaks as if I had followed just one single manuscript in my work, a manuscript he wants to make out as totally corrupt, and of which he thinks no more kindly than he does of me. And then he casts suspicion on me in his indexes,[302] implying that I pretended my codex had a reading that was not there, no doubt[303] judging other men's character by his own.

ON LUKE

Concerning Note 30

I had noted[304] that all Greek manuscripts that either Valla[305] or I was able to see had εὐδοκία [good will], that is, *bona voluntas*, instead of our reading *bonae voluntatis* [of good will]. I said that I was surprised nevertheless that no mention was made of this in either Jerome or Ambrose, both of whom knew Greek, indicating sufficiently that I was not completely in favour of the Greek reading. But here Lee quarrels with me: 'You should have added,' he says, 'that this reading cannot be found in any exegete.'[306] But what nerve Lee has, to expect me to say that when I attest that I have

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301 Lee fols XIIII verso–XV

302 Cf Lee fol DDiii; cf n3 above.

303 no doubt ... by his own.] Added in *1522*

304 In the annotation *hominibus bonae voluntatis* (on Luke 2:14) Reeve 162. Instead of the Vulgate reading 'peace on earth to men of good will,' Erasmus read 'peace on earth, good will among men.' Lee's Note is out of sequence.

305 Lorenzo Valla (c 1407–1457) was one of the first humanists to apply the principles of textual criticism to the Bible. His *Annotationes* were first printed at Paris in 1505, on Erasmus' initiative. Cf Bentley 32–69. In his discussion of Luke 2:14, Valla states that he used seven manuscripts for his work (*Opera* I 831, 845).

306 Cf Lee fol XV verso.

seen it in Theophylact![307] And I have no doubt that it could also be found in others if one had a well-stocked Greek library. In the Homilies on Luke (number 13) that circulate under Origen's name[308] the phrase *bonae voluntatis* is left unexplained, nor can I help conjecturing that the author divided the sentence in the Greek manner, as I shall demonstrate in the next annotation.

Lee adds this exclamation: 'I wonder,' he says, 'that you would put such complete trust in your Greek manuscripts, which have what none of the old authors read or interpret!' First of all he calls 'mine' those manuscripts that he wants to be seen as defective, as if I had used only my manuscripts or as if the reading of my manuscripts could not be found also in the manuscripts of others. Next he says that 'no one' has the reading Theophylact interprets, a writer who is neither so very recent nor bad, and[309] a reading indeed that is found in Chrysostom[310] in more than one passage. Yet Lee notes in his index that I did not emend the Greek manuscripts,[311] as if I had undertaken to do so, especially where all agree. Soon he points out to the reader that I admit that reference to the texts in Origen and Chrysostom came from him,[312] fearing that he would be deprived of the credit for it. How parsimonious he is with credit! You would think he is some Plautine Euclio.[313] But what if I show that the testimony of Chrysostom and Origen cited by Lee is no argument against me? For first of all Lee did not read the Greek manuscripts. Nor is anyone unaware of how much translators change from memory or from a reading found in another place, and copyists even more. What if I demonstrate that Origen's interpretation and Chrysostom's likewise are not at variance with this Greek reading – where then will Lee's triumph be?

In the first place, what do we find in Origen's *Adversus Celsum*, book 1? Only that he quotes this passage from Luke in passing: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis* [Glory to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will].[314] Second, there is nothing in the whole argument as it is developed which proves that Origen read otherwise than

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307 *Enarr in Luc* PG 123 724C
308 *Hom in Luc* 13 PG 13 1831C; on the question of authenticity cf n148 above.
309 and ... passage] Added in *1522*
310 For example *Hom in Matt* 25 (26).3 PG 57 331, 68 (69).3 PG 58 644; cf also 124 just below.
311 Lee fol XCVIII verso; cf n3 above.
312 See nn314, 315, 317 below.
313 A character in Plautus *Aulularia*, proverbial for parsimony
314 Origen *Contra Celsum* 1.60 PG 11 769C

we do, and the translator of the book, being insufficiently experienced in both Greek and Latin, is obviously untrustworthy. Finally, it has no bearing on Origen's argument whether we read *bonae voluntatis* or *bona voluntas*. I cannot see therefore why Lee congratulates himself so heartily on account of this passage. Furthermore, let him see for himself what is written in Chrysostom's Homily 2, on Matthew, chapter 2;[315] in my text I find nothing of this kind. The passage, moreover, which he adduces[316] from Chrysostom's Homily 35, on the nativity of Christ,[317] clearly shows that he read *in hominibus* [among men], as the Greeks read today. And he connects the second-last part of the sentence with the last, saying: 'Peace on earth' – among whom? 'Among men.' And why do the gentiles not have peace? Why do the Jews not have peace? And so he added: 'Peace among men of good will,' that is, among those who accept the birth of Christ. It is not perfectly clear from these words what Chrysostom read in Greek, since the same interpretation suits the Greek reading as it stands now. That he separates the penultimate part from the last part by a pause and opposes it to the first is obvious from the words preceding this same passage: 'If there is ruin in heaven every day,' he says, 'why is there glory in heaven and why ask for peace on earth? Observe what is said: Glory in the heavens, where there is no dissension; peace on earth, where there are continuous wars.' Furthermore he connects what follows, *in hominibus bona voluntas* [good will among men] (for let us assume that he read thus), with the preceding section as if it had been added to explain it. As for the rest, Jerome in his exposition of Isaiah, chapter 2, cites this passage from Luke in passing,[318] adding no comment from which one could conclude with certainty what he read.

But here Lee immediately catches me in another snare: 'In the second edition you admit that Origen and Chrysostom interpret as I cite.'[319] Then Lee should note also that I was stupid enough to believe him without attending to and examining the passages, and I promise to change this in the third edition.[320] Nor[321] will I henceforth trust vainglorious people of this kind in anything. Yet I do not stubbornly defend the Greek reading. It is

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315 Probably Pseudo-Chrysostom *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum homiliae* 2.3 PG 56 639

316 Lee fol XV verso

317 Cf *Hom in Matt* 35 (36).1 PG 57 405; cf also Pseudo-Chrysostom *Homilia in illud, exiit edictum etc* 3 PG 50 800, *Homilia in natalem Christi diem* 1 PG 56 387.

318 *Commentarii in Isaiam* 1 PL 24 (1865) 47A

319 Lee fol XCVIII verso

320 Cf the *1522* additions to the annotation (Reeve 162). The annotation was further enlarged in *1527* and *1535* in reaction to continued criticism.

321 Nor ... in anything.] Added in *1522*

very easy to mistake εὐδοκία for εὐδοκίας, and it certainly makes very little difference to the meaning. But since Origen supports our reading in two passages and Chrysostom in one, reading 'among men' according to the Greek manuscripts, it is obvious that they agree also in the rest. Nor have I any doubt that I shall be able to prove this with certainty as soon as I obtain the Greek texts. For[322] after the text had been printed for the first time, I found in the commentaries Chrysostom wrote on the Epistle to the Colossians,[323] in his interpretation of the passage in Paul *sive quae in terra, sive quae in coelis* [whether on earth or in heaven],[324] that Chrysostom reads as the Greeks read today. I shall add his own words: Διὰ τοῦτο εὐχαριστοῦντες λέγομεν, δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. Ἰδού φησι, καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ἐφάνησαν εὐαρεστοῦντες λοιπόν. Τί ἐστιν εὐδοκία; καταλλαγή, οὐκ ἔτι μέτοιχόν ἐστιν, ὁ οὐρανός [Therefore when we give thanks we say, 'Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth, good will towards men.' See, he says, men too have now clearly become well pleasing. What is good will? Reconciliation: heaven is no longer something between (God and man).]

Chrysostom (if it is Chrysostom, as the title indicates at any rate)[325] reads with me εὐδοκία and connects it with God, that we may understand that his gratuitous good will brought us salvation. And[326] the Greek reading remains intact even in the translation of the homilies he wrote on the monastic rule.[327] There[328] can be no denying that Theophylact both read and interpreted as I have indicated.[329] I shall add his own words: καὶ ἄλλως δὲ νοηθήσεται, εἰρήνη ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐγὼ γάρ φησιν ἡ εἰρήνη, αὕτη οὖν ἡ εἰρήνη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς γέγονε, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπανάπαυσις τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐπανεπαύθη γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς νῦν καὶ εὐηργετήθη ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς πρώην γὲ οὐκ ἠυδόκει, οὐδὲ ἠρέσκετο ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. That is: 'Moreover, the passage will be understood another way too, that "peace" is the Son of God himself. For he says: I am peace. This peace, then, became the Son of God on earth and became good will among men, that is,

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322 For ... brought us salvation.] Added in *Basel 1520*

323 *Hom in Col* 3 PG 62 321–2

324 Col 1:20

325 Cf Note 4 90 and n103 above.

326 And ... monastic rule.] Added in *1522*

327 Passage unidentified. R.A. Krupp *Saint John Chrysostom: A Scripture Index* (Lanham, Maryland 1984) 137 lists quotations of Luke 2:14 in the corpus of works attributed to Chrysostom by modern scholars. These do not include homilies on the monastic rule.

328 There ... not before.'] Added in *1540*

329 *Enarr in Luc* PG 123 724C

the repose of God. For God has now been refreshed and is well-disposed towards men, which he was not before.'

Furthermore, what sense was there in making such an atrocious fuss when both readings come out to the same meaning? For who would not think great danger is threatening when he reads what Lee impresses on the reader at the very outset of his work, saying: 'There is something in all Greek manuscripts of that period that is different from the reading of the Roman church, different from the interpretation of any of the old exegetes of our text, Greek or Latin, as he himself admits and I shall prove from the commentaries of the ancient writers.'[330] This is the smoke he casts into the eyes of the unwary reader, though Theophylact both interprets and reads εὐδοκία, though[331] Chrysostom both interprets and reads thus, though Lee cannot prove from the old commentaries what he boasts of having proved, and though I do not admit what he says I have admitted. I merely note that I am surprised that neither Jerome nor Ambrose mention this variant. Reread what I wrote in the first edition, dear reader, and you will find that I am telling the truth. Finally, since the meaning of both readings is the same, how can he have the audacity to say that no one interprets what the Greeks read? The problem concerns not the meaning but the reading.

Concerning Note 31

Here Lee fears that his volume may lack dignity because it is too slim. He therefore quarrels with me in a seditious manner,[332] spinning out a long dialogue, bringing out what I perhaps noted on the pages I sent back to him, so far from intending that they would be published for this purpose that I never kept a copy and never even read them over. If someone had done this to Lee, he would no doubt have brought an action for injury. And the matter is even more unfair because now he responds in public, while at the time he did not utter a single word to contradict me.

But let me briefly review his verbose contention. He zealously refutes my division of the sentence, which I adapt to the Greek reading, joining 'glory' with 'God in heaven,' 'peace' with 'earth,' and 'good will' with 'men,' as holding the place between heaven and earth. Anyone who does not accept the Greek reading has no business with this division, which I

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330 In the index that precedes the annotations, Lee fol DDiii

331 though . . . reads thus,] Added in *1522*

332 Lee fol XVI recto–verso, continuing the discussion on Luke 2:14

wanted to have no more weight than the reading itself. And I make no secret of how much weight I give to the reading in this passage. What then is the point of Lee's contentious words against me? He demands to know my authority for this division, as if the Greek reading did not oblige us to divide the sentence in this manner. If each part has its own preposition, how else could the sentence be divided but in the way I divide it? The text has 'on high,' 'on earth,' 'among men.' This is what the author (whoever he is) of the homily quoted in the preceding note reads:[333] *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et super terram pax, in hominibus bonae voluntatis* [Glory to God on high, and peace on earth, among men of good will]. What follows soon afterwards confirms this: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et super terram pax*. Here he ends the phrase and adds his interpretation, comparing it with what Christ says in another passage: 'I have not come to bring peace on earth.'[334] Does he not contrast 'on earth' with 'on high' and separate it from that which follows, 'among men'? Do not Paul's words 'making peace on earth and in heaven'[335] parallel this division?

But Lee objects that there is no difference in meaning between the second-last and the last part of the sentence. Granted that this is so, do we not often divide in our speech what is linked in reality, for the sake of making a point? In the Ten Commandments[336] one precept is divided into two: Do not covet, do not steal. Yet there is some difference: Peace is announced on earth because all may be called to free reconciliation. Good will, however, is attributed to those humans who do not abandon the free generosity of God, or else the words 'Glory to God on high' would likewise pertain to humanity, for his glory is illuminated in no other manner than through human beings who turn to him and recognize him and acknowledge his clemency as well as his generosity towards them.

And what is the point of Lee's saying that he suspects the passage was corrupted by some innovator keen on glory? I do not believe that he is directing this at me when so many old manuscripts agree on this reading. Next he expands on his old complaint that it is preposterous to emend the Latin manuscripts on the basis of the Greek. So that I need not continually answer this kind of nonsense, that same old song of his, just read my apologiae, dear reader, which I have prefixed to the second edition.[337]

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333 That is, Origen *Hom in Luc* 13 PG 13 1831C; see Note 30 123 above.
334 Matt 10:34
335 Col 1:20
336 Exod 20:15 and 17
337 The preliminary pieces to the New Testament, see *Apologia* n162 above.

He goes on to say that in his opinion it was on account of the great disagreement in the sources themselves that Origen said he did not venture to reduce the New Testament to one reading.[338] If I may be permitted, I would gladly ask Lee this: why, considering that Origen lived several centuries before him, did Jerome have the audacity to restore the Latin text, which he did everywhere by recourse to the Greek original? Or how did Augustine[339] have the audacity to direct that the true text of the New Testament be based on the Greek norm, if it is not permissible to correct anything by the Greek manuscripts because they vary in some places? For what purpose, then, is Lee learning Hebrew? For the texts of the Hebrews vary even more among themselves than the Greek manuscripts, either because they were corrupted by them on purpose out of hatred for us, or because the similarity of the Hebrew characters facilitates mistakes. One might say: we have the Old Testament translated by Jerome. Who translated the New Testament is uncertain, but it was certainly not Jerome.[340] Yet Lee says that he found many things in the books of the Hebrews that differ widely from the version Jerome gave us and are better suited to the mystical sense than Jerome's translation.[341] But Lee doubts that this version is Jerome's. Yet the church approves it on that basis. Lee in turn says that he noted this for himself, not for the public. If whatever is different from the official reading is bad, why does he waste his time on it? If it is right, why does he begrudge others this useful work? Not to repeat over and over again that I neither change the reading of the church nor trust the Greek manuscripts unless there are other arguments that confirm their trustworthiness.

I must say, I was amused that Lee hesitates to say definitely whether Origen said this or Jerome.[342] As if Jerome translated those homilies, or as if he himself had later been afraid of correcting Latin manuscripts, which he could not have done without daring to pass judgment on the variants in the Greek books! A little further on Lee addresses me in this manner: 'As for your statement that it was not your task to emend the Greek manuscripts,' he says, 'especially when all are in agreement, why should it not be equally

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338 Cf Origen *Hom in Matt* 8 PG 13 1293–4 under *Vetus interpretatio.*

339 Actually Jerome Ep 71.5 PL 22 672

340 On the controversy in the sixteenth century over Jerome's authorship see E. Rice *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore 1985) 173–95. Jerome himself explains his role in the case of the Gospels as that of a corrector; cf n8 above.

341 Cf Lee fol XVII verso, referring to Jerome *Commentarii in Ezechielem* 8 PL 25 (1884) 242C.

342 See Note 30 123 above.

permissible to correct the Latin and the Greek? Especially when Greek exegetes support the reading of the Latin manuscripts and go against the Greek reading?' What is permissible for others I do not know. I had not undertaken the task at that time. Furthermore, though the Greek manuscripts vary I could not follow more than one reading in the text. For the rest, I put the reader on notice in my annotations. Finally, Lee has not yet proved that the expositions of the Greeks run counter to that reading, except that they occasionally offer an alternative reading and therefore an alternative interpretation.

He adds a fine slight. I had said that it was not the purpose of the work in which I was then engaged to emend the Greek manuscripts. 'In this point,' he says, ' I certainly concur with you, and if I may note this in addition, neither was it your task to emend the Latin manuscripts.' Erasmus then does not have Lee's permission to remove any mistakes from either Greek or Latin manuscripts, however corrupt – meaning,[343] I suppose, that this province is reserved by fate for him alone. I had said that I did not proffer this edition with the notion that everything found in it would be readily accepted, 'with a white rule,' as they say.[344] Here Lee has another slight for me: 'Nor (if I may say so without offence to you) does the edition deserve it.' And not content with this, he accuses me of an act of impiety because I had added a few words to the Greek text at the end of the Apocalypse out of our Latin, and he mentions this prematurely[345] – indeed, he frequently foists on the reader anything that is rather embarrassing for me. So as not to tax your time with a verbose quarrel, dear reader, I ask you not to be moved by this trumped-up tragedy until you have read my response to his annotation 253,[346] which is the last of his 'old-new' notes. Then you will see that the spectre raised by Lee of tumults, perils, shipwrecks, and ruins threatening the church is nothing but empty vapours.

At the end he implores God Almighty not to let him see the day on which the Roman pontiff will correct and restore corrupt passages in the Latin codices on the basis of my work. If Lee can deny that there are mistakes in the Latin codices, let him rather die than see that day. If he cannot

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343 meaning ... for him alone] Added in *1522*

344 *Adagia* I v 88, meaning 'indiscriminately'

345 In the index that precedes the annotations, Lee fol DDVI verso, and in the annotation on Rev 22:19, fol LXXXVII recto–verso; see the discussion at Note 243 below.

346 The misprint 253 (instead of 243) goes back to *1540*; cf ASD IX-4 121 apparatus. For the derogatory term 'old-new' see 113 above.

deny it, why would he want to deprive the world of so much light rather than have better codices on the authority of the Roman pontiff? I had almost omitted the finest point of all: in his zeal to show us that we must not trust the Greek manuscripts, he adduces Jerome as a witness,[347] who in the commentaries in which he explains Ezekiel wrote as follows: 'I could prove that many things are related in Holy Scripture that are not found in the Greek volumes. Nor should we accept the authority of those whose perfidy and mendacity we detest.' Now observe the man's cunning, dear reader. What Jerome wrote of the Septuagint, of Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila,[348] of whom he says that some often translated what they did not understand, others were Judaizing heretics, Lee applies to the New Testament. You can guess the rest from this ruse. Otherwise, if Jerome did not trust the Greek manuscripts, why did he emend the volumes of the New Testament according to the Greek truth (as he himself terms it);[349] why does he laugh at the stupidity of Jovinian, who was convinced that all Greek codices had been corrupted?[350] Finally, since he speaks here of Greek texts, not texts in the possession of the Greeks, and texts not at all corrupt but untouched as they had been originally written, what else would it mean but that he accused the apostles and evangelists of perfidy and mendacity, for they wrote in Greek? And yet Jerome occasionally quotes a variant reading out of those very authors whose perfidy and mendacity he condemns, and not infrequently adopts their meaning.

But I return to the point from which I digressed. 'If the supreme pontiff gave us Latin codices that are more correct,' he says, 'so that good scholars might consult them, what tumult would there be among the unlearned people? They will cry out that religion has been changed into something new. What will the heretics cry? That they had been treated unfairly, of course, for judgment had been given against them on the basis of the Scripture which was now being rejected.'[351] So as not to answer such frivolous stuff: If the Roman pontiff does what great theologians once urged him to do, will Lee quarrel with me as if it were my task to watch over what the

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347 Lee fols XVII verso–XVIII, adducing Jerome *Commentarii in Ezechielem* 8 PL 25 (1884) 242C

348 Second-century translators of Scripture from Hebrew into Greek; cf Jerome *Contra Rufinum* 2.30 PL 23 (1883) 474B.

349 Cf *Praefatio in evangelia* PL 29 (1865) 557B / Weber II 1515:4.

350 Actually Helvidius; cf *Adversus Helvidium de Mariae perpetua virginitate* 16 PL 23 (1883) 211A.

351 Lee fol XVIII verso

Prince of the church is doing? Is[352] Lee so fond of the old cud that he does not want the codices more correct, not even if the supreme pontiff proffers them? And does he want the clamour of the heretics to be of greater importance than the judgment of the leader of the church? Indeed, if Lee refuses to touch any book that contains anything erroneous, lest while gathering roses he fall on thorns and hurt his hand (for this is how he expresses himself), he will perhaps abstain from reading even his own books, for[353] it is more difficult to miss errors in them than it is to miss water in the sea. But enough of this quarrel.

Concerning Note 32

Quae cum audisset [when she heard this],[354] etc: I had noted, according to the reading of Chrysostom[355] (as the title said), that the holy Virgin was perturbed for two reasons: because she saw a young man enter and because she heard his loving address, which somehow suggested that of a suitor. Here, in Lee's opinion, I spoke with a lack of respect. 'Whose ears will tolerate such words regarding the greeting that brought us salvation?' he says.[356] Whether the most holy Virgin foresaw, as Lee claims, that she would conceive by the Holy Spirit and give birth, I dare not affirm. We read that she was perturbed, and perturbed at the angel's speech. However, her zeal for purity was such that she might have been frightened when she first saw and heard the young man enter. This has also been noted by Ambrose, who explains the passage: 'To be anxious,' he says, 'is characteristic of virgins, and to be frightened when any man enters, to fear any address by a man.'[357] But it is worthwhile to hear how devoutly Lee sermonizes: 'You must not deny,' he says, 'that she, forever virgin, was preserved from any ignoble thought, for she was to be the sanctuary of the Spirit and the dwelling of the only-begotten Son of God.' And soon afterwards: 'You

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352 Is ... of the church?] Added in *1522*

353 for ... in the sea] Added in *1522*

354 The cue phrase for the annotation on Luke 1:29; cf Reeve 155–6.

355 No such passage can be identified in Chrysostom. In the *1527* addition (see next note) Erasmus cites a Greek author quoted but not named in Thomas Aquinas *Catena aurea* (on Luke 1:29) and Theophylact *Enarr in Luc* PG 123 701D. He is well aware of Theophylact's dependence on Chrysostom.

356 Lee fol XIX. In *1527* Erasmus added to the annotation a long defensive statement referring to Lee's criticism, which, he says, had recently been revived; cf Reeve 155–6. He refrains, however, from naming the new critics.

357 *Exp in Luc* 2.8 PL 15 (1845) 1555C / (1887) 1636A–B

see therefore how this agrees with the fact that the Virgin was untroubled by ignoble thought.'[358] What is the meaning of this putrid stuff? Who said that Mary had ignoble thoughts, or what is Lee calling 'ignoble thought'? Thought that is not chaste? I certainly think that such thought was far removed from the mind of the Virgin. Or is it ignoble thought when a virgin in her great zeal for chastity avoids the sight of men and any conversation with them, 'fearing even safety'?[359] If we believe Peter Lombard, the Virgin Mother would have consented even to intercourse if God had so decided.[360] And yet she loved virginal chastity. What if at first sight she felt trepidation at the thought that she might be commanded to accept a husband in order to become a mother – would that have been 'ignoble thought'? But she had foreknowledge of what would happen. Let those who make such claims justify them; why then does she ask, 'How shall this be done?'[361] Anyone inquiring about the method is ignorant of a good part of the business.

In the same manner Lee sermonizes a little further on: 'The Holy Spirit who was in her did not permit that she should think such ignoble thoughts, the blessed fruit of her womb did not permit it. I truly believe that such thought was very far removed from such a sacred heart, in which the Holy Spirit was already present.'[362] I do not understand the meaning of Lee's words. I think that virgins are very much touched by thoughts of the kind I attribute to Mary, and especially those in whom the Holy Spirit dwells, the inspirer of chaste thoughts. The dearer chastity is to them, the more they fear for it. For[363] I shall not examine what Lee calls 'the fruit' of Mary before it was born of her.

And a little further back he says: 'What is "loving" here? What is not sincere, not chaste?' What do I hear? Is nothing loving in Lee's view unless it is insincere and unchaste? He adds: 'It would have been characteristic of a lover or a suitor to address the Virgin by her name first and to use some flattering opening.' Lee is even teaching the art of love, if it pleases the gods! And what words did Joseph use, her future husband, when he greeted Mary, his future wife? Did he not address her respectfully yet lovingly? Besides, I do not call the angel a suitor, for the Virgin already had

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358 Lee fol xx
359 Virgil *Aeneid* 4.298
360 *Sententiae* IV 28.3 PL 192 915
361 Luke 1:34
362 Lee fol XIX
363 For . . . born of her.] Added in *Basel 1520*

a betrothed. But perhaps she suspected that the young man was about to bring her some news. Finally, is it not a flattering opening to say 'Hail, beloved'?[364] Here, by the way, I think I have discovered an error of Lee's. He thinks that the whole speech by which we commonly greet the Virgin Mother of God was the angel's. For he writes in this way: '"Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you," and what follows, "Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb." These are not the words of lovers but words explaining a wonderful new grace.'[365] From Lee's words it is quite clear that he credits the angel with Elizabeth's speech as well. If such a mistake had happened to me, what ways he would find to reproach my ignorance! And yet I am so often called a man without modesty, a petulant man, whereas Lee is supposedly the model of Christian modesty.

But he goes on with his sermon, responding to what I noted on his sheets of paper: 'I shall not respond peevishly,' he says; 'I am more grieved than put out that you are so frivolous. If this is peevishness, what words do you expect me to use in so serious a matter?'[366] Thus Lee. You hear his arrogance. In the first place it was not enough to say 'that you are frivolous,' he had to say 'so frivolous.' Then comes that other bit of nonsense about the matter which he in all seriousness calls 'serious.' But he goes on: 'I may permit you to introduce characters and use rhetorical phrases to place before our eyes the things themselves as they happened, so that the way in which they happened, in itself somewhat obscure, may become clearer; but you must not be permitted, while in pursuit of historical truth, to invent something beyond what actually happened. And I would consider it impious to act otherwise in the pursuit of sacred history; and the more impious as the invention is more shameful and further from the sacred mysteries.' I ask you, what is Lee's purpose here? Since the evangelists tell us a few facts in a few words, are we not allowed to make some conjectures on the basis of their narration? Do not the sacred exegetes do this everywhere? Does not Bonaventure compose many such passages?[367] Who would be insane enough to wish to invent what has not happened? If it is not written down,

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364 Cf the annotation *gratia plena* (on Luke 1:28) Reeve 154.

365 Cf Lee fol XIX, quoting the angel's greeting at Luke 1:28, along with Luke 1:42, the words spoken by Elizabeth, that is, the opening of the prayer *Ave Maria* 'Hail, Mary.'

366 Lee fol XIX verso

367 For a fuller discussion of this question cf *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-5 146:830–148:858, where Bonaventure (1217/21–74) is likewise mentioned and blamed for his frivolous conjectures.

does that mean it has not happened? I do not rewrite history, I merely interpret what has been written, following Ambrose,[368] who, I believe, is not the worst authority.

But here Lee accuses me in passing of giving a shameful interpretation (earlier on he called it frivolous). What is shameful about it, except in the eyes of the reader to whom even honourable things are shameful? But Lee recoils from the term 'suitor,' he recoils from the term 'lover,' he recoils from the term 'groomsman,' crying out that I use these words frivolously, as if I had meant something rather shameful. Why does he not recoil from the whole Canticle of Canticles, which is full of love and which the modern usage of the church applies to the Virgin Mother? Why does he not recoil whenever we call Mary the spouse of God? Or when we call her beloved of God for her exceptionally pure character and her modesty? If a suitor is he who desires to be accepted as a spouse, why is the word 'suitor' more shameful than the word 'spouse'? In fact in Horace the suitors of Penelope are called *sponsi* [spouses].[369] How can Lee, with his tender and chaste mind, bear to read the biography of the virgin Agnes as written by Ambrose?[370] What characteristic of suitors or lovers does he not there adapt to the description of a virgin dedicated to Christ? What about John of Damascus, who anticipated me in explaining the allegory of the heavenly marriage?[371] [According to him] God the Father loved her; he sent his angel as a groomsman to win the Virgin's assent, for she could not have conceived the Son of God if she had not offered herself to the heavenly embrace. As soon as she agreed, the power of God on high cast its shadow over his bride. It was like a marital embrace. The Holy Spirit glided into the womb of the virgin, and from that a new foetus was formed. And the Father, who is

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368 See n357 above.

369 *Epistles* 1.2.28. *Sponsus/sponsa*, the word used consistently in this passage, means 'betrothed' or 'spouse' of either sex, and so also 'bridegroom' or 'bride.'

370 Agnes was a Roman virgin and martyr who died in the third or early fourth century. Ambrose wrote on her life at *De virginibus* 1.2 PL 16 (1845) 189C–191B / (1880) 200A–202A. It is more likely, however, that Erasmus refers to the biographies of Pseudo-Ambrose: *Sermones de sanctis* 48 PL 17 (1845) 701C–705A / (1879) 725A–728C and Ep 1 PL 17 (1845) 735A–742D / (1879) 813A–821A. The latter text, also known as *Passio sanctae Agnetis*, describes in detail how Agnes was pursued by a suitor who by divine intervention died when he tried to rape her.

371 Johannes Damascenus (c 650–c 750) *De fide orthodoxa* 3.2 PG 94 985A–B, quoted in the next paragraph.

always begetting the Son of himself in an ineffable manner, begot him once again in a different way, of the Virgin.

Lest Lee protest loudly that I have made this up or used rhetoric to exaggerate it, let me quote the author's own words, which are found in the *Theological Sentences*, book III, distinction 3, beginning *Mariam quoque*, etc: 'After the Holy Virgin consented the Holy Spirit came upon her according to the Lord's word, as the angel had said, purifying her and preparing the power receptive of the divine word, and at the same time the generative power. And then the self-existent wisdom and power of God on high overshadowed her, that is, the Son of God, of one substance with the Father, that is consubstantial, like divine seed; and he joined to himself, of the most pure blood of the Virgin herself, the flesh of our ancient corruption, animated with a rational and intellective soul – not by insemination but by creating through the Holy Spirit.'[372] Thus far I have reported the words of John of Damascus. Although they do not correspond to my comments in every detail, I am nevertheless content that here too there is an allusion through allegory to those things that commonly happen in marital intercourse. Consent is asked, the conceptive and creative power is prepared through the entry of the Holy Spirit, there is mention of divine seed, the Spirit is the agent and does in this heavenly conception what in other conceptions is done by a man's seed, and the Spirit is as it were the action in conception. But Lee recoils from saying anything in this conception was like a man's seed. Yet when we read: 'What was conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit,'[373] does this not sound like 'not from a man's seed, as you suspect, but from the Holy Spirit'? Is the Holy Spirit here not contrasted with a man's seed? Again, in the hymn the choir sings in church, 'Not of a man's seed, but from a mystical breath,' Prudentius clearly says the same thing.[374] Lee thinks it impious to say that anything in that event took the place of a man's seed. But what is the meaning of 'took the place' other than saying that a man's seed was not involved; that instead, what in ordinary

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372 Peter Lombard *Sententiae* III 3.1 PL 192 761, quoting John of Damascus; see the previous note.

373 Matt 1:20

374 Not Prudentius but Ambrose *Hymnus* 4 (*Veni redemptor gentium*) PL 16 (1845) 1410 / (1880) 1473–4. For the thought, however, cf Prudentius 'Hymn on the Nativity of the Boy Jesus' lines 17–20, 49–52, and 'Hymn on Jesus' Epiphany' lines 77–80, 81–4, with Erasmus' commentary of 1523, in CWE 29 178–80, 184–5, 205–6.

conceptions is effected naturally by the man's seed was effected in Mary's case supernaturally by the Holy Spirit? I ask you, dear reader, what is there here that could offend chaste ears? Indeed, what is there that is not worthy of that heavenly marriage? But Lee does not agree that κεχαριτομένη in Greek means 'graceful,' 'lovely,' or 'uniquely beloved.' For it is the participle of the verb χαριτόω, that is, 'make graceful or lovely.' 'But in my dictionary,' says Lee, 'χαριτόω means "fill with grace."'[375] What can anyone do? If it is in Lee's dictionary, for[376] which he paid good money, I suppose it can't be denied. Yet Homer has Achilles speaking to his beloved Patroclus thus: ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ [dear to my heart][377] – that[378] is, Achilles is using a similar word. Next, Lee is angry because I confront him with a Greek term when it was likely that the angel spoke Hebrew. Granted that this is so, or that (if Lee prefers) it was Syriac, I credit Luke with the ability to render the word used by the angel into bona fide Greek, unless Lee denies that Luke wrote the Gospel in Greek. Finally Lee does not place sufficient trust in these arguments and says that he cited the passage according to the reading of the church, to which he gives more weight than to 'my Greek.' I ask you, dear reader, who can read this without laughing? Is what Luke wrote 'my Greek'? Does the reading of the Latin church, which is a translation after all, have more authority than what Luke wrote? Whenever we undertake to explain the mysteries of divine Scripture, are we not allowed to adduce anything but the reading of the Latin church? But how many times does Jerome do so, how many times do Ambrose and Augustine do so? Nor am I denying that Mary was full of grace because κεχαριτομένη means 'beloved.' For what is the grace that fills pious people if not the love with which God embraces them and through which he draws them towards himself? Finally, it is nothing new for Jerome to diverge from the Vulgate reading, especially if he cites it in passing. The remaining arguments do not seem to me worthy of an answer. For I need not respond seriously to everything Lee produces out of my comments, which were not written for that purpose. Let him be content that my comments enlarged

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375 Lee fol xx. He used the dictionary (Paris 1512) edited by Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542). There was considerable tension between Aleandro and Erasmus at the time. He was alarmed by Aleandro's uncompromising stand on the Lutheran question; cf CEBR I 28–32.

376 for ... money] Added in *1522*

377 *Iliad* 11.608, quoted by Erasmus in the annotation *gratia plena* (on Luke 1:28) Reeve 154.

378 that ... similar word] Added in *1522*

his little book. And this passage too he lists in his first index,[379] criticizing me for having written rather impudently about this salutary salutation.

Concerning Note 33

Here he stirs up against me whole congregations among those who belong to the mendicant orders because I denied that Christ was a mendicant in the sense common today.[380] Not to respond to the quibbles with which Lee occasionally enriches his book and burdens the wretched reader, he says that it is very plausible in his opinion that Christ was a mendicant because he emphatically invited the apostles to beg.[381] For Lee deduces from the fact that he sent out his emissaries without sustenance that it was necessary for them to beg. On the contrary, he told them to enter a village or town and inquire after good men who were eager to lead a better life and to hear the teaching of the gospel, for a considerable reputation had preceded the apostles and their preaching. He told them to stay with those who were eager to receive them; and if they could find none, he told them to shake the dust from their feet and depart for another place.[382] Is this inviting them to beg? Then he refutes my statement that Christ is called *mendicus* [mendicant] in the same way in which he is called a 'worm.'[383] Lee says that 'worm' is used metaphorically, 'mendicant' literally.[384] I am not unaware of Augustine's speculations on the word 'worm.'[385] But in my opinion it is more a hyperbole than a metaphor. For the words 'and not a man' follow. Just as a completely abject person can be called hyperbolically 'not a man,' so he may be called a 'worm.' And by the same rationale we call those who are in very tenuous circumstances 'beggars.' He also rejects what I noted on his pages: that Greek πτωχόν means 'poor.' He says this does not apply to the passage at hand because in the psalm καὶ πένης [and wanting] follows,[386]

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379 Lee fol DDiiii
380 In the annotation *involutum pannis* (on Luke 2:12) Reeve 162
381 Lee fol XX verso
382 Matt 10:13–14
383 Cf Ps 39:18, in the Vulgate version according to the Septuagint: *mendicus sum et pauper* 'I am a beggar and poor,' where *mendicus* is a hyperbolic translation of the Greek πτωχόν 'poor'; and Ps 21:7 (22:6) 'But I am a worm and no man.' Both verses were interpreted allegorically and applied to Christ. For Erasmus' interpretation of the latter verse cf *Apologia ad Fabrum* CWE 83 42–5.
384 Lee fol XXI, attacking Erasmus' informal remarks quoted at fol XX verso
385 Ep 140.8 PL 33 548
386 Ps 39:18 (40:17)

so that the same thing would be said twice. These are the arguments which the great theologian (for he wants to be regarded as such) brings against the simpleton Erasmus. As if it were not customary in Hebrew writings to impress on us the same thing over and over again in different words! Would there be anything awkward in the translation *ego sum egenus et pauper* [I am indigent and poor]?

Concerning Note 34

Et non cognoverunt parentes ejus [and his parents did not know]:[387] Here Lee quarrels with me because I pointed out in my annotations that the Greeks have two variants, one of which I suspected of being a revision. I therefore followed the one which I favoured more. Either I am exceptionally stupid here or Lee does not understand my argument. 'You are not following the reading you say is found in the Greek codices,' he says, 'for in the text you render the passage according to the Greek "and his parents," whereas in the annotation on this passage you express the belief that the text was changed by someone who scrupled to call Joseph the father of Jesus. Why then do you say that you are following the reading to which you are more favourably inclined when you neither follow nor approve of the reading "Joseph and his mother"?'[388] With these and other words Lee rebukes me, but I do not see why he is upset. I say that *Joseph et mater ejus* [Joseph and his mother], the reading of some codices, has been substituted by someone or other for what we find correctly written in other codices, namely *et non cognoverunt parentes ejus*, perhaps because the scribe was concerned about Joseph being called the parent of Jesus. In my text I do not adopt what I suspect has been substituted, I adopt what I consider the genuine text. I do not see what offends Lee here, unless he mistook my words because I call the reading I do not follow *mutatam* [changed] and is under the impression that I speak of the text from which a change was made, not realizing that the Latin term *mutatum* can mean someone else's version.[389] However, it is not my task to give a justification and say whether the person (whoever he

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387 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 2:43) Reeve 168. Erasmus adduced a variant text reading 'Joseph and his mother' for 'his parents.'

388 Lee fol XXI, confusing Erasmus' translation of Luke 2:43 with his annotation *et erat pater et mater* (on Luke 2:33) Reeve 165–6. In this annotation Erasmus explains that in some Greek codices 'father' had been replaced with 'Joseph,' doubtless to avoid the suggestion that Joseph had fathered Jesus.

389 That is, *mutare* can mean either 'change to' or 'change from.'

was) was right in his belief that the phrase must be changed, for I do not approve of the change. Yet Lee demands a justification from me.

Concerning Note 35

Although the argument surrounding the genealogy of Christ[390] is very complex and practically impossible to unravel, as Jerome himself admits[391] and Lee does not deny, I adduced some things myself and brought them into the public domain, thinking that they might be of service to those who wished to investigate the matter further. For I assert that superstitious attention to detail in this matter is almost Judaic and useless. Nor do I conceal the sources from which I took what I adduce. The greater part comes from the commentaries of Annius and from Philo, whom Annius gives us in Latin.[392] Lest anyone attribute too much authority to these writers I warn the reader in advance with these words: 'These things may be plausible, but because Annius is not as reliable in his quoting as I would wish, especially in a controversial matter, and because I did not have access to the Greek text of Philo, I thought I should touch on it only briefly, and only to provide the diligent reader with a handle to investigate the remainder, especially since these things are peripheral to our purpose.' After this introduction, I conclude the discussion like this:[393] 'I have selectively touched on these few things in order to cast a little light on the matter and for the benefit of those who are eager to investigate it in more detail, especially since they contribute to establishing the historical facts. On the other hand, I do not approve of fretting and vexing oneself about such questions or arguing about them contentiously, for I see no more benefit in them than in that famous battle of the theologians about the conception of the Virgin Mother of God. And Paul warns in more than one place that pious people should avoid such genealogies and never-ending questions, for they not only contribute nothing to piety but also generate strife and contention, a blight on Christian concord.' Since I attest that the matter was complex, that the opinions of writers varied, that I did not completely trust Annius and Philo, whom

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390 Cf the annotation *qui fuit Heli* (on Luke 3:23) Reeve 172–5. The *1516* annotation was considerably enlarged in subsequent editions.

391 Cf the translation of Origen *Hom in Luc* 28 PL 26 (1884) 302B ascribed to Jerome (Erasmus occasionally cites this translation as 'Jerome'; cf n148 above).

392 Cf Annius *Commentarii* fols Giv verso–Gvi verso, cited in the 1516 text of the annotation (Reeve 173). On Annius and Pseudo-Philo see *Apologia* n39 above.

393 At the end of the annotation (Reeve 174–5); for 'a handle,' cf *Adagia* I iv 4.

Lee adduces, I have disencumbered myself of any responsibility in this discussion. Yet he treats me as if I myself am the sole authority and champion of this matter, not even mentioning Lefèvre d'Etaples anywhere.[394]

This much I wanted to say by way of preface, impartial reader, lest you expect me to marshal all my forces against Lee here. For if anyone wanted in so complex a question to repeat the conjectures of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus, Philo, and among the more recent writers, Annius, Lyra, [Paul of] Burgos, Jacques Lefèvre, and to compare their views, it would take more than a slim volume, more than a little time. I shall merely touch upon some things in passing, lest a trusting reader immediately award Lee a triumph as the assured winner.

In the first place Lee is displeased because I wrote that even Jerome[395] was effectively of the opinion that the Nathan Luke mentions in the genealogy of Christ was that prophet by whom, we read, David was rebuked because he added murder to adultery.[396] I am still not sure what Jerome meant. Certainly the passages which Lee adduces show that there was a Nathan son of Shimea and uncle of David,[397] but they do not show that this is the Nathan listed by Luke in the genealogy of Christ, the one through whom the lineage was revived and continued. Furthermore there are some, among them Augustine[398] (who retracted this view, however, in the *Retractations*, book 2, chapter 16, and again in book 1, chapter 26)[399] and Ambrose,[400] who claim that the prophet Nathan, whom they are obliged to make exceptionally long-lived, was adopted as a son by David. But who has ever adopted his uncle, who is probably older than he? I, however, show that the person mentioned by Luke in the genealogy was the son of David, not his brother, on the authority not only of Philo,[401] but also of the preface

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394 Erasmus did mention Lefèvre d'Etaples' commentary on Hebrews (Reeve 173).

395 Perhaps the reference is to the translation of Origen *Hom in Luc* 28 PL 26 (1884) 303B ascribed to Jerome. It occurs early in the annotation; cf Reeve 173.

396 Cf 2 Sam (Vulg 2 Kings) 12:1–15.

397 Lee fols XXI verso–XXII cites three spurious passages: Pseudo-Jerome *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon* PL 23 (1845) 1381C (on 1 Chron 11:38), 1385C (on 1 Chron 20:7), 1388A (on 1 Chron 27:32).

398 Augustine *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 3.3 PL 42 215; cf *Sermo* 51.21 PL 38 352.

399 Augustine *Retractationes* 1.26 PL 32 627, 2.16 PL 32 637. In *1527* Erasmus added the latter reference to his annotation; cf Reeve 173.

400 Pseudo-Ambrose *De concordia Matthaei et Lucae in genealogia Christi* PL 17 (1845) 1011–4 / (1879) 1101–4, cited in a *1519* addition to the annotation; cf Reeve 173.

401 Cf Annius *Commentarii* fol GV.

prefixed to Luke under Jerome's name.[402] And I likewise cite the authority of Gregory of Nazianzus,[403] who in a poem on the genealogy of Christ mentions two Davids, linking Solomon and Nathan equally with the natural son, and making no mention of an adoption (although I will not deny that this author's speech is quite obscure). I also show on the basis of 1 Paralipomena, chapter 4,[404] that Nathan is listed among the sons of David and listed in such a manner that he cannot be regarded as an adopted son, for they are specifically called the sons of David by Bathshua. Lee refutes none of this, content to adduce some things which neither offer much support for his own case nor clearly contradict mine. And although I admit that this is not enough to solve all the difficulty of the question, I believe it is enough to refute what Lee made out to be an invincible weapon against my annotation.

Concerning Note 36

He also finds fault with what I wrote in the first edition:[405] 'There was a law: if anyone died without children, his brother was to revive the lineage of the dead man. Therefore anyone born under this law had two fathers: the natural father from whom he was born, and the legal father to whose name and lineage he succeeded, namely the dead man.' In this quotation my words have been corrupted in three places, making a barbarous speech out of good Latin – on whose initiative, Lee's or another man's, I do not know. For *itaque* [therefore], he put *ita quod* [so that]; for *habebat* [had] *habet* [has], for *succedebat* [succeeded] *succedat* [succeeds]. But now the words do not even make sense. In the beginning we have *erat lex* [past tense], then comes *habet*, *possideat* [present tense]. If I had allowed myself such liberty in quoting Lee's speech, he would count it as a serious crime. He would call me a falsifier for having corrupted the flower of his speech.

But let us overlook these things and come to the point. Here Lee condemns my ignorance, but this ignorance I have in common with

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402 Pseudo-Jerome *Praefatio . . . in evangelium secundum Lucam* PL 30 (1846) 643–4

403 *Poemata* 1.1.18 PG 37 481, cited in a *1519* addition to the annotation; cf Reeve 173.

404 Actually 1 Chron (1 Paralipomena in the Vulgate) 3:5, correctly cited in a *1519* addition to the annotation; cf Reeve 173.

405 Still in the annotation *qui fuit Heli* (on Luke 3:23) Reeve 173, as quoted at Lee fol XXII. This Note continues the discussion concerning Christ's genealogy. Erasmus refers here to Deut 25:5–6.

Augustine.[406] For Augustine believed that anyone who was born from him who revived the lineage of his dead brother through the widow took on the name not of his father but of the dead uncle, so that if the uncle's name had been Peter and the father's was John, the son would be called not John but Peter. Since Augustine retracted this opinion,[407] Lee wonders that I did not recant as well.[408] However I neither wrote nor considered what Augustine meant. For in Latin those who are taken into the family by adoption are said *in nomen succedere* [to succeed to the name] not because they acquire the same name but because their *praenomen* or *adnomen*[409] shows that they were adopted into the family, for example, into the Pii, Antonini, Pisones, Africani, Cicerones, Nasones. The equivalent of the Roman *praenomen* or *adnomen* was the Hebrew practice of adding the father's name, as in 'Jacob son of Alphaeus,' 'Jacob son of Zebedee.' And I said that the son 'succeeded to the name' of the dead man in the sense that he was to be designated by the *adnomen* not of his father but of his uncle. Lest anyone make a mistake about the meaning of *nomen* [name], I add *in nomen et progeniem* [to the name and lineage], explaining clearly what I meant by *nomen*. For it is agreed that the word *progenies* [lineage] comes from *progignere* [to procreate], and this person was not procreated by the man whose son he is said to be. You see, dear reader, that the flaw which Lee imputes to me is not in my words but in his own eyes.

Concerning Note 37

He rejects my comment that Solomon's lineage ended with Ahaziah,[410] since we read in 4 Kings, chapter 11,[411] that Joash son of Ahaziah was snatched out of the hands of those who slew the sons of the king. And in 2 Paralipomena, chapter 22,[412] the same thing is reiterated. However, it says in the first passage that all royal seed was removed, and in the second we read

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406 See n398 above.
407 Augustine *Retractationes* 2.7 PL 32 633
408 Lee fol XXII does not explicitly invite Erasmus to recant.
409 Erasmus uses the classical terms *praenomen*, designating a person's first name, and *adnomen* (alternatively *agnomen*), designating the patronymic or other distinguishing feature. Classical Latin distinguishes further between *nomen*, denoting the clan, and *cognomen*, the general term for surname, to distinguish subgroups in a clan or sometimes an individual's noteworthiness.
410 Still in the annotation *qui fuit Heli* (on Luke 3:23) Reeve 173, discussed at Lee fol XXII. This Note continues the discussion concerning Christ's genealogy.
411 Cf 2 Kings (4 Kings in the Vulgate) 11:2.
412 2 Chron 22:11

that no hope was left that any descendant of Ahaziah would rule. How will this make sense if Joash son of Ahaziah was still alive? Lee says there is no room to manoeuvre, for in both places Joash is called son of Ahaziah. Here I reply, on the authority of Philo,[413] that Joash was called a son of Ahaziah not by nature but only by the law of succession. If Philo's remark does not clearly support me, let Lee call me into court if he wishes; but if it is as I say, let him argue with Philo rather than with me. But Lee finds Philo suspect because he was a Jew.[414] In that case he was in a better position to draw this knowledge from Hebrew commentaries, especially since he was undeniably a man of incomparable learning and most knowledgeable about Jewish questions. For we are not concerned here with evangelical faith, an area in which Philo could not safely be trusted, but with the historical account in the Old Testament. Josephus is a Jew as well, and yet his *History* has great authority.[415] But as far as I am concerned, the reader is free to decide whether more weight should be given to the conjectures that Lee adduces out of his own head or to Philo's authority.

Concerning Note 38

And I believe this will serve also as an answer to Lee's Note 38,[416] which contains nothing that goes against me, unless Lee can prove by convincing arguments that the Nathan mentioned by Luke in the genealogy of Christ was the son of David. But that Lee has not argued this convincingly I have already shown; and even if he had done so, his business is with Philo rather than with me.[417] He is the source; I cite another man's view without taking responsibility for it.

Concerning Note 39

He battles against my comment,[418] based on the same author,[419] in which I say that Jehoiakim, whose name we have corrupted to Joachim, had two names, for elsewhere he is called Heli. I add that this was Mary's natural

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413 Cf Annius *Commentarii* fols GIV verso–GV.
414 Not in the Note under discussion, but see Note 44 151–2 below.
415 The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (37/8–c 100 AD) composed his *Historia Judaica* (commonly cited as *Jewish Antiquities*) 75–9 AD.
416 Lee fol XXIII, continuing the discussion concerning Christ's genealogy
417 See Note 37 above.
418 Again on the same annotation, discussed at Lee fol XXIII. This Note continues the discussion concerning Christ's genealogy.
419 Cf Annius *Commentarii* fol GV.

father, the grandfather of Jesus Christ according to the flesh.[420] Lee proves me wrong by using the following argument. 'Since Heli died without leaving offspring, he could not have been the father of Joseph.' And he cites as authorities confirming this matter Augustine and Jerome, both of whom followed Africanus. 'Jacob's natural brother Heli,' he says, 'revived the seed of his dead brother according to the Law and fathered Joseph, who was thus the legal son of Heli.' If I admit that this is true, it proves that my annotation is wrong, in which I say that Luke followed the natural lineage while Matthew by contrast followed the legal lineage.

So as not to leave him without reply, I shall quote Jerome's words in his exegesis of Matthew, chapter 1: 'Julianus Augustus produced this passage against us in *Discrepancies among the Evangelists*: "Why does the evangelist Matthew call Joseph the son of Jacob while Luke calls him the son of Heli?" He did not understand the practice of Scripture: one was his natural, the other his legal father. For we know that it was Moses' precept, according to God's command, that anyone whose brother or blood-relation died without children must take his wife for the purpose of reviving the lineage of his brother or relative. Both Africanus, the author of *Chronicles*, and Eusebius of Caesarea in his book *On the Evangelists' Discrepancies* discuss this more fully.'[421] Thus far Jerome. But from these words nothing can be concluded about which of them was the natural and which the legal father of Joseph. Only one fact has been established to help unravel the knotty problem: that there was a possibility that one was the natural, the other the legal father, and that therefore neither evangelist had spoken an untruth, since by this reasoning Joseph had two fathers. Nor is it plausible that either Africanus or Eusebius had produced anything more solid

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420 The New Testament does not mention Mary's father; the name Joachim stems from the apocryphal books *Protevangelium Jacobi*, *De nativitate Mariae*, and Pseudo-Matthew. In Latin legend Mary's father was sometimes called Eli or Heli, an abbreviation of Eliakim or Heliakim; cf 2 Kings (Vulg 4 Kings) 23:34 and 2 Chron 36:4, where Eliakim is said to have changed his name to Joachim when he became king of Judea. This resulted in confusion with Joseph's father Heli. See *Bibliotheca sanctorum* VI 468.

421 *Comm in Matt* 1 PL 26 (1884) 23C–24A, referring to the Roman emperor Julian the Apostate (331/2–363), author of *Contra Galilaeos*, and the Christian historians Eusebius of Caesarea, whose *De evangeliorum diaphonia* is lost for the greatest part (but cf PG 22 965–72), and Sextus Julius Africanus (c 180–c 250), author of a 'Letter to Aristides on the Discrepancies among the Evangelists.' Eusebius discusses the problem at *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.7 PG 20 89–100, quoting and accepting Africanus' solution. Modern scholars regard this solution as implausible, leaving the problem unresolved.

about this question; it is more likely that they had merely shown a method of answering the question. Otherwise, if they had brought forth something more certain, our writers who laboured over this awkward question would have drawn on it for support.

Augustine, however, who left no stone unturned[422] to find his way out of the straits of this question, proposes four solutions in the second book of his *Questions concerning the Gospels*:[423] first, that we accept that Joseph's father had two names (but this Augustine rejects himself); second, that we understand that Joseph had two fathers, one by whom he was fathered, and another by whom he was adopted; third, that we understand that one evangelist put the name of the man who fathered him, the other the name of the man among whose progeny the Law wants to count the child who was fathered by the man who married the widow and renewed the lineage of his childless brother or relative. This too is rejected by Augustine, but with the weak argument that those who are born in this way bear the name of the dead man among whose progeny they are counted. Thus Joseph should not have been called Joseph but either Jacob or Heli. He explains this more clearly in his *Questions concerning Deuteronomy*, book 5, question 46, but soon interprets it differently;[424] but he acknowledges his mistake in the *Retractationes*.[425] A fourth solution is to take it that one of the evangelists put the name of the man who fathered Joseph, and the other one named the grandfather or great-grandfather or a distant forefather, as was done by Matthew, who gives a list of descendants but leaves out some names in the middle.

Augustine tenders these remarks as conjectures and does not venture to decide which evangelist put the name of the natural father and nearest ancestor, which that of the adoptive or more distant ancestor. The author of the *Verities* against Augustine[426] thinks it more likely and wants us to believe that Luke rather than Matthew put the name of the natural father and closest ancestor. And he agrees with me concerning Nathan, saying that he was not the prophet or the brother of David but his son, and while older than Solomon was closest to him in age. However, in *On the Consensus of the Evangelists*, book 2, chapter 3,[427] Augustine tries to explain the point left unexamined here; there he appears to lean towards the conjecture that

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422 *Adagia* I iv 30
423 *Quaestiones evangeliarum* 2.5 PL 35 1334–5
424 That is, Augustine *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 5.46 PL 34 767–9
425 *Retractationes* 2.16 PL 32 637
426 The author and the work here called *Veritates* are unidentified.
427 *De consensu evangelistarum* 2.3 PL 34 1072–4

we should believe that Luke put the name of the adoptive father. For in that passage he makes no mention of the other kind of legitimate father, offended, I think, by the matter I mentioned above. But he gives no reason for this conjecture other than that Matthew wrote 'Jacob begat Joseph,'[428] whereas Luke avoids the word 'beget' and says only that Joseph was the son of Heli. It is correct to say 'son' even of one who is adopted, but only the natural father can be said to 'beget.' Yet soon Augustine himself practically rejects this reason as weak. For if only the true father can be said to 'beget,' how do we defend Matthew, who in his list omits some names, yet always uses the word 'beget,' especially when in the holy books 'beget' is used in connection with those who are not true fathers?[429] What does Augustine accomplish with this discussion other than leaving the question undecided? He deals with the same argument in question 46 on Deuteronomy,[430] making no mention whatsoever of the above conjecture. As for what Lee adduces from the genealogical poem of Nazianzen,[431] I cannot see why his authority should carry weight with us, unless he adduces more cogent reasons than Augustine does. For he had no other sources than Jerome, nor does he produce any evidence.

Concerning Note 40

By the same token I believe I have answered annotation 40,[432] nor do I intend to refute it at greater length, unless Lee can prove with more convincing arguments that Nathan was not the son of David, and that Heli was not the natural father of Joseph.

Concerning Note 41

Lee repeats what he had said before:[433] I was wrong to believe that the Nathan mentioned by Luke was not the one who reproved David, since Origen and Jerome disagree with me.[434] I shall not adduce here the argument that the author of that work is uncertain; I shall merely ask permis-

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428 Matt 1:16
429 Cf Ps 2:7, quoted at Acts 13:33 and Heb 1:5, 5:5.
430 See n424 above.
431 *Poemata* 1.1.18 PG 37 479–88; cf Ep 1086:5–8. See also Note 35 140 above.
432 Lee fol XXIII recto–verso, continuing the discussion of the annotation *qui fuit Heli* (on Luke 3:23) Reeve 173
433 Lee fol XXIII verso, continuing the discussion of the same annotation
434 Perhaps the translation of Origen *Hom in Luc* 28 PL 26 (1884) 303B ascribed to Jerome; see n148 and Note 35 140 above.

sion from the reader that I too may be allowed to disagree occasionally with Jerome and Origen, a liberty which Lee takes whenever it is convenient. Yet I do not in this case defend my own opinion; rather, I report the opinion of another, whatever its merit.

Concerning Note 42

Lee says that my remark on the Ahesharim[435] is a figment of my imagination, arguing that Jerome never mentions this matter although he is very careful in such things, nor does Paul of Burgos,[436] although he was raised in the synagogue. That is Lee's argument.[437] Yet it cannot be denied that this was handed down by Philo,[438] to whom St Jerome attributed great merit.[439] As for Paul of Burgos, it should not surprise us, for Philo wrote in Greek although he was a Jew; Paul of Burgos was ignorant of that language. Finally it could be the case that Jerome did mention the matter somewhere, for we do not have all of his works; and it could be that he either did not read this work of Philo's or did not recall what he had read, especially since he admits in the *Catalogue of Writers* that not all of Philo's works had come to his attention.

Concerning Note 43

Lee refutes my remark that one may deduce from 3 Kings, chapter 4,[440] that Nathan was made Ahishar, that is, the renewer of the king's lineage. For it is in this sense that the son of Nathan is there also called Ahishar.[441] Here Lee thinks[442] I made the mistake of thinking that Ahishar there denoted a

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435 In the same annotation; cf Reeve 174. Following 'Philo,' actually Annius (Note 35 n392 above), in a complicated discussion of the descendants of David, Erasmus took 'Ahesharim' to be a title (here in the plural) of that line, as he did 'Ahishar' (the singular form) (cf Note 43 below). Cf 1 Kings (Vulg 3 Kings) 4:6, cited there.

436 On Paul of Burgos, see n137 above. Cf the *Additio* concerning the genealogy of Christ, *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* ed F. Fevardentius et al, 7 vols (Paris 1590) v fols 9–10.

437 Lee fols XXIII verso–XXIIII, continuing the discussion of Christ's genealogy

438 Cf Annius *Commentarii* fol GIV verso.

439 Jerome *De viris illustribus* 11 PL 23 (1883) 658B

440 1 Kings (Vulg 3 Kings) 4:6

441 Continuing with the annotation *qui fuit Heli* (on Luke 3:23) Reeve 174; see also n435 above. Erasmus' wording in the present reply is so ambiguous, however, that the thrust of his argument remains unclear.

442 Lee fol XXIIII recto–verso, continuing the discussion on Christ's genealogy

position of honour, whereas Philo translates Ahishar 'brother of the king.'[443] So far I agree with Lee, but then what? Is it therefore any less a term denoting a position of honour? Does it therefore not denote him as the renewer of the royal lineage? As for his adding 'relatives are called brothers,' this has no relevance or else supports my argument. Yet Lee does not want to rely on this statement and proffers another, more apposite, as he thinks: that Zabud was the brother of King Azariah and also a son of Nathan and prefect in an unspecified function. Earlier on Lee spoke as if this Nathan was called Ahishar, whereas I spoke of his son, unless we take 'Ahishar' as genitive case. Here he says that Zabud the brother of Azariah and son of Nathan was prefect in a general way. Whether this was handed down by Jerome[444] I do not know. It is agreed at any rate that in the passage just quoted Zabud was a priest and friend of the king. If Lee's words (which are ambiguous) mean that Azariah is identical with Ahishar, which is what I find on the piece of paper which, as I said before, I had had copied out,[445] I believe that the passage itself contradicts it, where first of all Azariah is listed as a son, and a little further on Ahishar is said to be prefect of the household. Nor is a prefecture attributed to Azariah in a general way, as if he were in charge of everything; rather, he is listed among the scribes.[446] However, this is not very important for my argument, which I proposed as a conjecture of no weight, for I say 'one can almost deduce.'

Concerning Note 44

Lee also criticizes what I cited from the same author,[447] that the tribe of Benjamin belonged to the Ahesharim.[448] 'Christ,' he said, 'was of the tribe of Judah; he had no business therefore with those Ahesharim.' And here he has me replying: 'I am not saying that the Ahesharim were of the tribe Benjamin, but that the territory of the tribe Benjamin belonged to the Ahesharim.' In this way he makes the reader believe that I noted this on the pages which he so often brings out against me. It was in fact an answer I gave him in conversation when I discovered the man's mistake shortly

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443 Cf Annius *Commentarii* fol GIV verso.
444 Passage unidentified; Lee may have been mistaken, see also n397 above.
445 See *Apologia* 8–9 above.
446 Erasmus seems to be confusing 1 Kings (Vulg 3 Kings) 4:2 (mentioning the priest Azariah, son of Zadok), 3 (mentioning two scribes), and 5 (mentioning the prefect Azariah, son of Nathan).
447 Still in the same annotation (Reeve 174), citing Annius' commentary on Pseudo-Philo; cf *Commentarii* fol GVI recto–verso.
448 Lee fol XXIIII verso, continuing the discussion of Christ's genealogy

after my return from Basel, when the volume of my annotations was already completed. The matter is unimportant, but nevertheless I beg you, dear reader, do not decline to be informed of the instances in which I am wrongly accused on the basis of vapid stuff like this.

When we had the conversation at St Peter's,[449] and I urged him to propose one or two passages to see whether I could justify them, I could not get anything out of him. Finally I myself remembered the sheet that I had obtained from the copyist at Ath's house.[450] Since I had lost the original sheet before I could read it through, I quoted from memory the note that was then the first but no longer exists, because he realized his mistake from my words. I mentioned another one, concerning παραλαβεῖν, in which I had commented on the idiomatic meaning of the Greek word, whereas he confronted me with the Latin version of Chrysostom.[451] That note, too, he has omitted, and no doubt would have omitted many more if he had submitted them all to me. Finally I came up with the one about the genealogy of Christ. 'What danger is there?' I said. 'Everything I relate is related not at my peril, but at the peril of those whom I quote. Secondly, what danger is there to the Christian religion?' Then he looked grave and said: 'Great danger, for you transfer Christ from his tribe of Judah to the tribe of Benjamin.' When I expressed great surprise at this and urged him to show me where I had said this, he refused to point out the place, but kept insisting that it was a fact. 'But I would have been completely out of my mind to say that,' I said, 'and would be contradicting myself, since I have Nathan renewing the lineage of David, and as the son of David he could not be of the tribe of Benjamin, could he?' When Lee gave no reply to this but merely persisted in his assertions, the possible occasion for his error finally occurred to me. 'Perhaps,' I said, 'I say somewhere that the tribe of Benjamin belonged to the Ahesharim.' He admitted that that was it, and did not deny that this was the passage that had offended him. Then I was even more surprised that he should have conceived this idea from my words there. For if I had said that the Ahesharim belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, there might have been reason for him to suspect that I meant what he believes it to mean; but as it is, no meaning can be assigned to it other than if I had said that Hannover belonged to Prince Ferdinand,[452] the brother of the emperor Charles, if that part had been assigned to his governance. When Lee heard this, he said:

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449 See *Apologia* 9 above.
450 See *Apologia* 14 above.
451 See Note 1 82 above.
452 Ferdinand I (1503–64), duke of Austria in 1519, king of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526, emperor in 1556/8; cf CEBR II 17–20. The case is hypothetical.

'Oh? But that should have been explained.' And he went on blathering, repeating the same thing over and over again. 'But I spoke in Latin,' I said, 'and I could not have expressed it more clearly.' Nothing further transpired between us concerning this matter, either at that time or later on.

Now Lee conceals when and on what occasion I gave him the answer and argues that I had written this at the time but not in the sense which I gave it later on, on the advice of a friend – as if I were too stupid to realize that my own words are completely inconsistent unless a friend points it out to me. On the contrary, I never would have suspected that on the basis of my words anyone would dream up the stuff Lee dreamed up, if he had not by chance betrayed himself. I admit that Lee's query was in my hands, but I had not yet read it or at least not read it right through. If my words have the meaning I am giving them, how can Lee hypothesize that I meant something different from what I expressed in words? He adds another argument: 'Why did you delay your response for a year, when you had my query and were at liberty to respond then and there?'[453] Let me explain why I did not. I had the sheet in question copied out because I had no time to read it. For it was the kind of thing that is pointless to read unless one is at leisure. Why, moreover, was it necessary to reply to each and every thing? As if I had not also passed over other matters that seemed frivolous to me! Not content with this, Lee adds another figment: 'If you meant it in the sense that you give it now, what need was there to send the annotation to England to consult someone there who is an expert in Holy Scripture? You yourself admitted to me that you did so.'[454] If I came up with such figments in my dealings with Lee, he would immediately exclaim that I am the greatest liar alive, because I did not scruple to put such words into his mouth. Lee's query was in my possession, but only now that I am writing this down have I finally read it through. I never sent it to anyone, expert or not, and I never admitted to any mortal what never entered my mind, not even in a dream. And yet I suspect what the occasion for Lee's error was. For I do not like to accuse him of having made this up on purpose. I told him in a casual conversation that during my stay in England, just after the New Testament had appeared for the first time, I had discovered that the theologian he calls an expert, and rightly so, was engaged in expounding the genealogy of Christ, and for this reason I wrote to Reuchlin for his views. But at that time I expected nothing less than that Lee would declare war on me over the genealogy. I myself never applied to anyone for an

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453 Paraphrasing Lee xxiiii verso
454 Lee fols xxiiii verso–xxv

oracle, nor did anyone give me a response from the Delphic tripod. He continues to make his case: 'What does it contribute to the explanation of the genealogy to show what lands the Ahesharim were allotted? This is what deceived me. I did not expect anything there except what pertained to the passage at hand.'[455] Thus far Lee. If Lee admits that he was deceived, why does he argue that I meant something different then from what I explain now? Since I was summarizing what Philo said of the Ahesharim,[456] I decided to add this as well, lest the name Ahesharim appear to be invented, as Lee suspects. Whether I said elsewhere that Christ did not belong to the tribe of Judah will be discussed in its own place.[457] Lee concludes this argument: 'I say this to avoid giving the appearance of a slanderer, a name with which you expressly brand me, I hear, with reference to the present annotation.' No, I never called Lee a slanderer on account of this passage; I did, however, say to both Ath and some others that Lee did not understand the passage about which he raises this tragic fuss. I charged him with ignorance, not slander, for a slanderer makes accusations against an innocent person knowingly and willingly. In this instance I said that Lee had gone wrong by mistake, not deliberately. The question is therefore whether, by writing that I specifically accused him of slander over this passage, Lee does not come closer to slander than by criticizing what he does not understand – though the latter too is disgraceful, especially if someone does it with such arrogance and vehemence.

He goes on to fight with Philo, whom he calls 'my' author, I know not why. Am I the only one who owns or reads Philo? Or am I more partial to him than anyone else? Do I defend his view, which I merely cite? If everybody who cites Philo makes him 'his own' author, what keeps Lee from likewise calling him 'his own' author? For he refutes my views by quoting him, or at least he attempts to do so. And he makes him out as hateful out of hatred for me and denies his trustworthiness lest anyone trust me. 'In my opinion,' he says, 'Philo smacks of Jewish leaven. I think the Jews must not be trusted at all in this matter, for Jerome in his commentaries on Micah says that they erased a great deal so that Christ would appear not to have been born into the tribe of Judah.[458] Thus there is some sort of poison lurking here. I think I can elicit this very point from the words of your author.' Thus far Lee. Let him consider of what leaven his own style smacks. I have

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455 Lee fol xxv
456 See n435 above.
457 See Note 214 below.
458 *Commentarii in Michaeam* 2.5 PL 25 (1884) 1198A

no business with Philo, and I defend innocence, not him. That Philo was a Jew cannot be denied, but he shared this feature with the apostle Peter. And Philo was a Jew whom Jerome lists among the writers of the church and whose works he praises highly, declaring that he was a friend of the apostle Peter and kind to the evangelist Mark, that in a published book entitled περὶ βίου θεωρετικοῦ ἱκετῶν, that is, *On the Contemplative Life of Supplicants*, he praised the church of Mark, that is, the follower of Peter.[459] If we must not trust the books of such Jews, why, I ask, does Jerome so often cite the testimony of the Hebrews? And from where does he take what he says about the traditions of the Hebrews? From their commentaries, did he not? Why does he give such weight to Josephus?[460] Why to Hegesippus?[461] Why did he himself hire several Jews at great cost, among them that nocturnal teacher, Barhamina?[462] We need not trust the Jews as implicitly as we trust the canonical scriptures, but we need not reject them when they proffer plausible information. There are many things in the books of the Old Testament that we cannot understand because of our ignorance of the history of the Jews. From what source should we seek this information if not from them? Furthermore, if Jerome says they must not be trusted,[463] what does that have to do with Philo? Did Philo erase anything in the books of the Old Testament? For in that passage Jerome is not concerned with books by Jews but with corrupt Hebrew manuscripts.

From frivolous arguments like these Lee concludes that there is some sort of underlying poison here. However, in what he adds he presses his point more urgently:[464] 'For I believe,' he says, 'I can elicit this very point from the words of your author.' Let us hear his solid arguments by examining the case he makes: 'He claims that the tribe of Benjamin was in the possession of the Ahesharim. But since, according to the Book of Numbers in Sacred Scripture, possession cannot be transferred from one tribe to another (for it prescribes that the inheritance must remain within the families and tribes must not intermingle),[465] it follows that the Ahesharim were of the tribe of Benjamin. Annius proves on the basis of this passage

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459 Cf *De viris illustribus* 11 PL 23 (1833) 658C–659A.

460 See Note 37 143 above.

461 Cf *De viris illustribus* 22 PL 23 (1883) 674. Hegesippus was a second-century church historian who may have been a convert from Judaism.

462 Cf Jerome Ep 84.3 PL 22 745.

463 Cf Jerome Ep 112.19, 22 PL 22 928, 931; but cf *Commentarii in Isaiam* 3 PL 24 (1865) 101A–B.

464 Lee fol xxv recto–verso

465 Cf Num 27:1–11.

in Numbers that Mary was of the tribe of Judah, and it is not generally held that Benjamin was without possession. It is obvious therefore that the Ahesharim, if they were of the tribe of Judah, enjoyed possession of their tribe, which was much larger than the other tribes. Therefore it is necessary to adopt one of two conclusions: either the Ahesharim were of the tribe of Benjamin or the land of the tribe of Benjamin did not belong to the Ahesharim, for it was against the commandment of the Law to transfer land from one tribe to another.' Thus far I have quoted Lee's words.

I have no doubt that the reader (even if he is not a specialist) will immediately see what can be said in response to this, namely that land is owned in one sense by a prince, in another by a private owner. Would the Frisians be driven from their land if they became part of the realm of our Charles?[466] Did King David hold sway over only one tribe – the tribe of Judah? Do we not read that those who had given obedience to Solomon later deserted the rule of Jeroboam?[467] And this happened without intermingling the possessions of the tribes. Otherwise, if the Ahesharim owned the tribe of Judah, what did the royal offspring own? Philo did not mean that possession was given to the Ahesharim in the sense that the private owners were shut out, but that they lived in the style of princes from the tributes and taxes paid by that tribe. It is Lee's argument that this cannot happen unless the beneficiary belongs to the same tribe. But to say this is not only incorrect but ridiculous. Where, then, is that underlying poison discerned by Lee? Where is that horned dilemma which obliges us to choose one of two conclusions? Where is the danger that Mary may be displaced from her tribe and placed in another? But I am dwelling too long on unpleasant, labyrinthine arguments, from which my mind is more averse than from any other kind.

Concerning Note 45

I do not see how Lee's note argues against my annotation,[468] for no one will have the gall to deny what cannot be denied: that Greek ἀρχόμενος [beginning] is the present participle of 'begin.' What was wrong, then, with my indicating to the reader what the Greek expression means to Latin speak-

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466 The political situation of Frisia was unstable at the time. The lordship of Charles v was acknowledged only in 1524.

467 Cf 2 Chron 13:1–20.

468 Lee fol xxv verso, concerning the annotation *quasi annorum* (on Luke 3:23) Reeve 172. This Note is out of sequence.

ers? Does *ingredi* [enter upon] not mean *incipere* [to begin] to Latin speakers? 'But in the first edition,' he says, 'you translated it thus.'[469] Yes, but I explained before that I left much unchanged when I was working on Luke.[470] But (one might object) in the second edition I translated it differently: *Et ipse Jesus incipiebat esse ferme annorum triginta, ut putabatur filius Joseph* [And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph].[471] I do not know whether Lee pointed this out in a query. Whatever the case may be, it certainly does not concern me, unless he is unwilling to lose credit for having pointed out the passage, if he did provide this useless information.

Concerning Note 46

I beseech you over and over again, dear reader, to give your attention to this matter, although I have no doubt that you are bored to death with this fishwives' quarrel. We read in Luke, chapter 4: *Et stans super illam, imperavit febri et dimisit illam* [And standing over her, he commanded the fever and let it (or her) go].[472] However, both the Greek and the Latin expression are ambiguous, and Augustine thought ambiguity must be avoided so thoroughly that he preferred an obvious solecism to an ambiguous expression.[473] I pointed out that whatever awkwardness there was could be avoided by adding a pronoun, that is, if we read *Stans super illam, increpavit febrem, eaque reliquit illam* [standing over her, he rebuked the fever, and it left her], so that the reader may understand the evangelist's meaning without mistake: after Christ's rebuke the fever, not Christ, departed.

When Lee was somehow indignant, as if I had said something indecent about Christ and the girl, I did not at first realize the man's mistake

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469 That is, *erat incipiens* (the Vulgate reading, using the present participle with the verb to be) instead of *incipiebat* (the imperfect tense verb preferred by Erasmus); cf *Novum instrumentum* I 126. In his *1516* annotation Erasmus had remarked that the Greek meant that Jesus had 'entered upon' (*ingressus erat*, from the verb *ingredi*) his thirtieth year. Erasmus is paraphrasing Lee.

470 See Note 1 76 above.

471 *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 124

472 Cf the annotation *imperavit febri* (on Luke 4:39) Reeve 176, with the correction of *1519*. Erasmus discussed the ambiguity in the phrase *dimisit illam*. The pronoun *illam* could refer either to *febri* 'fever' or to the preceding *illam* 'her'; in the latter case, one might conclude that Jesus dismissed the woman, not the fever.

473 *De doctrina christiana* 4.10 PL 34 99–100

and replied to his query in the words he quotes: that I did not see why he was indignant with me for wanting the evangelist's speech to be free of an awkward ambiguity.[474] And I added words he considered a more serious crime than lèse majesté: 'You should remember,' I said, 'that you are advising a human being and that your advice is human as well.'[475] For after this conversation he ceased to be friendly, although in this whole book in which he polemicizes against me there is nothing humane, even when he wants to be regarded as most humane. And still I could not guess what sort of indecency he suspected to be lurking in my words until I finally understood the nature of his mistake from the reply he published for the whole world before I was allowed to see it. As it turns out, he connected my words 'not to argue'[476] with the preceding passage, as if there is some indecent point in the words *Stans super illam reliquit eam* [standing over her, he left her], whereas it is obvious that 'not to argue' belongs with what follows: 'not to argue that *surgens ministrabat illis* [while arising, she ministered to them] was an awkward translation, for one should have said *erecta ministravit illis* [having gotten up, she ministered to them].' For after I had shown that the first passage was an awkward translation because of the ambiguous wording, I used the rhetorical figure of anticipation and added that the second passage is an awkward translation as well because it disregards the tense sequence. And after misinterpreting me, he wonders why I did not correct this passage which was supposedly so obscene.[477] Here you see, dear reader, how I could ridicule Lee if I wanted to, or if I had the leisure to waste good time on such nonsense. Yet observe how severely he admonishes me, how gravely he argues with me, how he puts matters before my very eyes, since I have gone totally wrong, and how devoutly he reminds me of my double obligation.[478] If an old man of ninety years raved in this manner, everyone would think him insufferable. As it is, Lee, a young man confronting an old man, raves against me and even assumes an arrogant air, calling upon the world to rise up in rebellion. Let anyone who has time for a laugh read

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474 Cf Lee fols xxv verso–xxvi.

475 Cf *Apologia* 8 above.

476 The phrase *Ut ne caviller* 'Not to argue,' printed in *1516* at the end of the annotation. Erasmus meant it to be a transition to the next annotation, *et surgens ministrabat illis* (on Luke 4:39) Reeve 176; see *Novum instrumentum* II 328. Lee assumed that it referred to the preceding text. In *1519* Erasmus changed the phrase to *Ut ne addam* 'Not to add'; the change has been overlooked by Reeve.

477 Cf Lee fol xcix.

478 Lee fol xxvi: 'a theologian and for a long time now a professed member of a religious order'

his annotation. You would think he was an Areopagite judge,[479] though he does not have a clue about what he is saying. Yet observe how severely he censures this passage in his seditious index. 'In annotation 46,' he says, 'he speaks with undue impudence of Christ.'[480]

First of all, it cannot be denied that Lee is totally off course (as they say)[481] and has not understood the passage he criticizes, yet he abuses me with Areopagitical pride, persecutes me, and practically accuses me of blasphemy. If that had happened to me, I would be ashamed to show my face in the company of learned men. Meanwhile, he congratulates himself as if he had done a splendid deed, and is said to be preparing another booklet of the same stripe to disgrace his native Britain. His initial hotheadedness could have been pardoned if he had not made those notes public despite the advice of all his learned friends. And if they had seen the virulent stuff he added later, they would have acted much more strenuously to prevent him from besmirching both himself and the name of his nation with an all but indelible blot, merely because he wanted to fling mud at me.

Concerning Note 47

Ita ut pene mergerentur [so that they were almost sinking]:[482] Here I had written 'A reader who did not want the apostles to perish added "almost."' Lee took offence at this and 'his mind rose in anger.'[483] 'What cheek,' he says. Yet I had replied on his bit of paper,[484] 'What cheek? I am laughing at a reader who added "almost" on his own initiative and beyond the original Gospel text.' Lee made no reply then; now finally he scolds me in a Stoic, or rather, censorious voice for saying a few words in jest at the expense of the scribe. He says that there was no precedent for this in either ancient or recent theologians. What is this? Did Jerome never speak in jest – Jerome, who looks down his nose at Jovinian, Helvidius, and Vigilantius[485] in almost all

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479 The Areopagites were aristocratic judges in ancient Athens, who in the archaic and classical periods dealt with the most serious crimes. Their severity was notorious.

480 Lee fol DDiiii; cf n3 above.

481 *Adagia* I i 48

482 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 5:7) Reeve 177.

483 Lee fol XXVI verso; Erasmus sarcastically uses a Homeric expression associated with the wrath of heroes; cf for example *Iliad* 2.276.

484 Cited Lee fol XXVI verso

485 Jovinian (d before 406), Helvidius (see *Apologia* 38 above), and Vigilantius (fl c 400) were heterodox authors of the early church, attacked by Jerome.

his polemical work? Did Cyprian never speak in jest, or Augustine? Is Lee not ashamed to say what no one fails to see is completely wrong? How often has Lee himself tried to joke, although he has no sense of humour and is the biggest joke himself! 'And how do you know,' he says, 'whether the Translator's Greek text had "almost" or your Greek copy erroneously lacks the word, which appears to make good sense?' Let Lee demonstrate that 'almost' can be found anywhere in the Greek manuscripts. I point out that I have not read it anywhere. If he has no manuscript at hand, let him consult the text issued by the Aldine Press.[486] But he did not want this fine little note to be missing from his indexes;[487] indeed, in the first he even points out my 'cheekiness.'[488]

Concerning Note 48

Because I saw that the majority of theologians neglect the precepts of the Gospels as simple and not suitable for showing off their learning, and spend their whole life on the petty questions and intricate reasoning of Scotists and Occamists,[489] I wanted to alert the reader to be aware that these precepts, however simple they are thought to be, are nevertheless the ones that make us true Christians.[490]

Lee takes this opportunity to make me extremely unpopular with recent theologians, as if I were unfair to them. He does not disapprove of my putting their fine reasoning second to the philosophy of Christ, but says that my words are out of place.[491] And here he also brings against me what I noted on his bits of paper, although what I dashed off on the spur of the moment makes more sense than what he laboured over for two years, putting all his other studies aside, as he says.[492] 'Reread my annotation,' he says, 'and study it more carefully. Do I accuse you in it of preferring the teaching of Christ to the fine arguments of the Scotists? No, I note that you took the opportunity to inveigh against the Scotists and the modern theologians in an untimely fashion, that is, not in its proper place. Nor do I

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486 Cf Aldina fol 373.
487 Lee fol XCIX; on the indexes see n3 above.
488 Lee fol DDV
489 That is, followers of the scholastics John Duns Scotus (see *Apologia* n250 above) and William of Occam (c 1285–1349).
490 Cf the annotation *beati pauperes* (on Luke 6:20) Reeve 179.
491 Cf Lee fols XXVI verso–XXVII.
492 Cf Introduction xv and n20, *Apologia* 7 and n32 above.

put the teaching of Christ second to the fine arguments of the modern theologians. I merely defend their teaching against this slander, for it is neither impious nor averse to the teaching of Christ; rather, it is conducive to piety.'[493] Thus far Lee. I do not see why he thinks that my comments are out of place. When I wanted to commend the philosophy of Christ, which is simple but much the most salutary, and saw that it was neglected by some who admired the fine arguments of the Scotists, was it not timely to point this out? Granted, moreover, that the books of the Scotists and Occamists contain some things that are conducive to piety, I do not criticize their books, only their pettifogging arguments, which offer much difficulty but very little benefit. What need was there, furthermore, for Lee to defend their teaching against slander when I do not call their teaching impious and averse to the teaching of Christ? There is nothing in Euclid[494] that is averse to the teaching of Christ, yet it would be foolish for a theologian to neglect the Gospels and waste all his life on fine points in Euclid. As for whether the chief theologians will have anything to say about the Christian condition or whether they diverge from Catholic doctrine anywhere, I believe no one will fail to realize that it is puerile talk, as is the comment that they never diverge from the decrees of old. If the Occamists are the only ones who can give their considered opinion on the Christian condition, what reply could Ambrose give, or Jerome? And this is what Lee calls his annotations, numbering them like treasures and, lest anything be lost, repeating and urging them on us in a triple index,[495] continually insisting that I am criticizing the modern theologians, obviously to provoke their serried ranks against me.

Concerning Note 49

Secundum haec enim faciebant prophetis [for in this manner they acted towards the prophets]:[496] Since the Greek manuscripts had two variants (for some had 'prophets,' others 'pseudoprophets') I removed 'pseudoprophets' in the second edition and substituted for it 'prophets,' the reading I preferred, as I clearly indicated even in the first edition. Nor do I see why I need to respond to this annotation.[497]

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493 Lee fol XXVII
494 Greek mathematician, c 300 BC
495 See n3 above.
496 Cf the annotation *vae cum bene dixerint vobis omnes homines* (on Luke 6:26) Reeve 179; this is the second sentence in the verse.
497 Cf Lee fol XXVII verso.

Concerning Note 50

Si sit sicut magister ejus [if he is like his master]:[498] Nor do I see the significance of this annotation.[499] As for Lee denying that I changed anything in the second edition,[500] anyone who examines the passage will nevertheless find that it is otherwise.[501]

Concerning Note 51

Sapientia a filiis suis [wisdom . . . by her children]:[502] Nor is there any difference of opinion between us here. I merely wish to advise the reader that I had asked Lee to indicate the passage in Jerome where he read *ab operibus*,[503] but he kept silent then. Now he points it out, not to me but to the world. It comes too late for me, but this is how dialogues grow larger.

Concerning Note 52

Lacrimis coepit rigare [began to wash with her tears]:[504]Nor is there anything in this note that pertains to me.

Concerning Note 53

Cuidam foeneratori [a certain moneylender]:[505] There is nothing here either that is worth fighting about, especially since anyone who is a moneylender

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498 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 6:40) Reeve 180.

499 Lee fol XXVII verso acknowledges that Erasmus' annotation is appropriate on the basis of the Greek text, but nevertheless insists on the unreliability of the Greek text in general.

500 Cf Lee fol XCIX; cf n3 above.

501 Cf *Novum instrumentum* (1516) I 135, where Erasmus kept the Vulgate reading (*si sit sicut magister eius*), and *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 133 (*sicut magister ipsius*).

502 Cf the annotation *sapientia ab omnibus filiis suis* (on Luke 7:35) Reeve 181.

503 *Comm in Matt* 2 PL 26 (1884) 76A, cited by Lee fol XXVIII. Jerome noted that some codices read *ab operibus suis* 'by their works' instead of *a filiis suis*. Erasmus does not mention Jerome in his annotation in any of the five editions.

504 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 7:38) Reeve 181. Erasmus had noted that the Vulgate Translator had omitted the word *flens* 'weeping'; Lee fol XXVIII argues that this was implied in the words *lachrymis rigare* 'to wash with tears.'

505 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 7:41) Reeve 181. Erasmus preferred the translation *creditor* 'creditor' to *foenerator* 'moneylender,' arguing that moneylenders are not inclined to forgive their debtors. Lee fol XXVIII

is also a creditor. Furthermore, let Lee see for himself whether moneylenders are inclined to forgive a poor debtor his debt. I have never yet heard a rumour of such people, unless he means that someone 'forgives a debt' who does not strip the clothes off a naked man though he would if he could.

Concerning Note 54

Et obstupuerunt parentes eius [and her parents were astonished],[506] etc: Since Lee's quarrel here is with Valla rather than with me,[507] I have no reason to respond at length. However, as for Lee taking the credit here for my parting company with Valla after he admonished me,[508] the first edition makes sufficiently clear that I did not approve of Valla's note even then, for I call it a quibble.[509] Yet Valla would not lack arguments to defend himself against Lee. First of all there is the fact that 'all were sent away' is added in Matthew and Mark.[510] Secondly, it cannot be denied that in the Greek manuscripts what is added there is also added here. Furthermore, if we imagine a mixed crowd standing before the gates, if we imagine another crowd inside the house; if we imagine (as is more than likely) that domestic servants were not absent from the private quarters where the girl's corpse had been laid out; then if we take for granted the crowd Christ encountered at the outer gates and the crowd that accompanied him, all of whom were prevented from entering except a few disciples; if we imagine further that everyone was sent away from the private quarters except three disciples and the parents of the girl, what argument will Lee be able to bring against Valla? And where does this leave the sophistical enthymeme 'How is it consistent that all were sent away, yet these were present?' And here Lee will say: Why, then, did you agree with me? I did not like Valla's specious argument, but I liked Lee's inane raving even less. And I would never have paid this much attention to him if he had provided a clearer specimen of his talent by publishing his book then. For hereafter I shall be wary of whatever he approves of most. Here at least Lee will forgive me, even if he cannot pardon me in other matters.

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argues in favour of *foenerator*, asserting, among other things, that moneylenders do forgive those who are unable to pay.

506 Luke 8:56; cf the annotation *ipse autem* (on Luke 8:54) Reeve 184.

507 Erasmus cited Valla *Annotationes*. Valla thought it incongruous that only the parents of the revived girl were astonished (*Opera* I 833). Lee fol XXVIII verso in fact addresses his query to Valla.

508 Lee does not explicitly do so.

509 Erasmus begins his discussion of Valla's remarks on Luke 8:56 with the words 'Valla quibbles.'

510 Matt 9:25, Mark 5:40

Concerning Note 55

Permitte primum renuntiare [let me first announce], etc:[511] It did not escape my attention that in this passage at least all Latin manuscripts read *renuntiare* for ἀποτάξασθαι. However, since *renuntiare* is an ambiguous word, I preferred *valedicere* [to say farewell], which is unequivocal. For *renuntiare* applies to someone who announces something that has happened or who repudiates his wife and leaves her. Not to mention, by the way, that Lee believes that Origen's *Homilies on Matthew* were translated by Jerome.[512] And even if that were the case,[513] it would not argue against me.

Concerning Note 56

In testimonium supra illos [for testimony against them]:[514] This item offers nothing but a dialogue put together from my notes and his own later additions, as well as the complaint he has brought up often enough: that I am dealing more severely with the Translator than is fair, that I should not have changed anything in the New Testament after it had been revised by Jerome, and similar nonsense.[515] I do not consider it worthwhile, therefore, to waste good time on refuting these things, since I have sufficiently answered them and other complaints in my apologiae.[516] If Lee has his heart set on bringing these complaints against me, he should refute those responses first. Only then will he have earned the right to put together long dialogues.

I want to touch briefly on one point only: He says that at that time there were only a few people in the church who knew Greek, whereas the Greek language was so common at that time that the apostles wrote to Romans in Greek. As for his accusation that I ridicule the Translator by calling him 'sacrosanct,' it is Lee I ridicule, for he demands that the Translator, as if he were indeed sacrosanct, be given so privileged a position that it would be a crime to disagree with him anywhere, whereas Jerome disagrees with him again and again. And Lee thinks it is intolerable that in

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511 Cf the annotation *renunciare iis quae domi sunt* (on Luke 9:61) Reeve 186. This Note is out of sequence.

512 Cf Lee fol XXIX, referring to Origen *Hom in Matt* 9 PG 13 1315–16 under *Vetus interpretatio*. Cf n148 above.

513 Modern scholars attribute the translation to Rufinus; cf n148 above.

514 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 9:5) Reeve 184.

515 Cf Lee fols XXIX verso–XXX.

516 That is, the preliminary pieces in the New Testament editions; see *Apologia* n162 above.

[reply to] his queries I call the Translator remiss,[517] that is, in some places nodding off and sleeping. I would agree with Lee, except that in fact the Translator is sometimes forgetful and leaves the gender of the Greek noun unchanged in Latin, at other times translates two Greek genitives inconsistently, one by an ablative, the other by the genitive found in the original. And there are many other instances of this sort, which I even pointed out to scholars in an index in the second edition.[518] Lee denies that the New Testament has been translated quite often, although Augustine exclaims that in his time there were almost as many versions as there were manuscripts and that as soon as someone had picked up a little Greek he translated the New Testament for himself.[519] Lee insists that I even accuse the Translator of impiety because he translated a passage in Mark, chapter 5, in a manner which allows us to elicit an absurd meaning,[520] though I have no other purpose there than to show that the Greek has been incorrectly translated into Latin. What else is there in the rest [of Lee's note] but pointless complaints that you could say are the work of some quarrelsome woman, not of a theologian, although among theologians too there is nothing but quarreling? Therefore it is better to hurry on to the rest.

Concerning Note 57

Dilanians eum [tearing him]:[521] There is no controversy between Lee and Erasmus even in this note. I had indicated that there were variants in the Greek text. I follow the one I like best, for one thing because it agrees with our reading. Lee acknowledges that my comment on the pronoun *αὐτόν* [him] was correct,[522] although he prefers to give the credit to Lorenzo

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517 Cf Lee fols XXIX verso, XXX recto–verso.

518 Entitled *Soloecismi*. Cf Erasmus' comment at LB VI *5 verso on Matt 20:25, where the masculine gender is retained, or on Rom 2:15, where the Greek genitive absolute is rendered inconsistently in the Vulgate.

519 For the first statement cf Jerome *Praefatio in evangelia* PL 29 (1865) 558B / Weber II 1515; for the second, Augustine *De doctrina christiana* 2.11 PL 34 43.

520 Lee fol XXX, citing the annotation *cognoscens virtutem quae exierat* (on Mark 5:30) Reeve 124; see Note 17 above.

521 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 9:39) Reeve 185. Erasmus noted the different readings for 'tearing' in the Greek text: *συντρίβοντος*, the genitive case, and *συντρίβων*, the nominative case. In his annotation Erasmus recorded the genitive reading (normally meaning 'the spirit departed from the boy who was tearing himself'), but in his text he gave the nominative and translated with the Vulgate 'the spirit departed from the boy, tearing him.'

522 Lee fol XXX verso

Valla,[523] as if Lee had learned nothing at all from my works. In the index[524] he speaks once again in a manner that suggests that I had only one manuscript and that *συντρίβοντος* was intolerable, although the genitive and the nominative cases give the same meaning, if that is required. Indeed[525] *συντρίβοντος* makes sense in two ways: first, if the first syllable of *αὐτόν* is aspirated [becoming *αὑτόν*], so that it is equivalent to *ἑαυτόν* [himself], producing the meaning 'the spirit left the boy tearing himself apart'; secondly, if *συντρίβοντος* is a genitive put in place of a nominative, as for example in Aristophanes' *Plutus*: *κἀμὲ προσβιάζεται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποκρινομένου τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ γρῦ* [he is constraining me, he, moreover, not uttering a single word].[526] It is, moreover, ridiculous if Lee is referring to what I noted, I believe, on the pages of the queries he cites so often against me, that *αὐτόν* is equivalent to *ἑαυτόν*. He did not understand my meaning and made *σεαυτόν* [yourself] out of *ἑαυτόν* [himself], although *σεαυτόν* makes no sense at all in that passage. Whether you read *συντρίβον* or *συντρίβοντος*, since *σεαυτόν* has no other menaing but 'yourself,' a pronoun that has no place here, I hardly doubt that this conjecture is correct. But let us pretend that I did write *σεαυτόν* instead of *ἑαυτόν*, either because I was preoccupied, or by a slip of the pen, or for the sake of a laugh – where were Lee's eyes, where his intellect, that he did not realize that it was plainly absurd? For he does not seem to have noticed it either in his annotation or in his index.

Concerning Note 58

Hic major est [he is greater]:[527] Here I cannot understand the point of Lee's prolix dispute with me. The Greek manuscripts consistently have *ἔσται* 'will be.' It cannot be denied. Indeed,[528] the Aldine edition too has this reading.[529]

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523 Valla *De reciprocatione sui et suus* 1 (*Opera* I 236–7). Cf Erasmus' Latin translation of Theodore of Gaza *Institutiones grammaticae* 1 LB I 131E, which likewise contains a brief note on this matter.

524 Actually in the Note itself, Lee fol xxx verso

525 Indeed . . . in his index.] Added in *Basel 1520*

526 Aristophanes *Plutus* 16–17. The Aristophanes passage is as problematic as the biblical passage. In both cases, the genitive (if it is accepted as the correct reading) would have to be regarded as a genitive absolute. This is an unusual construction. If the participle 'uttering' refers to the subject of the sentence, one would expect it to be in the nominative case.

527 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 9:48) Reeve 186.

528 Indeed . . . this reading.] Added in *1522*

529 Aldina fol 375 verso

Lee prefers 'is' to 'will be,'[530] although he admits that in Mark the verb is in the future tense: 'If anyone wishes to be first among all, he will be last.'[531] But Lee is afraid that if Christ used the verb in the future tense, 'for he who is the least among you all will be great,' the apostles would dream of some outstanding position in the kingdom, which they expected to be of this world. First of all, there would be nothing absurd in Christ leaving them for a time with the primitive notions they had still not completely abandoned when he was about to ascend to heaven; hence he reproaches their hardness of heart.[532] Likewise he allowed them to err about the sword,[533] so that later on he would more effectively free them from the desire for revenge. It makes no difference, moreover, whether you use the verb in the future or the present tense, for the present here refers to the matter, not to an action that takes place in time. Second, because it is preceded by τίς ἂν εἴη [whoever may be], a conditional verb on account of the added particle ἄν, it has a future rather than a present meaning. Finally there would be no problem reading ἐστί [is] for ἔσται if it were supported by a Greek manuscript. Since this is not the case, should I at Lee's bidding have erased what is found consistently in the manuscripts?

Concerning Note 59

Si perseveraverit pulsans [if he keeps knocking]:[534] I have stated earlier on that for several days I did not compare the Greek and Latin text of Luke, but delegated this task to others in order to look after my physical health, nor was I in a condition to sustain the burden of the labour.[535] For I did not think that it posed a great danger if the Greek differed somewhere from the Latin. But here too Lee weaves together a dialogue and, using rhetorical commonplaces, in a grave tone reveals my carelessness and accuses me of an inexcusable crime because I supposedly treated sacred matters so nonchalantly. He says he has no intention of teaching before he has learned [his subject],[536] hinting, I believe, that I am teaching what I have never learned.

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530 Lee fol xxx verso
531 Mark 9:35
532 Mark 16:14
533 Cf Matt 26:52.
534 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 11:8) Reeve 189. Erasmus noted the absence of the phrase in the Greek text, but in deference to the Vulgate he retained it in the *1516* translation (*Novum instrumentum* 1 152); cf the end of this Note and n538.
535 See Note 1 76 and Note 45 154 above.
536 Lee fol xxxi verso

He adds that one must check a thousand times what one subjects to the verdict of all. If Lee has done this in his paltry book, I shall accept the blame for being careless in such a lengthy and complex work, especially when I was burdened at the same time with the edition of Jerome,[537] which by itself was no easy task. If someone drew up an index to show how much of Lee's book is dreamed up, how often he nods off, how often he contradicts himself, how often he criticizes what he does not understand, how often he misinterprets the authors he cites – what a long index it would make! If you must check a thousand times what you publish in theology from a desire to be helpful, you must check three thousand times what you write in theology for the purpose of carping, where both holy doctrine and the reputation of your neighbour are put at risk. And yet Lee takes credit here for the fact that I removed the Latin in the second edition[538] lest there be any discrepancy with the Greek. So great is his thirst for glory.

Concerning Note 60

Lucerna corporis tui [the light of your body]:[539] I showed that in the first part [of the verse], which speaks in absolute terms about the body of any living being, the pronoun 'your' is not added in Greek, either by Jerome or in the Greek manuscripts. It is added only in the second part, where what has been said in general terms is applied to spiritual matters, *Si*[540] *oculus tuus simplex* [if your eye is simple], etc. Here Lee's first step in dealing with me is not to refute my position but to show that both versions make sense.[541] If this is so, why does he quarrel with me when, all things being equal, I am attracted to one version because of the consensus among the Greek authors, even if Jerome does not support me? And it is rather hard to accept that Lee cites the authority of Chrysostom, whom I had cited in my own defence, and turns the passage against me, tying me up with arguments from which I supposedly cannot extricate myself and bringing to bear Chrysostom's own words. They are: '*Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus* [your eye is the light of your body]. First we must remember that he speaks not of the physical eye nor of the body visible to the outside world, or else he would have said "if your eye is healthy" or "sick." But in fact he said

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537 See n74 above.
538 *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 149
539 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 11:34) Reeve 190.
540 *Si . . . simplex*, etc] Added in *Basel 1520*
541 Cf Lee fol XXXII, drawing on Erasmus' discussion of the same phrase in the annotation *lucerna corporis tui* (on Matt 6:22) Reeve 37.

"simple" or "evil."'[542] What can Lee prove on the basis of these words of Chrysostom other than that in this part of the speech the pronoun 'your' is added? I too show that it must be added there. But Lee adds out of the same Chrysostom: 'Therefore, after he said "provide yourselves a treasure in heaven, for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also,"[543] he subjoins in the same vein, *Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus*.'[544] Yet from what follows shortly afterwards we may conjecture that Chrysostom read as we say in the note, for he says: 'For what the eye is to the body, understanding is to the soul.'[545] In the application, moreover, one proceeds to more particular cases. Later[546] I obtained a Greek manuscript and found that my guess was correct. Anyone who does not trust me should read Chrysostom on Matthew, chapter 6, Homily 21. And Hilary agrees with Chrysostom. Lee adduces a similar passage in Jerome,[547] but even if he adduces ten passages, he will not prove that this is the correct reading, for it happens frequently that the scribe adds a word of his own accord or from memory, or that an author of commentaries himself accommodates the wording to his present purpose and adds something of his own. In addition, Lee attempts to show that this can be understood in a general sense if what is said in the second person is applied to any person by [the figure of] transferral,[548] as in the expression 'What can you do?' which is the equivalent of the general 'What can one do?' First of all, what need is there to take refuge in this figure of speech? Secondly, Lee does not understand that what I said in an absolute sense and καθολικῶς pertains not only to every human body but generally to every body of any living being. It is surprising, however, that Lee does not mention this annotation either among the passages that remained uncorrected[549] or among the corrected passages, especially when he has made the matter so clear that there is no need to deal with me further.

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542 Pseudo-Chrysostom *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum homiliae* 15 PG 56 720 (on Matt 6:22), cited Lee fol XXXII verso. Some version of the work later in PG was available to Erasmus; cf Note 6 93 and n123 above.

543 Matt 6:20–1

544 See n542 above.

545 Not in the *Opus imperfectum* cited in n542 but in Chrysostom *Hom in Matt* 20 (21).3 PG 57 291

546 Later . . . Chrysostom.] Added in *1540*. Cf Hilary *Comm in Matt* 5.4 PL 9 944A–B.

547 *Adversus Jovinianum* 2.30 PL 23 (1883) 341D, cited Lee fol XXXII verso

548 The use of related words or different forms of the same word to achieve variety; cf *De copia* 13 CWE 24 321–9, especially 324–5.

549 An oversight. Lee fol XCIX lists the annotation; cf n3 above.

Concerning Note 61

I indicated that the word rendered by the Translator as *in sublime tolli* [to be raised up high, or into the air] is μετεωρίζεσθαι in Greek, not μεγαλοφρονεῖν. The latter applies to someone who thinks a great deal of himself, the former to someone who looks up to heaven in search of sublime things, as do those who observe the course of the stars.[550] Here Lee contends that μετεωρίζεσθαι refers to pride because Luke put *in sublime tolli* for Matthew's *et quod operiamini* [and how you would be clothed],[551] since the rich display themselves in splendid clothes.[552] On the contrary, it is not Christ's purpose here to deter his disciples from displays of wealth but to free them from care for the future. Those who labour under this vice are in the habit of consulting the stars about their future good or bad luck. They are tormented by anxieties if the stars threaten misfortune, or have high expectations if they hold out promise. But Christ wanted his disciples to be free from such cares and to rely on no one but Christ himself. Theophylact[553] diligently explains the meaning of μετεωρίζεσθαι, although in a somewhat different sense from mine, yet widely differing from Lee. He says the rich are subject to μετεωρισμός because they are forever disturbed by new cares, and, not content with what they possess, always desire ampler means.

As for Lee's objection that several passages in Holy Scripture invite us to contemplate the heavenly apparatus so that we may admire the wisdom, goodness, and power of its creator, they do not imply approval of the curious and vain concerns of astrologers and do not in any way argue against me. When he shows,[554] moreover, on the authority of Lactantius[555] that Socrates' famous remark 'What is above us is nothing to us'[556] was meant to do away with religion, who cannot see that it has been twisted with a certain rhetorical freedom, of a sort that can often be found in Lactantius? And in his index Lee wonders why I did not recant this error but did acknowledge my mistake to a certain extent, having admitted in the

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550 Cf the annotation *in sublime tolli* (on Luke 12:29) Reeve 194.

551 Matt 6:31, where the verb is *operiemur* 'we will be clothed,' not *operiamini* 'you would be clothed.' *Quod* 'that' is a misprint in LB for *quomodo* 'how.'

552 Lee fol XXXIII

553 Theophylact ... means.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Enarr in Luc* PG 123 892C.

554 Lee fol XXXIII verso

555 *Divinae institutiones* 3.20 PL 6 416A

556 Cf *Adagia* I vi 69. In his annotation Erasmus had cited the dictum, saying it agreed with the teaching of Christ.

second edition that I could not see how this phrase agrees with what precedes and follows.[557]

Here too Lee subjoins his own words, producing a dialogue: 'Ed[ward]: It certainly does not agree, if you interpret it as you did earlier on – that we should not care about what is above us. This is abundantly clear, I believe, from my annotation.' Here I ask you once again, dear reader, to recognize what a clever operator I am facing. In the second edition I noted that Luke's words must be applied to people casting horoscopes and to astrologers. Lee, however, quotes the first part of my words[558] and leaves out the remainder, from which the reader could understand my purpose. And in this way he tricks the inattentive reader and seeks to obtain a little dishonest glory for himself. However, lest anyone doubt my veracity, I shall quote the passage as it is: 'I do not see,' I say, 'how this phrase agrees with what precedes and follows, unless he is thinking of those who deliberate about their distant future by observing the course of the stars, as is the habit of many rich men and princes.' Thus far I have quoted my own words. I thought I should advise you of this to make you realize that one must not trust in Lee's tricks, for he sets snares for simple-minded readers everywhere in[559] his hunt for glory.

Concerning Note 62

Since *confessus fuerit me* [has confessed me][560] means the same thing as *confessus in me*, which is the Hebrew idiom, I merely noted the text of the Greek manuscript. But in rebuttal Lee cites Jerome,[561] the translator of Origen's commentary on Luke,[562] who reads *confessus fuerit me et confitebor eum* [he has confessed me, and I also will confess him]. Let us grant that this work

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557 Lee fol XCIX recto–verso, cited again immediately below; for the indexes see n3 above.

558 That is, 'I do not see how this phrase agrees with what precedes and follows' (Reeve 194)

559 in his hunt for glory] Added in *1522*

560 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 12:8) Reeve 193. This Note is out of sequence. In *1516* Erasmus translated *in me*, from *1519*, *me*. The issue is over the form of the complement of the verb, accusative object or prepositional phrase.

561 Lee fol XXXIII verso

562 In the translation of Origen *Hom in Luc* 35 PL 26 (1884) 322B; cf n148 above.

is a work of Origen's, that Jerome is the translator, and that nothing was changed by a scribe – how does this argue against me? It does not change the fact that elsewhere we read *in me* and *in eo*. But Lee thought it necessary to add these annotations lest he fall short of the desired number. And this passage too he lists with those I have not retracted.[563]

Concerning Note 63

What follows is very similar.[564] The Greeks read τίνι ἔσται, that is, *cui erit* [to whom it will belong]. The meaning would be the same if you said *cuius erit* [whose it will be]. Paul too speaks in this manner (according to Hebrew idiom, I believe): *si fuerit alteri viro* [if she belonged to another man].[565] This being so, how was I wrong, even if Jerome or someone else reads *cuius erit*?[566]

Concerning Note 64

I advise that after the words *gustabunt coenam meam* [shall taste of my supper] some Greek manuscripts add what is not found in our version, at least not in this passage: *Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi* [for many are called, but few are chosen].[567] And since this phrase is found in some manuscripts and not in others, I preferred to adopt in the text what agrees with our reading. And yet Lee lists this too among the passages which I did not withdraw.[568] What is it that Lee wanted to see corrected here?

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563 Lee fol XCIX verso; cf n3 above.

564 Ibidem fol XXXIII verso, discussing the annotation *cuius erunt?* (on Luke 12:20) Reeve 194. The issue is over two possible ways to indicate possession, with the genitive case or the dative case. In this response Erasmus has forgotten that the singular Greek verb has a plural neuter subject (correctly) and translates it into a singular verb (incorrectly); but his point is unaffected.

565 Rom 7:3. In *1527* Erasmus added the reference in his annotation.

566 Lee fol XXXIII verso cites *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, but Jerome does not quote Luke 12:20 in this work. He does so in *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten* PL 23 (1883) 1067A, *Commentarii in Isaiam* 6 PL 24 (1865) 233D, *Commentarii in Osee* 2, 3 PL 25 (1884) 869B, 926D, *Commentarii in Sophoniam* PL 25 (1884) 1356C.

567 In the annotation *gustabit coenam meam* (on Luke 14:24) Reeve 198; cf Lee fol XXXIII verso. *Gestabunt* 'they will carry' in LB is evidently a misprint. Though the Vulgate reading was apparently singular, *gustabit*, ASD IX-4 151 reports *gustabunt* in the editions it collates.

568 Lee fol XCIX verso; cf n3 above.

Concerning Note 65

In the *Annotations* I had quoted from a Greek manuscript ἀπέρχεται συμβαλεῖν, that is, 'going out to make war,'[569] whereas in the text I put πορευόμενος, which has the same meaning. What can be inferred from this other than that at the time when I wrote my annotation I had a manuscript that differed from the one followed by the proofreaders? And I have frequently passed over variants of this kind as being of little importance, for they make no difference to the meaning and cannot be avoided. Scribes often change a word, putting *venit* [came] for *accessit* [approached], for example, or *dicebat* [was saying] for *dixit* [said]. For I knew that the reader would discover this from observation even if I myself said nothing.

Concerning Note 66

I noticed that in the first edition, either through the negligence of the typesetters or perhaps the proofreaders, ὧδε [here] was put for ὅδε [he], that is, the adverb for the pronoun. For that this was not done through my mistake is obvious at any rate from my annotation, where I make no mention of the matter. It was corrected in the second edition.[570] Lee claims credit for this as if he had pointed it out.[571] And he adds on his own authority that in other passages too, in the phrase *plusquam Salomon hic* [more than Solomon here],[572] ὅδε [he] with an omicron must be read instead of ὧδε [here] with an omega. Why does he not add that in the passage where we read *ecce Christus hic* [behold, here is Christ][573] we must read ὅδε, if Lee claims such authority for himself that[574] in the face of so many authors and manuscripts he will change what the evangelists wrote on his own initiative? But if Christ had meant himself by ὅδε, the Pharisees would have objected immediately.

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569 Cf the annotation *iturus committere bellum* (on Luke 14:31) Reeve 198; cf Lee fol xxxiiii. The issue is the choice of Greek word for 'go out.'

570 Cf Luke 16:25 in *Novum instrumentum* (1516) I 168, *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 164.

571 Lee fol xxxiiii

572 Cf the annotations *plusquam Ionas hic* (on Matt 12:42) Reeve 58 and *plusquam Solomon hic* (on Luke 11:31) Reeve 190.

573 Matt 24:23

574 that . . . initiative] Added in *1540*

Concerning Note 67

He objects[575] because in the annotations in the first edition I have translated *e regione quae sub coelo est, in eam quae sub coelo est* [out of one part which is under heaven unto the other which is under heaven],[576] whereas the translation in the text is different: *e regione supercoelesti, in eam quae sub coelo est* [out of the supercelestial part unto the part which is under heaven].[577] What Lee says is correct, but I have already stated several times that I wrote the annotations when I had not yet formed the intent of changing anything in the Vulgate translation. For the plan to change it originated with friends when the work was in progress – a decision that was not at all felicitous for me.[578] When I was translating the passage, my codex obviously had ἐπ᾽ οὐρανόν [above heaven] and ὑπ᾽ οὐρανόν [under heaven], and at that time I translated what I found there. The danger in this was less because the annotations provided help in dealing with this mistake. But you should have collated the texts, he will say. But the instances are innumerable and it is difficult to be on the lookout everywhere. Whether the correction in this passage is owed to Lee, as he claims, I cannot say.

Concerning Note 68

Since I found 'perhaps' added in Luke 'perhaps they will fear my son,'[579] I translated what was written in the Greek manuscripts. Here Lee asks why I did not note here too that the adverb had been added by someone who was afraid that God would seem to have lied or to be ignorant of the future.[580] Pettifogger! Why should I say that it was added when it is found consistently in the Greek manuscripts? And yet this does not mean that it was not added in some places. I do not have to justify everything that disturbs one or two fools when we find that in such instances not a few passages in Sacred Scripture have been changed.

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575 Lee fol xxxiiii
576 Cf *de sub coelo, in ea quae sub coelo sunt* (on Luke 17:24) Reeve 202.
577 *Novum instrumentum* I 169
578 See n41 above.
579 Luke 20:13; see *Novum instrumentum* I 177.
580 Lee fol xxxiiii, referring to Erasmus' annotation on Matt 21:37, see Note 13 above.

Concerning Note 69

Lee discovered that I wrote in the first edition[581] *Et facti sunt amici Pilatus et Herodes in ipsa die* [and Pilate and Herod became friends on that same day], whereas the Greek text has in addition μετ' ἀλλήλων [with each other], that is, mutual friends.[582] I added this in the second edition.[583] What can one gather from this, therefore, other than that by an oversight the Vulgate reading was left unchanged or by the carelessness of the typesetters the two words were left out; or that I passed them over because the meaning remained the same? For men who are friends are mutual friends, especially when the phrase πρὸς ἑαυτούς, 'between them,' follows soon afterwards.

ON JOHN

Concerning Note 70

I had written a note on the significance of adding or omitting the article in Greek.[584] I did not dream it up on my own but based it on the opinion of several Greek authors.[585] Yet I admit somewhere that, as the Greek authors note, the rule is not so consistently kept but that in some places, whether by chance or the carelessness of scribes, it is found to a degree unobserved.[586] Furthermore, if Lee thinks that adding an article to 'God' in the phrase καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος [and the Word was God] is not at variance with Christian tenets,[587] he has certainly ventured to pass judgment like 'a cobbler venturing beyond his shoe leather.'[588] For anyone with a knowledge of Greek will contradict Lee.

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581 *Novum instrumentum* I 185–6 at Luke 23:12
582 Lee fol XXXIIII verso
583 That is, *inter sese*; *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 181
584 Cf *et deus erat verbum* (on John 1:1) Reeve 221. Erasmus had explained that in this verse the Greek codices rightly omit the definite article before *Deus* 'God': the use of the article would have suggested that *Deus* referred to one of the Persons in particular, in this case the Father, and thus would have implied that there was one Word that was the Father and another that was the Son, hence two Words instead of one.
585 Erasmus does not give specific references here, but cf n593 below.
586 See the annotations *fuit homo missus* (on John 1:6) Reeve 223, *deum nemo vidit unquam* (on John 1:18) Reeve 227, and *quia filius hominis est* (on John 5:27) Reeve 238.
587 Lee fol XXXV
588 That is, beyond his area of competence; cf *Adagia* I vi 16.

As for the remainder of my note, it seems that Lee did not quite understand it. If someone pointed to a stone and said 'this is not earth' (meaning that the stone did not have the quality of earth) and wanted to add an article, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ [this is not the earth], he would be ridiculous in the eyes of all who know the Greek language. In the same manner, if someone who, referring to weak wine, said 'this is water' added the article, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ [this is the water], he would be laughed at. Similarly, if someone said of a very stupid person οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος [this is not the man], he would speak in a ridiculous fashion, unless he meant to say that this is not the man of whom he had spoken before. Therefore, when we say καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος [and the Word was God], since we know that the Word itself is of divine nature, the article cannot be added, and if anyone adds it he gives the phrase a heretical meaning. It is no less absurd to say 'the son is the father.'

Lee does not realize that in this whole passage the article is never omitted when it concerns the divine Persons. ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος [in the beginning was the Word] – [John] says 'the Word,' not 'Word'; καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν [and the Word was with God] – the article [with 'God' in the Greek phrase] is not omitted because the meaning is that the Son was with the Father. And again, ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν [it was in the beginning with God] – here he added the article [to 'God' in the Greek phrase] because the meaning is not that the Son is with divine essence, for he is the essence itself, but that he is with the Father. Only in one part is the article omitted: καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος [and the Word was God]. 'Word' has an article because it designates the property of the Person; 'God' does not have an article because it denotes the divine nature, not a Person.

As for the passages Lee has gathered against me, they do not argue against me at all. If Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, chapter 3,[589] adds the Greek article to 'God' in γενέσθω δε ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής [let God be true], I could argue first of all that 'God' in that passage is put for 'Father.' But let us grant that it includes the whole Trinity, let us grant that here it denotes the divine nature, nevertheless it means a conceptual entity that can be exemplified by one Person. It is correct, for example, to say ἡ γῆ or τὸ ὕδωρ or τὸ πῦρ or ὁ κόσμος if one wants to show the whole earth or the whole element 'water,' the whole element 'fire,' or the whole mechanism that is the world as one entity. But if anyone spoke of a specific thing, wanting to indicate that it had an earthy or watery or fiery quality, it would be intolerable to add the

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589 Rom 3:4, cited Lee fol xxxv

article in Greek, no less than if someone said ἄνθρωπός ἐστι τὸ ζόον, that is, 'man is the animal,' although he does not want to point out a specific animal but merely the concept of a living being. The rest of the arguments that are or could be proffered by Lee[590] can be refuted by the same reasoning.

He thinks, moreover, that it is completely absurd to say that the word 'God' when used with an article refers to the Father because Paul sometimes says ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ [God and Father].[591] 'For the first part implies what is added in the second, so that one would have to render it "God the Father and the Father," since you would denote the Father equally in the first and in the second part, namely the Person of the Father, if the article has that force.' Thus Lee. No one claims that the word 'God' when used with the article necessarily denotes the Father. It may denote the Son or the Holy Spirit, if someone is referring to a Person mentioned before or points to that Person, as it were. Even if it is correct that in the Gospel of John, at least in this passage, the article has the effect I note, what is absurd about the expression ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ [God and Father]? Granted that 'God' refers to the Father, but does the concept underlying the word 'Father' not differ from that of 'God'? If the son of a king speaks of his father and says ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πατήρ μου [the king my father], would he express himself in absurd terms? Not at all. 'The king' refers to the father because of the article, yet he adds 'father' not to say the same thing twice but to attribute two qualities to the same person, though not in the same manner: first, that he is the king, and second that he is his father. Otherwise one will say that there is the same absurdity in the pronoun in the phrase *hic pater meus* [this my father]: 'this' points out the father; what need was there to add 'father'? Likewise Paul says ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ [God and Father], pointing out one Person who is both God and the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore I am surprised that Lee wants to teach us with such authority what he does not understand, and that he who wants to seem so sharp-witted is so blind in such elementary matters. If the article is found to be omitted in some places, moreover, for example at John, chapter 20,[592] it need not surprise us, for the same thing is found elsewhere in the Greek manuscripts, but not haphazardly.

This is not the place to discuss all the other rules dictating where one may or may not omit the article. Anyone interested may look them up in

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590 Cf Lee fol xxxv, citing Phil 2:13 and 4:20, Acts 10:34, 2 Peter 2:4, John 20:17. The last passage is discussed in more detail in Note 110 below.

591 For example Gal 1:4, Phil 4:20

592 John 20:17, quoted in the next paragraph

the fragments of Apollonius.[593] Nor does the passage that Lee adduces from John greatly advance his argument; indeed it is of practically no help at all. For he does not realize that the preceding article refers also to the rest that follows, ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, καὶ θεόν μου καὶ θεὸν ὑμῶν, which one may translate 'I ascend to him who is the father of me and father of you, God of me and God of you.' As for Lee's observation that adding an article to God the Father or the Word or the Spirit distinguishes the true God from false gods, the Word made flesh from the human word, the Spirit of God from our spirit, this rule does frequently apply, but it does not preclude the article being sometimes added to those same words and indeed being added rather frequently out of necessity. For example, when we return to something said earlier, we must say εἰπὲ πάλιν τὸν λόγον [say the remark again], although we are speaking of human speech, and anyone who phrased it differently would sound ridiculous to Greeks.

Although it is clear in this case that Lee is completely off course, you can see nevertheless, dear reader, that I refrain from insulting him in the manner in which he frequently insults me even for no reason. At any rate from the fact that no response of mine is recorded [in Lee's annotation], the prudent reader will understand that this annotation was not communicated to me by Lee. I would certainly have responded to such obvious nonsense if he had communicated anything to me. Yet he lists this passage among those I did not change.[594] Lee's note is doubly foolish for implying that I should change something that has been well put, and that he advised me of this matter.

Concerning Note 71

He divides this note into two,[595] to make the matter more hateful. And not content with having proffered this in the annotation, he returns to it in the index,[596] going on at great length. Yet I cannot see the point, since there is no controversy between Lee and me about the matter. For I have never either written or held an opinion about the single and simple essence of the three

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593 The grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd c AD), who deals with the article in book 1 of *De constructione orationis* on Greek syntax

594 Lee fol XCIX verso; cf n3 above. 'Completely off course' is *Adagia* I 48.

595 Lee fol XXXV verso continues the discussion on *et deus erat verbum* (on John 1:1) Reeve 221. Here Lee is concerned with Erasmus' use of the word *particeps* to denote the hypostatic union.

596 Lee fols XCIX verso–C; cf n3 above.

Persons that differs from orthodox opinion. The only point Lee can argue is that I misused the little word *particeps* [partaking]. But Hilary, Augustine, and Dionysius[597] declare emphatically every time they speak of sacred matters that there are no human words through which we could express the ineffable and incomprehensible nature of the Trinity, and like it or not, we must speak inadequately about them, using what words we have. Didymus in his work *De Spiritu Sancto*, which Jerome translated into Latin, very clearly states the same;[598] in his epistles Augustine sometimes calls that ineffable union of human and divine nature in one hypostasis *mixtura* and *permixtura* [mixture, blending],[599] obviously a word not suited to explain the actual state of the matter, since it cannot be explained in any human words. Yet the ears of our theologians cannot bear it if anyone describes the hypostasis of Jesus Christ using words like *constare*, *compositam esse*, *conglutinatam esse*, *coagmentatam esse*, *copulatam esse*, *conflatam esse*, *consociatam esse*, *commixtam esse ex Deo et homine*.[600] The only expression they tolerate to describe the hypostasis of the human and divine nature is *unitam esse* [be united, be made one]. And yet if you examine the word *unitam* closely, it does not express our meaning at all. We are merely stammering when we speak of God in this way. For what else is meant when we say that one nature is being *unitam* [united] to another but that two natures have been made into one? To declare that of Christ would be impious.

Since, I say, this is the state of things, why is Lee unwilling to pardon me for using one little word, especially when it is clear from what precedes and follows in the same passage that I hold no other view than orthodox theologians do? For I do not say that the Son of God 'partakes' of the divine essence in the sense that one part belongs to the Father, one to the Son, and one to the Holy Spirit; I say that the same quality is held by all (I do not know whether it is right to add 'in common,' especially[601] in the hearing of Lee). But it is rather neat to say that the Son 'partakes' of the divine

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597 An author of mystical works living c 500 AD whose identification with Paul's disciple Dionysius, mentioned at Acts 17:34, was accepted by medieval theologians. His works were edited in 1498 by Lefèvre d'Etaples. The identity of the author became a matter of dispute in the sixteenth century; cf the annotation *in quibus et Dionysius* (on Acts 17:34) Reeve 312–3.

598 Didymus (c 313–c 398) *De Spiritu Sancto* 38 PG 39 1066A / PL 23 (1883) 142A

599 Ep 137.11 PL 33 520

600 Various ways of attempting to express the union of the divine and human nature in Christ, meaning respectively 'consist,' 'be compounded,' 'be bonded,' 'be cemented,' 'be joined,' 'be forged,' 'be allied,' 'be blended of God and man.'

601 especially in the hearing of Lee] Added in *1522*

nature because he has it from the Father yet in such a way that the Father nevertheless has the very thing that he gives to the Son. Do we not misuse this word even when speaking of human matters? Do the individual parts of the whole body not 'partake' of the soul and yet the soul is common to all in the sense that it is present in individual members whole and undivided? I know that the Greek word μετέχων is more suitable to explain this state, for it is as if you said 'having something together with another.' If someone who is not lacking a quality is said to 'have' it, the Son certainly does not lack divinity. And if he has a divine nature, but not alone, I do not see why he cannot be said to μετέχειν, that is, 'partake' of it with the Father, from whom he has the quality that makes him God. If the Latins do not have another word to render the verb μετέχειν except *participare* or *participem esse*, if anything we can say about sacred matter is mere stammering, I do not see why it should be absurd to say of the Son of God that he 'partakes of the divine nature.' Just so a human being is said to 'partake' of reason or to 'partake' of human nature, not because one part of this nature belongs to one and another to others, but because a human being does not lack reason and is not without human nature.

If you say that *participem esse* does not express the singular and undivided essence itself in the three Persons, perhaps neither does the word ὁμούσιος [of the same essence] itself;[602] nor does the word μετούσιος [of a shared essence] or the word that comes even closer, αὐτοούσιος [of identical essence], express this adequately. For the Son is not ὁμούσιος with the Father in the sense in which one human being is with another, or one pot is to another, being made of the same clay. There is nothing indeed among created things which can be said to be ὁμούσιον with something else in the sense that the Son is said to be *homusios* with the Father. Today we are not afraid to say in Latin that the Son is 'consubstantial' with the Father, whereas in the past orthodox theologians[603] were not afraid to speak of 'three divine substances' in the sense in which we now use 'three Persons.'[604] In that sense it would be impious to say that the Son is 'consubstantial' with the

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602 The key word in the Nicene Creed, 325 AD, in English commonly 'of one being,' though 'of the same essence' more literally translates the Greek. Cf *Responsio 3* Note 22 below.

603 See for example Marius Victorinus (275/300–after 362) *Adversus Arium* 1.41, 2.4 PL 8 1072A, 1092D.

604 Erasmus is speaking of the difficulties in translating the Greek μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. Literally the phrase means 'one essence, three substances.' This interpretation, however, challenged the idea of the consubstantiality of the Trinity. From the fourth century on, the term 'hypostasis' came to be used in

Father. Moreover, although ὑπόστασις means 'substance' in Greek, Jerome shies away from declaring that there are three hypostases in God,[605] not to mention that God cannot even be properly called a 'substance,' for it seems to imply that accidental qualities inhere in him. Indeed, when we say that God rules, is wise, foresees, foreknows, or lives, we misuse human words because we do not have terms that apply properly and in all respects.

I relate this to show that it need not come as a surprise that I misused the word 'partake.' Hilary[606] did not scruple to write 'God the Father imparts [*impertit*] his nature completely to the Son, but does not lose his nature.' For this is how he expresses himself in *De Trinitate*, book 7. Why should I fear to say that the Son 'partakes' of his Father's nature? You will say, was it not sufficient to say that the Word is of the divine essence and omit the word 'partaking'? I wished to indicate that the Son has the divine nature in common with the Father, indeed that he has it from the Father himself. What then is the relevance of the arguments gathered by Lee about *homusion*, about the fullness of Christ's divinity, and the truly divine nature of Christ – none of which I deny; in fact, I assert exactly this in the very passage criticized by Lee, so that it cannot be unclear to the reader in what sense I use the word 'partake.' Yet I explained the word itself in the second edition, so that no one could possibly be offended by it. But Lee denies that ὁμούσιον τῷ πατρί [of the same essence with the father] is equivalent to 'partaking' in his divine essence.[607] If he insists on the proper meaning of words, ὁμούσιος does not describe the relationship of the Son to the Father either. If he is obliged to concede some misuse of words, why is he so biased against one choice? The two expressions are not equivalent if 'partake' is used in the sense in which it is interpreted by Lee, but I myself did not use it in that sense. The Son does not 'partake' of the divine essence in the sense that he is a part of the divine essence. He does not 'partake' of divinity as we partake of it, but does this mean that he does not 'partake' of it in any sense? Yet this is the gist of what Lee adduces in the index in which he notes the passages that have been left unchanged by me.[608] Is it not Christian to say that the three Persons rule by consortium because they

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the sense of 'person.' The terminology was clarified and standardized at the Council of Constantinople (381). Cf also *Explanatio symboli* CWE 70 267–8.

605 Cf Ep 15 PL 22 355–8 / CWE 61 194–6.

606 Hilary ... his Father's nature?] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *De Trinitate* 7.28 PL 10 224B; cf also *De Trinitate* 7.2 and 1.30 PL 10 200A–B and 44A–B.

607 Lee fol XCIX verso; cf n3 above.

608 See n596 above.

each possess the same ruling power? But what is the difference between 'consorting' and 'partaking'? What is Lee's point in mentioning the Arians, except to stretch his volume by adding this kind of crowning touch? And what good was it to dispute so anxiously about terminology when there was no controversy about content? Finally, when Augustine writes that 'in the sons of grace there is participation [*esse participationem*] in the divine nature, in the Son there is the fulness of its nature,'[609] he does not flatly deny that the Son partakes of divinity, he merely denies that he partakes of it in the way we do. God has imparted to us a share in divinity in one way, to the Son in another. Will Lee recoil from this word also? Why could he who grants godhead and is its author not be said to 'impart' divinity to the Son? Anyone who will not speak of divine matters except in terms that are suited in every respect will have to remain silent. I have said this not because I want to be the author of new terms; I wanted to indicate in what sense I used the word *particeps*, which, if I am not mistaken, I used neither rashly nor irreverently.

Concerning Note 72

Here Lee[610] reasons from my words that I deprive the Son of the notion of 'first-beginning' because in the first edition I wrote thus: '*Omnia per ipsum facta sunt* [all things were made through him] would have been better translated *per illud*, unless you prefer to say that the pronoun *ipsum* refers to God the Father; but the preposition "through," which is at odds with the notion of first-beginning, argues against this sense.'[611] In this way I pointed out to the reader that the words of the Evangelist are ambiguous, both in the Greek and in our text, for the phrase *per ipsum* could be referred either to God the Father or to the Word. Next, I inquire which is the better suited point of reference, indicating that I am more inclined to refer it to the Word and understand that the Father has created everything through the Son. To make this more plausible, I offer the reason that the principle of first-beginning applies to the Father in its fullest and most absolute sense, whereas the preposition διά 'through' suits the Son better than the Father, for although he is not a created instrument of the Father through which all

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609 *Contra sermonem Arianorum* 27 PL 42 702, cited Lee fol C

610 Lee fol XXXV verso

611 Cf the annotation *omnia per ipsum facta sunt* (on John 1:3) Reeve 221. Erasmus raises this question because in Latin *ipsum* can be either masculine (referring to God) or neuter (referring to *verbum* 'Word'); *illud* refers only to *verbum*.

the rest was created, as some heretics have imagined,[612] mystic Scripture nevertheless speaks of the Son in terms that make him appear to function as a sort of instrument of the Father (if I may be allowed to use these terms for the moment), since he created the world through the Son, redeemed humanity through him, and reconciled us to himself through him.

Here Lee believes that he has found an excellent weapon to finish me off and casts into my teeth my note on John, chapter 8, where I denied that the term 'first-beginning' applies to the Word in the absolute sense.[613] 'For it seems to me,' he says, 'that there you totally deprive the Word of it, but here you do so even more categorically. For you say that the preposition διά, that is, "through," which you attribute to the Word and do not dare to attribute to the Father, is at odds with the notion of first-beginning. Immediately following on this you say that the term "first-beginning" does not agree with the Word, for it is almost a contradiction to call the Word "first-beginning."'[614] On this matter Lee refers the reader to his note on John, chapter 8, where he neatly proved that the notion of absolute beginning also agrees with the Son. How wonderfully he succeeds in this endeavour we shall discuss a little later;[615] for now we must shore up the part of the wall that Lee is battering with his rams. Lee twists my words in every conceivable way to slander me; and they could appear to be dangerous if they are expounded by an unfair interpreter. If the interpreter is fair they are unproblematic. First of all, I am not so much concerned here with the nature of God as with the linguistic usage of human beings. Augustine notes that customarily power is attributed to the Father, wisdom to the Son, goodness to the Spirit, although they all nevertheless have the same power, the same wisdom, the same goodness.[616] Accordingly we find in the Apostles' Creed, as it is commonly called, that the Father, not the Son or the Holy Spirit, is said to be almighty; that the Father, not the Son or the Holy Spirit, is said to be the creator of heaven and earth. Augustine gives a number of reasons for this convention, which I need not repeat

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612 The Arians, mentioned by Erasmus in his annotation. Cf *Apologia* n199 above.

613 In the annotation *principium qui et loquor* (on John 8:25) Reeve 246. Erasmus took the word *principium* as an adverb ('first of all'); Lee took it as a noun ('the first-beginning') referring to the Word.

614 Lee fol xxxv verso; cf Erasmus' careful disquisition of *1519* replacing his remarks of *1516* (Reeve 247–8).

615 See Note 92 below.

616 Not in modern editions of Augustine, but in medieval theology the view was universally accepted; cf Peter Lombard *Sententiae* I 34.6 PL 192 616.

here. That the preposition 'through' contains the notion of instrumentality is clear, for example, from the interpretation theologians give to the Pauline phrase 'through whom also he made the worlds.'[617] They note that 'through' in this passage does not connote instrumentality but cooperation. What reason was there to point this out if the preposition does not contain the notion I indicate? Indeed,[618] Durandus likewise teaches in his commentary on the *Sentences*, book 1, distinction 31, question 1, what qualities are attributed to the individual Persons and why, though they are all held in common.[619] In this context[620] he reports that Hilary attributes eternity to the Father, his image to the Son, and *usus* [useful action] to the Holy Spirit.[621] Augustine attributes unity to the Father, equality to the Son, connection to the Holy Spirit.[622] I would like to point out in passing to the reader that in this passage Durandus seems not to have quite understood what Hilary terms *usus*. Durandus' words are: '*Usus* is attributed to the Holy Spirit, because *uti* [to use] must be taken in the wider sense of taking up something in the faculty of will. For the Holy Spirit proceeds through the mode of will.'[623] Thus far Durandus. But Hilary calls 'usefulness' or 'beneficence' *usus*. The Father is eternal, the Son similar to the Father, the Holy Spirit is the benefactor. Note, dear reader, how important it is to know Latin. Shortly afterwards Durandus adds: 'Whenever the preposition *ex* [out of] indicates the status of "efficient cause," it is properly attributed to the Father, just as power is attributed to him as well; the preposition *per* [through], however, designates the status of "mode" through which the agent acts, as in the expression "the artist works through art." *Per* therefore applies to the Son in particular, just as the preposition *in* [in] is attributed to the Holy Spirit.'[624] Why then would Lee regard my words as absurd and slander me for saying that the preposition 'through' did not properly apply to the Father?

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617 Heb 1:2. On the question of the authorship of Hebrews see the beginning of Note 224 below.

618 Indeed . . . to the Father?] Added in *Basel 1520*

619 *Commentaria* I 31.1, fol 86 recto–verso. Durandus of St-Pourçain (c 1275–1334), a French Dominican and early opponent of the teachings of Thomas Aquinas, held views later associated with the Nominalists.

620 *Commentaria* I 31 introduction, fol 86

621 Cf *De Trinitate* 2.1 PL 10 51A.

622 Cf *De doctrina christiana* 1.5 PL 34 21.

623 *Commentaria* I 31.3 §7, fol 87

624 Ibidem §9

As for Paul's words 'of him, through him, and in him,'[625] I do not disapprove of the opinion of Chrysostom, who believes that the whole phrase refers to the Father.[626] But some interpreters, among them Ambrose[627] and before him Origen in Jerome's translation, refer the individual prepositions to the individual Persons, attributing *per ipsum* specifically to the Son.[628] If anyone does not trust me, Ambrose's words are these: 'Since God is the creator of all things, for he caused things that did not exist to exist, therefore all things originate from him [*ex ipso*]. And because they originate by his action, they came into being through his Son, who is of the same substance as he, whose work is the work of the Father. Since therefore he himself works through the Son, everything is through him [*per ipsum*]. And since all things that are from God exist through God and are afterwards reborn in the Holy Spirit, all things are in him [*in ipso*],' etc. Origen, expounding this passage, compares it with the other Pauline passage, 'one God the Father, from whom are all things; one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things.'[629] Indeed not even Chrysostom denies that it is peculiar to the Son that the Father is said to operate through him [*per ipsum*]. But he rebuffs those who said that the preposition 'through' diminished the dignity of the Son, whom they regarded as not only born of God but also created by him so that through him God might create the rest of the universe.[630] Add to this that the context of this passage obliges us to refer the phrase to the Word, not to the Father, for it is the Evangelist's purpose here to show that the Word was not created in time, but was with the Father in the beginning, before everything was created, and that he was not at all one of the things created in time, but rather that the Father created through

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625 Rom 11:36, where the three prepositions in the Vulgate are those just discussed, *ex*, *per*, and *in*.

626 *Hom in Rom* 19.7 PG 60 593

627 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Rom* PL 17 (1845) 155C / (1879) 163B–C. Erasmus made ample use of the commentaries on the Pauline Epistles of this fourth-century author, still identified by him with Ambrose. In his 1527 edition of Ambrose he rejected the Ambrosian authorship and invented the name 'Ambrosiaster' for the author. Strikingly, Ambrosiaster was highly suspicious of the Greek textual tradition of the New Testament, whereas Erasmus assumed that he had consulted the Greek text. Cf CWE 56 xii–xiii, 335 n7.

628 Cf *Comm in Rom* 8.13 PG 14 1202A–B. The translation is now assigned to Rufinus. Erasmus was inclined to attribute it to Jerome, but later acknowledged the possibility of Rufinus' authorship; cf the annotation *numquid iniquus deus qui iram infert* (on Rom 3:5) Reeve 357 (CWE 56 94, 95 nn11 and 14).

629 1 Cor 8:6

630 *Hom in 1 Cor* 20.3 PG 61 163–4

him all things visible or conceivable – not that the Son is an instrument of the Father, but because our speaking of him is in terms of instrumentality. We read that the world was created by the Father through the Son, but nowhere do we read that the Son created the world through the Father, and yet the Son created it as much as the Father. Why? Only because authorship is attributed specifically to the Father, as Hilary shows in more than one place.[631] Cyril uses the term *fons* [source],[632] more recent theologians *principium* [first-beginning], absolutely and most properly speaking. This principle Hilary does not attribute to the Son in the absolute sense. For whereas the Son has in common with the Father the fact that he is God by nature, they are not both God from God. What Hilary calls 'authorship' we have called 'first-beginning.' Indeed my authority is Thomas, who writes in *Adversus errores Graecorum* that the person who prompts another's action is said to operate through that other person, as the Father is said to operate through the Son, not vice versa.[633] Thomas also believes that it is necessary to conclude from the statement 'the Son operates through the Holy Spirit' that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. For this view he cites as his authority Athanasius in one of the epistles to Serapion.[634] He furthermore justifies St Basil's remark in the book he wrote against Eunomius, where Basil says that the Holy Spirit truly operates through the Son,[635] by interpreting this to mean that the Spirit works through the Son according to his human nature. Otherwise what Basil wrote would be wrong. The term 'first-beginning' is so specifically associated with the Father that the Son's being called in some respect the beginning is something he has from the Father. But to have something from another contradicts the term 'first-beginning' in the absolute sense. But more on this subject elsewhere in its proper place.[636]

Let us proceed to speak of the use and abuse of the preposition 'through,' which in a way contains the notion of instrumentality. I[637] say 'in a way' in case someone believes that the notion of instrumentality actually applies to the Son or the Holy Spirit. For the mode in which one acts

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631 For example *De Trinitate* 4.6, 6.27 PL 10 99B–100B, 178A–179A
632 *De uno Deo* 9 PG 33 554A
633 *Adversus errores Graecorum* 1.15
634 *Adversus errores Graecorum* 2.4; cf *Epistola ad Serapionem* 1.23 PG 26 584.
635 *Adversus errores Graecorum* 1.15; cf Pseudo-Basilius *Adversus Eunomium* 5 PG 29 732A. Eunomius (d 392/5) was the leader of a radical Arian party.
636 See Note 92 below.
637 I . . . the notion of instrumentality in a way.] Added in *1522*

through another contains the notion of instrumentality in a way. Let me use a human example for comparison, to make the matter clearer. A king renders justice through his magistrates, wages war through his generals, issues decrees through his senators, although it is they who actually render justice, actually wage war, and actually pass decrees. But since they have the authority to do these things from the king, the king is said to be the originator of all that is done. We speak of the divine Persons in the same manner: the Father created the world through the Son, he redeemed the world through the Son. In human matters the instrument is made clear; in divine matters there is no actual instrument, and yet in the imagery of the words through which we speak of God imperfectly, there is a kind of notion of instrumentality, which of course is at variance with the primary and exclusive principle of authorship and of beginning properly speaking. If the principle of authorship is the same in the Father and in the Son, we should rightly say that everything was created by the Son through the Father, just as we do rightly say that everything was created by the Father through the Son. Not to mention the common usage of the church, which seeks whatever it seeks from the Father 'through the Son.' But conversely, when the church seeks something from the Son, it does not add 'through the Father' but 'who lives and reigns,' etc.

If Lee strives to show that this form of speech can be found somewhere with reference to the Father,[638] for example, 'through whom you are called into the society of his Son,'[639] it should not be surprising, for we speak occasionally like this also of human matters: it will not depend on me [*per me*], Troy was founded by them [*per hos*], it was on your account [*per te*] that I did not win. In all of these expressions the reference is to the author, not the instrument, although a certain notion of instrumentality is not lacking. Of the same kind are the expressions, the king gave an order, or wrote, or decreed, in person [*per se*], that is, he acted as his own instrument and did not use anyone else as an instrument. You can see that some notion of instrumentality is present in each case, even when we most misuse the preposition. In this sense the Father is said to be his own beginning, because he originates from no one else, and because everything has been made by him, because he needed no help for this purpose. But here we are not simply concerned whether it is correct to say that everything has been made through the Father; rather, we are speaking of the Father and the Son, discussing to which of them the phrase 'everything was made through

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638 Lee fol xxxvi
639 1 Cor 1:9

him' is more suitably applied. Everything has been created by the Father through the Word. But has everything been created by the Word through the Father? If Lee is willing to grant that the concept of first-beginning in its most perfect, most proper, and strictest sense belongs to the Father and that the preposition 'through' is generally at variance with the concept of authorship or origin or first-beginning, I certainly had good reason for preferring that the expression 'everything was made through him' be applied to the Son rather than to the Father. It does not mean that I deprive the Son of the term 'first-beginning' if, in comparing them, I would rather attribute it to the Father. Nor is it therefore incorrect to say that the preposition 'through' is at variance with the concept of first-beginning whenever we misuse it; rather, it is so only to the extent that the Son is not said to work through the Father as the Father works through the Son. And if the preposition 'through' applies to the Son more than the Father, it does not follow that the Son is not in some sense the first-beginning. For the Son has from the Father that very quality, that he is somehow called the first-beginning. That I had nothing else in mind is clear at least from the very words I used in the first edition: 'But,' I say, 'the preposition is somewhat at variance with this meaning.'[640] Since I say 'somewhat,' do I not indicate that it is not completely at variance? But here I would like to ask Lee why he left out the word 'somewhat' in reproaching me. He would not have left it out if it had argued against me. Also, why does Lee overlook that I add 'and it agrees better with the Pauline words "through whom he also made the world"'? Did he not realize that I was speaking there not in absolute but in comparative terms?

Although Lee carries on in this artful fashion, he says he knows no rhetoric and is only relying on the plain and simple truth.[641] The example which Lee produces, 'I have sworn on my own head [*per memetipsum*]'[642] is not very relevant to the discussion at hand, for in this case the preposition in Greek is not διά [through] but[643] κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ [literally 'by myself']. What the Hebrews have, I don't know. They appear to be misusing 'in' in such cases for 'through.'[644] In the index, furthermore, where Lee recounts

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640 In the annotation *omnia per ipsum facta sunt* (on John 1:3) Reeve 221; nevertheless Erasmus made some modifications in *1519* and *1522*.

641 Cf Ep 1061:943–5.

642 Lee fol xxxvi, citing Gen 22:16

643 but κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ] Added in *1540*

644 Cf the annotation *in virtute* (on Rom 1:4) CWE 56 16 with 17 n8 and similar examples at CWE 56 35, 53, 101.

the passages I changed – on his advice, that is – he notes that whereas I had said earlier that 'through' was at variance with the concept of first-beginning, I had added in the second edition 'first-beginning of the Father, or to use Hilary's term, *auctoritas* [authorship].'[645] First of all, Lee had given me no advice about this passage, but only about John, chapter 8. Either he did not notice this passage or, if he noticed it, he concealed it. Secondly, even if I had not added what I did, how else could it have been interpreted except as the concept of the Father's first-beginning, since I was speaking of the Father there? Furthermore I do not understand what Lee means when he adds in the same place, 'Jerome spoke differently, referring *per ipsum* to the Father.'[646] For I do not think that Jerome meant that the phrase 'everything was made through him' must be referred to the Father when there is wide consensus among the old orthodox exegetes that it refers to the Son. Indeed Hilary deduces from this passage the eternity of the Word. 'That through which everything is that was made,' he says, 'is infinite, and since everything originates from it, time does as well.'[647] In the same manner Augustine explaining that Gospel says: 'Admit that the Word through whom everything was made was not made.'[648] Origen indicates the same when he notes that Valentinus took his cue from this passage and said: 'The Word is what gave the Creator the reason for the creation of the world.'[649] To quote Hilary once more, as he comments on 'Without him nothing was made': 'Since nothing was made without him, I understand that he was not alone, for there was another who acted through him – it cannot be otherwise.'[650] But what need is there to gather proof-texts concerning something that is clear by itself? First of all, it is agreed that the preposition 'through' is at variance with the concept of first-beginning that is peculiar to the Father; yet it is attributable to the Son. It does not follow that it is not at variance absolutely speaking if we in a few places misuse that preposition, since it is at variance most of the time and is at variance according to its native

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645 Lee fol XCII recto–verso; see n3 above.

646 *Commentarii in Amos* 3 PL 25 (1884) 1065B, cited Lee fol XCII verso. Jerome does not refer the phrase to the Father: he says that, even if the Father commands and the Son makes, the Maker is identical with the Commander; he then quotes the verse under discussion.

647 *De Trinitate* 2.17 PL 10 62B

648 *Tract in Joan* 2.1 PL 35 1384

649 *Comm in Joan* 2.8 PG 14 138A. Origen attributes these words not to Valentinus, a second-century Gnostic author, but to his disciple Heracleon. He then criticizes Heracleon's views, noting that they lead to unorthodox conclusions.

650 *De Trinitate* 2.17 PL 10 62C

and genuine meaning. Finally,[651] even if it is not at variance in some respect, it is nevertheless so according to the manner of speaking by which we attribute specific qualities to the individual Persons of the Trinity.

From this discussion it is clear, I think, that I do not hold beliefs so impious about the quality of 'first-beginning' in the Son as Lee interprets them. But since he refers us to a second place where he disputes the matter with his assembled forces,[652] it is better to defer the remainder of this discussion to that place.[653] But notice, dear reader, how civil Lee is in this case. If he is onto a point that makes me somewhat unpopular, he repeats it everywhere, brings it out everywhere, preaches it everywhere; by contrast he never praises anything he has gained from my efforts. Indeed he never even mentions it.

Concerning Note 73

Relying on the authority of Chrysostom,[654] I had noted that some heretics punctuate thus: 'Without him nothing was made' – here they put a stop and continue: 'What was made in him was life.'[655] Lee does not deny that this is so. He could not deny what Chrysostom had written, but he does deny that anyone punctuating the sentence in this manner is a heretic.[656] Nor did I say that. I said that there were heretics who divided it in this manner and interpreted what they divided in the sense I indicated. And yet Lee lists this passage among those I left unchanged.[657] But what did he want me to correct here? Did he want me to retract what I had not written?

Concerning Note 74

Here he says that he does not know any passage in which St Jerome rejects certain exegetes who comment, on the words 'and without him nothing was

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651 Finally ... of the Trinity.] Added in *Basel 1520*
652 Lee fol xxxv verso, referring to his Note 92 (fols XL–XLI)
653 See Note 92 below.
654 *Hom in Joan* 5 (4).1–2 PG 59 55–6
655 Cf the annotation *et sine ipso factum est nihil* (on John 1:3) Reeve 221–2. The usual punctuation was '... and without him nothing was made that was made. In him was life ...' In the annotation Erasmus explained that the (unnamed) heretics referred 'what was made' to the Holy Spirit, whom they considered a creature; cf Reeve 222.
656 Lee fol xxxvi verso
657 Lee fol c; cf n3 above.

made,' that 'nothing' means 'sin.'[658] It is surprising that this should happen to such an assiduous student of sacred writers, especially[659] since the passage is neither obscure nor consisting of a few words only. The passage is in the commentaries Jerome wrote on Micah, chapter 2. In fact the passage Lee adduces against me, citing the commentaries St Jerome wrote on the prophet Hosea,[660] is not completely at variance with this. For who denies that what is true exists and what is false does not exist? Or who does not know that men who are worthless are said to be 'nothing'? And that Paul calls an idol 'nothing'[661] because it differs in nothing from other pieces of wood as far as religion is concerned? But in speaking of creation, whoever heard of anything created being called 'nothing'? And yet Lee notes this as yet another annotation that was not corrected by me.[662]

Concerning Note 75

Once again Lee philosophizes about the Greek article.[663] I had noted that in the phrase καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς [and the life was the light] the article was added to make us understand that Christ was not just any life, but that true and ineffable life.[664] In the same manner the article is added to 'light.' Here Lee asks why we read ἡ ζωή [the life] in James, where the article is also added, although James is speaking about human life. For the phrase 'vapour appearing for a little while' follows soon afterwards.[665] Lee's objection does not concern me any more than it does Chrysostom[666] or Cyril[667] or Athanasius[668] or Didymus, whose authority I follow in this section.[669] But to give some answer to Lee: the article certainly has the function of distinguishing a

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658 Lee fol xxxvii, continuing the discussion of John 1:3
659 especially ... chapter 2] Addd in *1540*. The reference is to *Commentarii in Michaeam* 1 PL 25 (1884) 1173D. In the annotation (cf Reeve 222) Erasmus had mentioned Jerome in passing. He added the reference in *1522*.
660 *Commentarii in Osee* 2 PL 25 (1884) 882A
661 1 Cor 8:4
662 Lee fol c; cf n3 above.
663 Lee fol xxxvii
664 In the same annotation on John 1:3 but commenting on John 1:4 *et vita erat lux hominum* 'and the life was the light of men' (Reeve 223).
665 James 4:14
666 Cf *Hom in Joan* 5 (4) PG 59 53–60.
667 Cf *Comm in Joan* 1.7 PG 73 93–104.
668 Unidentified. Erasmus does not cite either Athanasius or Didymus in this annotation.
669 Cf Didymus *De Trinitate* 1.15 PG 39 297.

common from a supreme thing (for example, in τὸ ἀγαθόν [the good, goodness] the article distinguishes the supreme good from any ordinary good; τὸ καλόν [the beautiful, beauty], supreme beauty from any ordinary beauty; τὸ πᾶν [the whole], the universe from any sum total). But this rule is not universally in force. The article can be used in other circumstances without producing the same effect, for example in the demonstrative sense, or when something is repeated that has been mentioned before, or when one item is distinguished from another. And this applies to the passage in James, as anyone who reads it more attentively will easily realize. Finally the distinction is not necessary if the context does not require it. Here a distinction had to be made, since the words were concerned with divine matters.

Concerning Note 76

Cui nomen erat Joannes [whose name was John]:[670] Here I did not think it worthwhile to respond, since Lee is merely quarreling with me. What he calls 'negligible' here in the Translator[671] he elsewhere depicts as a grave fault in me. And he says something about my having changed my mind,[672] which is not my practice, unless[673] I am obliged to do so by manuscript evidence.

Concerning Note 77

I had pointed out that in the phrase *fuit homo missus a Deo* [there was a man sent by God], 'sent' was not used in the general sense, but in the sense in which envoys are sent with mandates.[674] For the Greeks have other words for sending a letter. Lee objects that I used *missus* in Luke to translate ἀπέσταλε [he sent][675] (from which the participle ἀπεσταλμένος [sent] is derived).[676] As if I had not also translated it in this way in this passage, or as if the angel had not been an envoy with mandates for the Virgin!

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670 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 1:6) Reeve 223. Erasmus preferred the reading *nomen ei Ioannes*, which has the same meaning. In his annotation he points out that the Translator had unnecessarily departed from the Greek.

671 Lee fol xxxvii

672 In *1519* Erasmus did not change his annotation in any significant way.

673 unless ... evidence] Added in *1540*

674 In the annotation *cui nomen erat Ioannes* (on John 1:6) Reeve 223

675 *Novum instrumentum* I 118 at Luke 1:26

676 Lee fol xxxvii verso

This passage, however, Lee lists among those which I left uncorrected.[677] Let him explain what he wants corrected. Was it the fact that I explained the Greek idiom, when Greek has several words, βάλλεσθαι and πέμπεσθαι and ἐπιστέλλεσθαι and ἀποστέλλεσθαι, for 'be sent'?

Concerning Note 78

Lee has repeatedly thought it right to philosophize about the Greek articles, although it is not quite his field. I had noted that in the passage in which John the Evangelist says that John the Baptist was not the light, the Greek article was added: οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς.[678] The purpose was to indicate that he was not denying that John was some sort of light, for he is called elsewhere 'a burning and a shining light,' but that he was not that true light of which he had spoken a little earlier.[679] This was also the case in the expression τοῦ φωτός, that is, 'about the light.'[680] To refute this, Lee[681] cites Matthew, chapter 5, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου [you are the light of the world].[682] And shortly afterwards: λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν [let your light shine].[683] Here the Greek article is added, although he clearly is not speaking of the true light that is Christ. If I were fond of arguing, I could put the blame on the Translator of Matthew, at whom Lee sometimes scoffs,[684] or I could argue that a mistake was made by the scribe; or I could shift the blame to those whose authority I follow. If Lee thinks they are contemptible, it is his own business. But I prefer to deal with the truth and with more serious matters. It cannot be denied that the Greeks are in some cases at liberty to add or omit the article; and that there are other cases in which they do not have this liberty. Let us assume that in this case the Translator, or more likely the Evangelist, was at liberty to add the article – does this invalidate the force of the article elsewhere where there is a reason for adding or omitting it? In this passage in Matthew it is not a matter of distinguishing between the eternal light and the apostolic light, although the light of Christ itself is reflected in the apostles; in John the intention is to

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677 Lee fol c; cf n3 above.
678 In the annotation *non erat ille lux* (on John 1:8) Reeve 223–4
679 John 5:35, 1:4–5; cf Note 75 above.
680 John 1:7
681 Lee fol xxxvii verso
682 Matt 5:14
683 Matt 5:16
684 Lee suggested that the Gospel of Matthew had been composed in Hebrew and translated into Greek; see n83 above.

distinguish the light of John [the Baptist] from the light of Christ, for many believed that he was Christ, whereas he was merely a forerunner of Christ. As for what Lee argues once again, that nothing prevents us from reading in that passage καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, with the article added to θεός, it was enough to misquote the passage once[685] – a passage in which the article certainly cannot be added. By[686] insisting on it again, Lee merely makes his ignorance more conspicuous.

And how pointless is the remark that follows: 'If τὸ φῶς here indicates the true light, what need was there to add ἀληθινόν [true]?' This argument is similar to the one he adduced earlier on:[687] if ὁ θεός refers to the Father, what need was there to add πατήρ [father]? In the index, finally, he rejects what I added in the second edition.[688] Obviously he was afraid that there would be no place for this annotation, which I am quite sure I never saw, especially because there is no response of mine [cited by Lee]. But Lee gives a truncated version of my words in the second edition, saying: 'The article also has the force of referring to a matter that has been mentioned before. I have added it because in Matthew there is a passage in which Christ calls his disciples the light and the salt of the world – in both cases the article is added in Greek.'[689] Lee refutes this with grand words, brandishing his sword against me in the dark, for he does not understand what I am saying. He argues as if I had written that in Matthew the article is added because salt or light is mentioned before, whereas I am speaking of the passage in John. I meant to say that even if we concede that the Greeks do not always add the article when they want to indicate the true light and that they add it sometimes to indicate human light, nevertheless the article must be added here for a different reason, namely, that the reference is to the light mentioned before: 'And the life was the light . . . and the darkness did not comprehend it.'[690] I am surprised that Lee did not see this when it is so clear from my words that it could not be any clearer, for it was preceded in my annotation by these words: 'Or you may take it like this: He was not the light about which I spoke before when I said that he was a witness to the

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685 See the beginning of Note 70 above.

686 By . . . conspicuous.] Added in *1522*

687 Cf Lee fol xxxv; see Note 70 174 above.

688 Lee fol c recto–verso; cf n3 above.

689 Lee left out the first half of Erasmus' addition to the annotation; cf the complete text at 'it was preceded in my annotation' just below. Christ calls his disciples the salt of the world at Matt 5:13.

690 John 1:4–5

light. For the article also has the force,' etc.[691] Since he was determined to find fault with my work, he should have examined more attentively in the first place what he wanted to criticize. This[692] Maevius[693] forgives himself anything in his paltry work, a work prepared over such a long time not to teach anything but only to criticize. But he does not allow me similar mistakes in so extensive a work, and one undertaken to instruct, not criticize.

If I wanted I could also defend myself in a different manner, saying that the article in Matthew was not added in vain. There were two reasons. First, not just any salt of the earth or any light of the world is being indicated, but the salt of evangelical wisdom and the light of evangelical teaching. The article designated these as something exceptional, as indeed they are, compared to common salt or light. Second, the whole preceding speech had set forth the sum of heavenly philosophy as a kind of salt and light differing greatly from the darkness and folly of the philosophers of this world. Soon [Christ] encourages the apostles to carry this light through the whole world, adding: 'You are the salt of the earth, you are the light of the world.' You show to the world the salt and light of the doctrine that I am imparting to you.

Concerning Note 79

I had noted, concerning the words of the Evangelist 'He who comes after me was made before me,' that though the participle ἐρχόμενος is ambiguous as far as the tense is concerned, it can be rendered by a verb in the past tense [came] because it is combined with a verb of the past tense, 'was made.'[694] For in such cases Greek present participles sometimes have a past meaning. Furthermore, 'was made' is said instead of '"began to be" before,' that is, more prominent, 'because he was before me': for he began to seem to people what he already was before, though till then he had been unknown

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691 Added in *1519* to the annotation *non erat ille lux* (on John 1:8); cf Reeve 224.

692 This . . . to criticize.] Added in *1522*

693 A Roman poet of the Augustan age of whom nothing is known except that he incurred the contempt of Virgil (*Eclogae* 3.90) and Horace (*Epodes* 10.2, calling him 'stinky').

694 Cf the annotation *qui post me venturus est, ante me factus est* (on John 1:15) Reeve 225–6. Erasmus suggested that *venturus est* 'is going to come' should perhaps be replaced with a verb in the past tense, 'came.' The first version suggests that Jesus, who was younger than John and his successor, had nevertheless existed before him in the eternal generation; the latter suggests that Jesus, although younger than John, began to excel him in fame.

to people. Although I cite Cyril as the author of this interpretation,[695] I add that Chrysostom preferred to adopt another, more sublime view.[696] Here Lee disagrees with me, first of all, because he concludes that Chrysostom read the word as having a future meaning.[697] Conversely, I am of the opinion that Chrysostom either is not concerned about whether the word is in the present or the future, or took ἐρχόμενος as present in meaning. This is clear from his words: 'For if he had spoken of his birth,' he says, 'he would have used the past tense, not the present. For Christ had already been born when John spoke these words.' Thus far Chrysostom. For the verb ἔρχεται [he comes] used by Matthew[698] has no other meaning than the participle ἐρχόμενος used by John here. The words of Matthew certainly cannot be understood to mean that Christ was born after John, but here nothing prevents this interpretation, although, to speak frankly, it does not contribute much to the meaning of the passage. Moreover, the fact that Chrysostom preferred, as I had said, to adopt a more sublime interpretation when he interprets it as I do, was, I suspect, due to his inserting some things aimed at the Arians, I believe. He philosophizes about the word γέγονεν, which can mean both 'was' and 'has been made' in Greek; his words are, however, rendered by Chrysostom's translator in a way that could appear to be the scribes' mistake or the translator's misunderstanding. Yet there was nothing dangerous in my note in the first edition. And I would like the reader to consider my words advice, not doctrine.

Concerning Note 80

I had pointed out that the phrase *quia non sum ego Christus* [that I am not Christ] was a bad Latin translation.[699] I say that it could have been

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695 *Comm in Joan* PG 73 165D–169B

696 *Hom in Joan* 16 (15).3 PG 59 106. As Erasmus explains in a *1519* addition (cf Reeve 226), Chrysostom took ἐρχόμενος as a reference to Christ's preaching rather than his birth.

697 Lee fol XXXVIII

698 Matt 3:11, cited ibidem

699 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 1:20) Reeve 227–8. Erasmus discusses the Translator's practice of introducing indirect speech with the conjunction *quia*, which is typical medieval usage. He prefers the conjunction *quod* or the classical construction using an infinitive. Erasmus' original annotation implied criticism, although he denies here that this was his intention. In fact, a *1519* addition was explicitly critical: 'We understood the meaning ... because we are used to this type of solecism' (cf Reeve 228).

rendered in two ways, but I do not reproach the Translator. Nevertheless Lee quarrels with me here.[700] If he does so whenever I change the wording of the Translator, an occasion for quarreling will never be lacking. I had undertaken to render the New Testament in Latin as far as possible without losing the simplicity of the apostolic words. And Lee is indignant with me if I correct an obvious solecism without casting aspersions on the Translator!

Concerning Note 81

I show that *quid mihi et tibi* [what is that to me and to you?], which is rendered by the Translator according to the Greek idiom, must be expressed in Latin by *quid mihi tecum* [what have I to do with you?].[701] Although I do this without casting aspersions on the Translator, Lee is nevertheless angry with me here too, saying: 'Nice conditions he imposes on the Translator! If he expresses it in Latin, he is accused of not rendering the Greek; if he renders it in the Greek fashion, he is faulted for not having satisfied Latin ears. Jerome is fairer to the Translator.'[702] Thus far Lee. On the contrary, Lee imposes nice conditions on Erasmus if he is attacked with insults whenever he points out to the reader that the Translator has not sufficiently expressed the meaning contained in the Greek phrase, or if he shows how a flaw in the Latin can be corrected when the Translator has rendered it in a way that is less than Latin. If I do so correctly in either case, why am I being reproached? If I am not right, why am I not rather proved wrong? I could cite many examples to show how 'fair' Jerome was to the Translator, for he criticizes his translation not infrequently, and sometimes he calls his Latin 'simple.'[703] And yet I am fairer even than Jerome since I change nothing in his translation. Finally, why does Lee demand of me that I do nothing beyond what Jerome has done when our intentions are not alike? He corrected the version read in churches before the laity; I write what is to be read privately by scholars in their studies.[704] And[705] even they are at liberty not to read it.

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700 Lee fol XXXVIII verso
701 In the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 2:4) Reeve 232
702 Lee fol XXXVIII verso
703 For example Jerome *Commentarii in Amos* 2 PL 25 (1884) 1027B
704 Cf Note 4 92 and n112 above.
705 And ... not to read it.] Added in *1540*

Concerning Note 82

I had noted that the Greek manuscripts have τὰ πάντα, that is, *omnia* [everything] for *ipse nosset omnes* [he knew everyone],[706] the phrase Augustine reads in agreement with our text.[707] Lee,[708] however, finds πάντας [everyone] in my text.[709] What can be concluded from this other than that I later found manuscripts that read πάντας and preferred to adopt what agreed with our reading? Whichever[710] you accept, it certainly makes no difference to the meaning.

Concerning Note 83

I had briefly noted that where we read in the Vulgate *nisi quis renatus fuerit* [unless one has been reborn], the Greeks consistently have γεννηθῇ, that is, *natus* [born].[711] And the oldest and most trustworthy Latin manuscripts support the Greek reading. Here Lee confronts me with Chrysostom translated into Latin,[712] which[713] he often does, ludicrous though it is. In any case it is clear from Chrysostom's exegesis that he read in Greek what I say should be adopted in Latin. For in Homily 24 he showed that the meaning of ἄνωθεν could be interpreted in two ways, 'from heaven' or 'again.'[714] In the next homily he pursues the question of the mode of heavenly birth.[715] Nor am I moved by the argument that the Latin Translator consistently has *renasci* and *renatus* for *natus* and *nasci*. Even if it were true that Chrysostom read 'being reborn' in Greek, what can we make of it but that he repeated ἄνωθεν [in the sense of 'again'] from the earlier passage? Theophylact,[716] who usually does not diverge from Chrysostom, certainly reads and interprets as I have indicated.

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706 In the annotation *quod ipse nosset omnes* (on John 2:24) Reeve 233
707 *Tract in Joan* 11.2 PL 35 1475
708 Lee fol XXXVIII verso
709 *Novum instrumentum* I 196
710 Whichever . . . to the meaning.] Added in *1540*
711 In the annotation *nisi quis renatus* (on John 3:3) Reeve 233
712 Lee fols XXXVIII verso–XXXIX
713 which . . . it is] Added in *1522*
714 Chrysostom *Hom in Joan* 24 (23).2 PG 59 146. ἄνω may denote either time before or space above.
715 Ibidem 25 (24).1 PG 59 149 (on John 3:5)
716 Theophylact . . . as I have indicated.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Enarr in Joan* PG 123 1204A.

Concerning Note 84

Concerning the phrase in John, 'the Son of Man, who is in heaven,' I indicate that the Greek participle ὁ ὤν [he being] could have been translated by a verb in the imperfect, since it is joined with a participle and verb in the past tense.[717] Yet I do not change anything in the Vulgate reading, even in the second edition. And here too Lee fights against me as if it was a dangerous matter. 'And after he had descended and was living on earth,' he says, 'was he not even then in heaven?'[718] As if I had said or meant to say this. If anyone says that the Son of God descended from heaven does it follow that he denies that he is in heaven? Next Lee teaches us, on the authority of Chrysostom,[719] that the Son of Man is said to be in heaven although he then lived physically on earth, and this by way of metaphor, just as conversely the Son of God is said to have suffered and died. As if anyone who had even crossed the threshold of theology could be ignorant of this!

Concerning Note 85

In the first edition of my book I had pointed out that the manuscript I had initially used had μενεῖ, that is, 'will remain';[720] yet, on obtaining another manuscript later in which I found μένει, that is, 'he remains,' I preferred to put in my text what agreed with our reading, especially since it made no difference to the meaning. Nevertheless, in the second edition I did not conceal the variants and indicated my preference. For I added: 'although it becomes "remains" if one changes the accent, and this is the reading of some manuscripts, and a more correct one in my opinion. Faith takes away sin, lack of faith leaves sin behind, and what is not taken away remains behind.'[721] Nevertheless Lee lists this passage in the index of 'remaining'

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717 Cf the annotation *qui est in coelo* (on John 3:13) Reeve 234. Erasmus' comment concerns the rendering of the tenses. The Greek verse reads literally: 'And nobody ascended to heaven except the one descending from heaven, the Son of Man, he being in heaven.' The Vulgate uses the present tense for 'who is in heaven'; the verbs for 'ascend' and 'descend' could be either present or past. Erasmus points out that one might read 'who was in heaven' (that is, before he descended) as the Greek participle is joined with another participle (descending) and a verb unambiguously in the past tense (ascended).

718 Lee fol XXXIX

719 Cf *Hom in Joan* 27 (26).1 PG 59 158.

720 In the annotation *sed ira domini manet* (on John 3:36) Reeve 235; cf Lee fol XXXIX.

721 The sentence appeared already in *1516*.

errors – for that is how he decided to head it.[722] If the text and translation were correct in both editions, and if there is nothing in the annotation of the second edition that can be reproached, just as there was nothing reprehensible in the short comment in the first edition either – what is it that Lee wanted changed here?

Concerning Note 86

Since my purpose was to purge the New Testament of solecisms as much as possible, I show that the Translator's rendering of συγχρῶνται [have dealings] by *coutuntur* was not good Latin. 'Who has ever said *couti*,' I say, 'or who would understand that *couti* means association or life in common? For to Latin speakers the word *usus* denotes familiarity. *Utimur* means "we are familiar with."'[723] If I ask 'Who has ever said *couti*?' I am thinking of course of native Latin speakers. Lee[724] confronts me with Chrysostom in Latin, speaking a language other than his own, and with Jerome using the Vulgate edition.[725] But who is ignorant of this? How often have I myself said *couti* when I was reading this Gospel? O famous annotations, clearly worthy to be numbered! And yet Lee notes this item among those which I (impudent man!) did not scruple to leave unchanged.[726]

Concerning Note 87

Concerning the passage in John 'who first went down into the pool,' I had pointed out that 'into the pool' is found in neither the Greek nor the old Latin manuscripts.[727] The phrase appears, however, a little earlier, when John relates that the angel used to descend into the pool. Here Lee quarrels

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722 Lee fol c verso; cf n3 above.
723 In the annotation *non enim coutuntur* (on John 4:9) Reeve 235. The verb *couti* is not classical usage, as Erasmus points out.
724 Lee fol xxxix
725 Chrysostom *Hom in Joan* 31 (30).4 PG 59 180; Jerome Ep 121.5 PL 22 1016
726 Lee fol c verso; cf n3 above.
727 Cf the annotation *descendisset in piscinam* (on John 5:4) Reeve 237. Erasmus is commenting on the following passage: '[5:3] waiting for the moving of the water. [5:4] And an angel of the Lord went down at certain times into the pool and the water was moved. And he that went down first into the pool after the motion of the water was healed of whatever infirmity he lay under.' Erasmus argues in his annotation that the second 'into the pool' is superfluous; he did not, however, remove the words at *Novum instrumentum* I 202.

with me on two counts: first because by an oversight the Latin Vulgate reading with the words that are superfluous according to the Greek was left in the text; second, because one must not assume that the Translator would add 'into the pool' if it had not been written in the codex he used at that time.[728] But I had no such suspicions of our conscientious Translator. Indeed I say that it seems to have been added by someone else, who wanted to make the matter more explicit by repeating what had preceded. I reasoned thus because the phrase is lacking in the better Latin manuscripts. In this case, however, Lee has been appeased because I removed 'into the pool' in the second edition – on his advice, of course. As if my secretary could not have advised me of the same matter more readily, for he was more knowledgeable in Greek than Lee is even now. Here,[729] moreover, Lee approves what he disapproves elsewhere. For if the Translator was right to add it, it was wrong of me to excise it. I in turn could complain of Lee because he quoted the passage which he criticizes differently from the way in which I put it. For he quotes *descendit in piscinam* [went down into the pool] (which is the first part, speaking of the angel, where I do not deny that 'pool' should be added), whereas I wrote *descendisset* [had gone down], referring to the second part.

Concerning Note 88

The Translator rendered ἐν παῤῥησίᾳ in John by *in palam* [publicly known]. I point out that the Greek idiom came closer to 'being at liberty,' that is, to 'speaking freely and boldly.'[730] However, I merely point this out in two words, in a brief comment in my annotations; in the text I read *palam esse*, for I could see that the Translator had rendered the sense well, even if he departed somewhat from the Greek wording. For *palam loqui* refers to anyone who is confident and speaks boldly and without fear, who does not fear people's judgment and has a good conscience. Although I did nothing wrong here but merely pointed out the proper meaning of the Greek word (for παῤῥησία means nothing but dangerously free speech, and παῤῥησιάζεσθαι, to speak freely), Lee nevertheless starts a quarrel with me, saying that my comment does not make sense.[731] 'What is the context of the passage "No one conceals his deeds and wants to speak openly"? The apostles wanted

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728 Lee fol XXXIX

729 Here ... excise it.] Added in *1540*

730 Cf the annotation *et quaerit ipse in palam esse* (on John 7:4) Reeve 243. This Note is out of sequence.

731 Lee fol XXXIX verso

their reputation to spread: "Let your disciples see your works," they say. Then comes this passage. Afterwards they said, "No one conceals his deeds and wants to be publicly known. Manifest yourself to the world." Therefore Chrysostom says that the words *in palam esse* contain the notion of vainglory.'[732] Thus far Lee. Does one who speaks freely and openly not manifest himself to the world? And are those who encourage him to do so free from the suspicion of vainglory? Is not concealing one's deeds at variance with the desire to speak openly and freely? For the person who acts and speaks in secret seems to be afraid; one who speaks openly is bold and does not fear a public verdict. In his index Lee has been partly placated, partly he is still angry with me.[733] He has been placated because I admit in the second edition that Chrysostom appears to interpret ἐν παρρησίᾳ εἶναι to mean something like 'to be well known'; but he does not yet forgive me for maintaining my interpretation. But, as I said, I do not translate *libere loqui* [speak freely] in the text. In the annotation I rightly show the proper meaning of the Greek word, although I also admit elsewhere[734] that the apostles misused the word once or twice. In many other places, however, they use it aptly and properly. Am I not to be allowed to indicate the proper meaning to students whenever the apostles misuse the word? In this very chapter ἐν παρρησίᾳ is repeated once or twice in a sense that agrees well with my annotation.[735]

Concerning Note 89

I had added in the second edition that the reading is *Non enim volebat in Judaeam ire* [for he did not wish to go into Judea].[736] All the Greek manuscripts agree on this; a variant can be found only in Chrysostom.[737] One Greek word is different. Chrysostom seems to have read εἶχεν [was able] instead of ἤθελεν [wished]. I do not see why Lee mentions this,[738] unless he wants to give the impression that my remark was added on his advice. But if this were the case, Lee would not have concealed it, for he is more miserly with his glory than was the Plautine Euclio with his property.[739]

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732 *Hom in Joan* 48 (47).1 PG 59 270
733 Lee fols LXXXIX verso–XC; cf n3 above.
734 Actually in the annotation under discussion, in the addition of *1519*.
735 For example John 7:26
736 In the annotation *in Galilaeam, non enim volebat in Iudaeam* (on John 7:1) Reeve 242–3.
737 *Hom in Joan* 48 (47).1 PG 59 269
738 Lee fol XXXIX verso
739 See n313 above.

Concerning Note 90

Since the Greek language is in many respects more felicitous than our Latin, I had expressed the wish that we too might be allowed to say *mediare*, just as it is correct in Greek to say μεσεῖν for being half done with something or being in the middle of something.[740] But since Latin ears do not find this tolerable, I show – without criticizing the Translator at all – that the meaning of the Greek word can be expressed in Latin by circumlocution. But here too Lee starts a quarrel with me. 'If he had translated it into good Latin,' he says, 'he would have been exposed to another calumny: namely that he translated it into good Latin, but did not render the Greek.'[741] This[742] is how Lee lashes out against me! What am I to do when faced with such a fussy critic? When did I ever carp at the Translator for translating a Greek word by circumlocution if it could not be rendered by one Latin word? Indeed, I often praise him for doing so! Soon Lee adds: 'The translator of Chrysostom reads *mediante*.'[743] What is this to me? As if Augustine did not read it in the same way![744] Shall I not be entitled to remove solecisms in a book that is read by scholars in private[745] because someone else has preferred to use the old phrase in an official and public reading – as I do myself? And this passage Lee lists among those which I (shameless man!) dared to leave as it was, at great risk to the Christian faith.[746]

Concerning Note 91

I pointed out that instead of our reading at John, chapter 7, *Nondum erat Spiritus datus, quia Jesus nondum erat glorificatus* [for the Spirit had not yet been given because Jesus had not yet been glorified], the Greek manuscripts consistently have 'For the Spirit was not yet, because Jesus had not yet been glorified.'[747] And the Bulgarian bishop Theophylact not only read but also interpreted it in this way. For he explains 'he was not yet present,' as 'he

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740 In the annotation *iam autem festo mediante* (on John 7:14) Reeve 243. The verb *mediare* used in the Vulgate is a non-classical word inspired by the Greek.
741 Lee fol XXXIX verso
742 This ... against me!] Added in *1522*
743 *Hom in Joan* 49 (48).1 PG 59 274
744 *Tract in Joan* 29.2 PL 35 1628
745 See n704 above.
746 Lee fol C verso; cf n3 above.
747 In the annotation *nondum erat spiritus datus* (on John 7:39) Reeve 244–5; cf Allen Ep 1858:1–362.

had not yet been given.'[748] For the preceding words are 'He said this, however, about the Spirit whom the believers were about to receive.' And as if someone had asked, why do you say 'about to receive,' he answers that they were still lacking the Spirit whom they would receive later. Therefore the Spirit was not yet, not because he 'was not' in the absolute sense of the word but because he was not yet in the faithful. Here Lee confronts me with Origen translated into Latin,[749] although he cannot prove from the testimony he argues that Origen, or whoever else was the author of that work, read *Spiritum datum* [the Spirit was given]. For he speaks in this way: 'For the Holy Spirit had not yet come upon any of those people who believed in Jesus, as John attests.'[750] You see that he has put *sanctus* [holy] instead of *datus* [given], and does not mention 'given.' Certainly[751] Theophylact both reads and interprets as I have indicated. In this case Lee writes in his index that I admit that the passage in Chrysostom is as he cites it.[752] On the contrary, I said that it is not clear from Chrysostom's interpretation what he read and that it is indeed more plausible to conclude that he read as the Greeks did. I do admit that [Chrysostom's Latin] translator consistently added 'given.' And I also admit that this is the reading of the old Latin manuscripts.[753] And since *nondum erat Spiritus* [the Spirit was not yet present] means the same as *nondum erat datus* [had not yet been given], it is not surprising if the Latin writers wanted to express it more lucidly.

Concerning Note 92

At last we return to the term *principium* [first-beginning],[754] about which Lee endlessly quarrels with me. I was not satisfied with what Augustine adduces concerning this passage – that Christ was asked who he was and answered he was the beginning[755] – especially since Chrysostom, a native Greek and an excellent scholar, does not touch on this meaning.[756] I therefore offered

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748 *Enarr in Joan* PG 123 1342C–D
749 Lee fols XXXIX verso–XL
750 Cf Origen *Hom in Matt* 3 PG 13 1073–4 under *Vetus interpretatio.*
751 Certainly . . . indicated.] Added in *1540*
752 Lee fol XC (cf n3 above). Cf Chrysostom *Hom in Joan* 51 (50).2 PG 59 284.
753 Erasmus added these admissions to the annotation in *1519*; cf Reeve 244.
754 The discussion concerns the annotation *principium qui et loquor* (on John 8:25) Reeve 246–8. The matter had previously been discussed in Note 72 above. This Note is out of sequence.
755 *Tract in Joan* 38.11 PL 35 1681
756 *Hom in Joan* 53 (52).1 PG 59 293

several conjectures in the first edition, among them that the term *principium* in the absolute sense did not apply to Christ, for a quality proper to the Son is to be from another. Here Lee thinks he has backed me into a corner. First of all he derides my gross ignorance for writing that 'it is the property of the Son to be from another,' whereas this was a property he had in common with the Holy Spirit.[757] What do I hear? Is it not correct to say that the ability to laugh is proper to John just because he has it in common with Peter? Indeed, when we say that the ability to laugh is proper to John, we do not distinguish him from other men, but from other creatures. But just as the ability to laugh is proper to John in so far as he is human, so it is proper to the Son to be from another in so far as he is the Son. It does not follow that the Spirit is not from another, but that the Son does not share this quality with the Father, with whom I compare him. Should I adduce Porphyry as an authority for this?[758] For he teaches us that something can be called a property for various reasons, and that that is most clearly a property which belongs to someone in such a way that it belongs to no one else. But since we are dealing with sacred matters, it is better in my opinion to cite proof-texts by holy authors. Cyril in the book entitled *Thesaurus* writes as follows: 'All the properties of the Father are by nature also proper to the Son.'[759] St Thomas explains these words of Cyril in the book he writes against the errors of the Greeks. 'It is obvious,' he says, 'from what Cyril said earlier on that he is speaking of essential attributes. These, however, are said to be proper to the Father not in relation to the Son, and to the Son not in relation to the Father, but to both in relation to the created world, for in this case "proper" does not mean proper only to one alone, but proper to someone strictly and truly speaking in relation to himself.'[760]

You see, dear reader, that Lee's argument was pointless. And this is the man who is indignant that there are people in Louvain who promise to teach him dialectic.[761] Now[762] I fear rather that there will be none who deign to list him among their students. But it is worthwhile to hear the arguments he uses against me because I said that the term 'first-beginning'

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757 Lee fol XL

758 Cf *Isagoge* 12.12–23. Porphyry (c 233–c 305) was a Neoplatonic scholar whose *Isagoge*, a commentary on Aristotle's categories, was widely used in the Middle Ages as a schoolbook of philosophy.

759 *Thesaurus* 23 PG 75 244A–D, 381A–B

760 *Adversus errores Graecorum* 1.6

761 See *Apologia* 9–10 above.

762 Now ... among their students.] Added in *Basel 1520*

does not apply to the Son in the absolute sense. 'If we grant that the Son is not the first-beginning in the absolute sense,' he says, 'the most absurd of all conclusions follows: that he is not God absolutely speaking because he is God from God. If he is God from God and nonetheless God absolutely speaking, why is he not similarly beginning from beginning and yet first-beginning absolutely, that is, beginning without qualification?' And shortly thereafter he confronts me with a response which I perhaps made in an informal conversation: that 'God' and 'beginning' were not terms of the same order, for one was absolute, the other relative. This he refutes with these words: 'If you use "absolutely" in the sense of "without qualification," relativity does not prevent something from being called "first-beginning, absolutely speaking," that is, without qualification, for nothing prevents us from applying other relationships to God without qualification. You will not deny, I suppose, that the Word is Lord and Creator without qualification. If you mean to oppose "absolute" to "relative," then not even the Father is the beginning without qualification. Thus you cannot say anything pertinent about this passage. What would be left, then, is that you say that the Word is not the beginning without qualification, and so consequently that the Word is not God without qualification. What you say elsewhere is not far removed from this, as I shall indicate later. If we introduce degrees, saying that the Father is without qualification God and beginning because he originates from no one and the Son [not][763] without qualification because he originates from another (that is, the Father), then the Holy Spirit will be even further removed from being God or first-beginning without qualification, because he originates from two, that is, from the Father and the Son. And so we are not very far from the Arian heresy.'[764]

Here we have the argument in its full virulence. Now let us see it in its full stupidity. Lee concludes that we come very close to the Arian heresy, and I fear that we come just as close to the stupidity of Coroebus.[765] For the facts themselves will soon prove that there is no similarity with the teaching of the Arians. If the Son is not the beginning absolutely speaking, he says, he will not be God absolutely speaking. How does this differ from saying 'John is not learned absolutely speaking, because he is ignorant of

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763 The word 'not,' added in square brackets here, does not appear in the quotation but as the logic of the sentence and the restatement in the next paragraph suggest, it was present to Erasmus' mind; perhaps it was in his copy of Lee's text.

764 Lee fol XL recto–verso

765 Proverbial stupidity; cf *Adagia* II ix 64.

the imperial law; therefore he is not a human being absolutely speaking,' although this John of whom we are speaking is a human being? Or: 'Peter is not a prefect absolutely speaking because he himself is subordinate to another prefect; it follows that he is not a human being absolutely speaking.' Or: 'He is not a victor absolutely speaking, for he won some victories but was defeated by others in turn; therefore he is not a human being absolutely speaking.' 'He does not stand first absolutely speaking because he only stands first in his class; therefore he is not a human being, absolutely speaking.' Or: 'He is not white absolutely speaking, for he is partly black; therefore he is not a human being absolutely speaking.' But just as it follows that John does not stand first absolutely speaking because there is someone ahead of him, so it follows that the Word comes from another beginning and therefore is not the first-beginning absolutely speaking. But Lee shows that relativity is no obstacle, arguing from a parallel that is far from parallel. 'Lord' and 'Creator' are terms that are relative to something, as is 'beginning,' yet the Son is said to be 'Lord' and 'Creator,' absolutely speaking. For I did not say that any and all relativity is an obstacle, but only the specific relativity that is contained in the term 'beginning.' For the quality of 'beginning' refers to someone who has his origin in someone else in such a way that a reciprocal relation is excluded. When someone is called 'first' with respect to those who follow him, those who follow him cannot likewise be called 'first' with respect to him. If you add the designation 'absolutely speaking' to such relative terms, he who is first absolutely speaking is the only one in first place, just as one who is prince absolutely speaking is the only prince in this sense. And the specific force of a relational term does not prevent us from calling the Son 'Lord' or 'Creator' absolutely speaking, for we do not compare him to the other Persons in this respect but merely to created things. For both the Son and the Holy Spirit are called 'Lord' or 'Creator' and share this equally with the Father, with perhaps the one difference, that the Son and the Holy Spirit derive from the Father the very fact that they are called 'Lord' or 'Creator.' It does not follow that they cannot be called 'Lord' or 'Creator' absolutely speaking, because these terms apply to them in the unqualified sense of the word, just as they do to the Father. The term 'beginning' admits of two comparisons, one by which all three Persons are compared with created things, the other by which they are compared among themselves. Everything was created by all three equally, but one Person has its origin in another. Thus we cannot call a Person 'first-beginning' in the absolute sense unless that Person brought forth the other Persons in such a manner that it was not itself brought forth by anyone. Nor can the Son be called 'first-beginning' absolutely speaking, as being the creator of all created things, for we are left

with another sense of the term 'beginning' in which he cannot be said to be the beginning. As for Lee's considering it abominable to conclude that the Holy Spirit was on this reasoning further removed from being called 'first-beginning' in the absolute sense, who cannot see that this conclusion is correct? For since the Holy Spirit is in only one sense the beginning, namely by comparison with created things, and the Son is in addition the beginning of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit is of course twice removed from that supreme and most perfect quality of being the beginning that applies only to the Father. But he is no further removed from being God absolutely speaking. Nor do I, by the way, see the point of Lee tacking on a second line of reasoning, saying: 'If you call "beginning absolutely speaking" what is called beginning without any reference.' For who is so insane as to call what is in and of itself relative 'without any reference'?

Having disputed in this fashion, Lee proceeds to moralize: 'I find a different kind of faith in the saints,' he says;[766] 'Chrysostom commenting on John, chapter 1, says, "When the Evangelist says that the Word was with God in the beginning, he suggests that you think of the Son as being without beginning." Thus Chrysostom.'[767] Now attend, dear reader, and you will perceive Lee's acumen. Observe what this fine intellect concludes from these words of Chrysostom – this intellect whom many of his partisans praise as a wonderful Scotist, greatly superior to me in that respect, though they allow that I am superior in eloquence. 'If he is the beginning without beginning,' he says, 'he certainly is the beginning in the absolute sense.' I do not know what Lee means to say here. But his words certainly smack of heresy. For since we are dealing in this whole disputation with 'beginning with respect to origin,' it would be impious to say that the Son is the beginning without beginning. If it is heretical to deny that the Son originates from the Father, God from God, it must be heretical to say that he is the beginning without beginning. If, however, he means 'beginning with respect to duration,' as it is called, meaning that the Word of God did not begin to be in time, how is this relevant to the present discussion? Does it follow that the Son does not have a beginning with respect to origin because he does not have a beginning with respect to time? Or will he be called beginning in the absolute sense because he lacks one kind of beginning – one which is irrelevant to this discussion?

Lee offers a similarly incorrect interpretation of what Jerome writes on Psalm 109: 'The Father is the beginning, but the Son is the beginning

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766 Lee fol XL verso

767 Cf *Hom in Joan* 4 (3).1, 3 PG 59 47, 50.

also. For the beginning does not have a beginning. If it had a beginning, it would cease to be the beginning itself. Thus, what we attribute to the Father we attribute to the Son. For if the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father and everything that belongs to the Father belongs to the Son and everything that belongs to the Son belongs to the Father, then the Father's beginning is the Son's beginning.'[768] If Lee interprets this as going against me, he adopts a completely heretical sense. If he interprets it in the sense in which it is written by Jerome, it does not go against my argument any more than if one said 'King Charles was not born this year.' Let Lee now choose the crime for which he wants to be condemned, heresy or stupidity. In that passage Jerome was dealing with things created in time. But he by whom all things are created already existed before they were created; it follows that he existed in eternity. For if he from whom time itself takes its origin began to exist in time, he could not be the beginning, that is, the creator, but would be a creature. In this sense we must take what Jerome adds, that the beginning of the Father is the beginning of the Son. How can we say 'the beginning of the Father,' if he takes his origin from no one? And how did Jerome here attribute beginning to the Son when he thereupon denied that he has this quality? Because there he was dealing with the beginning of duration, or passive beginning, as far as created things are concerned, whereas here he is dealing with active beginning (for I must use scholastic terms), or, if you prefer the term, with the beginning of eternity. He meant there that he who is created cannot be the creator; he meant here that creation was shared by the Son with the Father, with whom he also possesses the same eternity.

Lee adds: 'Augustine writes against the heretic Maximinus in the same vein.' But what, I ask, does Augustine say there? Does he say what Lee has just explained to us, that the Son is the beginning without beginning, and therefore the beginning absolutely speaking? Never! For Augustine was not insane. And why does Lee not give a reference for the passage? For it is in Augustine, book 3, chapter 17, if I am not mistaken.[769] 'What does "in the beginning was the Word" mean,' he says, 'other than that the Son was in the Father? And the Son himself, asked by the Jews who he was, answered: *principium, qui et loquor vobis*. Thus the Father is the beginning, but not from another beginning; the Son is beginning from beginning.' Does Lee conclude from these words that the Son is the beginning in the absolute sense?

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768 Pseudo-Jerome *Breviarium in psalmos* 109 PL 26 (1884) 1234B–C

769 Actually *Contra Maximinum* 2.17.4 PL 42 784. Maximinus (fl c 400) was an Arian bishop.

On the contrary, Augustine, in saying that the Son is 'beginning from beginning,' clearly admits that he is not the beginning absolutely speaking, and that this attribute applies only to the Father, who is the beginning without beginning.

Lee goes on: 'Also Origen in the beginning of his commentaries on Genesis.' What, I ask, does Origen say in that passage? That the Son is the beginning without beginning of origin, or that the Son is the beginning absolutely speaking? Observe, dear reader, how Lee blinds us with smoke, if we are as stupid as he thinks we are. I shall quote Origen's words, which Lee suppresses to avoid being caught out: 'What is the beginning of all things if not our Lord, the Saviour of all, Jesus Christ, the first-born of all creation? In this beginning, then, that is, in his Word, did God make heaven and earth.' And a little further on: 'Therefore he does not speak of some beginning in time; rather, he says "in the beginning," that is, in the Saviour, heaven and earth were made.'[770] I shall not discuss at this point whether I approve of Origen when he interprets (perhaps on account of the ambiguity of the Hebrew word) 'in the beginning' to mean 'in the Son.' He clearly shows, at any rate, that he speaks of the term 'beginning' as it relates to created things, for he adds 'the first-born of all creation.' It is in this sense that the Son is the beginning of all things. But he shares this quality of being the beginning with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Does this lead to Lee's conclusion – that the Son is the beginning of all created things and therefore he is the beginning in the absolute sense? No more than if you said: 'This is the primate of Britain, therefore he is primate absolutely speaking.' Or: 'He is the emperor of Germany, therefore he is emperor absolutely speaking.' But although none of what Lee says makes any sense, observe how magnificently he concludes his argument as if he had given a splendid performance: 'And why,' he says, 'do we do such great injury to the Word as to say that the Word has nothing absolutely speaking because he has everything from the Father? Even among the creatures of the Word the absolute nature in which they, with their sons, participate is not denied them, since a father no less [than his son] is a human being absolutely speaking.'[771] What is this impudent man saying? Who ever said that the Son does not have attributes in the absolute sense on the grounds that he derives what he has from the Father? And a nice parallel that is: father and son, who are both equally said to be human. You would not, I think, call Abel the beginning of humanity

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770 *Commentarii in Genesim* 1 PG 12 145C
771 Lee fols XL verso–XLI

absolutely speaking in the same way you would call Adam, who propagated all human beings without being himself propagated by any human being.

But Lee continues his argumentation in this manner: 'And if the Word is not eternal in the absolute sense, it is not eternal; if it is eternal in the absolute sense, it will be the beginning in the absolute sense.'[772] Who will concede this premise to Lee, who relies on the basis that he has laid for himself, that nothing that originates in something else exists absolutely, while the Roman pontiff is, with[773] respect to other humans, the supreme pontiff absolutely speaking, yet has the quality of being supreme from another, namely from Christ? Where then is that point injurious to the Word, if not in Lee's interpretation? Is he not ashamed to attack his neighbour with abuse in an area that he fails to understand? Nor do I see the point of what Lee adds: 'Someone may perhaps suggest that the Father is the beginning of the godhead,' he says. 'Granted, this is what Augustine says.[774] But he knows whereof he speaks, even if Chrysostom and Jerome have misgivings about admitting this expression,[775] lest it somehow provide a handle to the Arians.[776] But it is quite all right if you understand it in the right sense. As for the rest, take care not to believe that the Son has anything in common with this kind of beginning. For it is plain that the Son is not that kind of beginning, absolutely or not absolutely speaking.' Thus our good friend Lee. If Augustine said that the Father alone was the beginning of the total godhead, is this in my favour or not? Secondly, what handle can the Arians get from this? Will it allow them to say that the Son is lower than the Father because he originates from him? That the Son originates from the Father will not be denied by any orthodox writer. Or that it follows from this that the Father is his own beginning? But this is correct, if taken in the right sense. For he is his own beginning in so far as he originates in himself and from no other. But what has this to do with me or, for that matter, with Arius? And what does Lee mean when he says 'it is quite all right if you understand it in the right sense'? For this is aimed at me. Have I ever interpreted this in a sense not intended by Augustine? And what is

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772 Lee fol XLI

773 with respect to other humans] Added in *1522*

774 *De Trinitate* 4.20 PL 42 908

775 Cf Chrysostom *Hom in Joan* 4 (3).2 PG 59 48; Pseudo-Jerome *Breviarium in psalmos* 109 PL 26 (1884) 1234B.

776 For the mention of a 'handle' here and below, cf *Adagia* I iv 4.

the point of the words 'take care not to believe that the Son has anything in common with this kind of beginning'? Have I ever attributed to the Son the quality of being the beginning in the most proper, most perfect and absolute sense, which belongs to the Father alone? The words that follow in this passage (when Lee asserts that the Son is not the beginning of godhead, absolutely or not absolutely speaking) need a suitable interpretation. Is the Son not the beginning of godhead for the Holy Spirit? Lee should have added what Augustine adds, 'of the total godhead.' It is in this sense that the Father alone is called 'beginning.' But if Lee agrees, does he not cast his vote with me,[777] whom he has battled till now with a host of hateful words? If the Father is the beginning in a way in which the Son and the Holy Spirit are not, and if the Son cannot be said to be the beginning in a way that does not also apply to the Father, it does of course amount to an admission that the Father alone can be said to be the beginning absolutely speaking.

But I have no doubt that Lee added the conclusion of this disputation on the advice of some more experienced theologian.[778] In this conclusion Lee tacitly recants what he had earlier written wrongly, though he would have done better to wipe out the whole passage. Inspired by the same spirit, he deals with the subject treated here somewhat more fully in the index where he lists what I have modified in the second edition.[779] There he recounts what I meant by saying that only the Father was the beginning in the absolute sense, whereas the Son is not said to be the beginning except with the added qualification that the Father is said to be the beginning absolutely speaking and in every sense, as far as the term 'first-beginning' applies to the divine Persons. Since I had frequently explained this to Lee personally, what need was there of this disputation when he admits that he agrees with me, saying 'with which point I too have no quarrel.' Yet he adds, 'But let the learned reader decide whether your conclusion stands that the Word is not the beginning absolutely speaking.' If Lee admits that he to whom the designation 'beginning' applies in every sense is the beginning in the absolute sense, if he admits that this applies only to the Father, why does he doubt whether I have proved that the Son cannot be said to be the beginning absolutely speaking? And after this he calls me back to school and teaches me what that advisor of his

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777 Literally, 'vote with his feet'; cf *Adagia* II vii 12 CWE 34 8–10.
778 Cf *Apologia* n106 above.
779 Lee fol XCII verso; for the indexes see n3 above.

has suggested to him,[780] in what way the three Persons are the one beginning of created things in time, how Father and Son are the one beginning of the Holy Spirit in eternity, how the Father alone is the beginning in the sense that whereas everything has its origin in him, he himself does not originate in any other. But this is exactly what I called 'beginning in the absolute sense.' Indeed I could have learned this in all detail from the *Theological Sentences*, book 1, distinction 29,[781] if I knew no other author, so that there was no reason why I should go back to school with Lee for this purpose.

But how does all this argue against my annotation? Let us hear Lee relating this to the matter at hand: 'If you deny that the Word is the beginning absolutely speaking, the term which indicates the property of the Father, that is, if you deny that the Word does not have his origin in another because everything comes from him, you agree with me. But anyone who cannot see how it does not follow that the Word is therefore not the beginning absolutely speaking is a poor dialectician, for in addition to the term "beginning" there is still that which is proper to the Son, and that which is appropriate to the Trinity.'[782] Either I am completely stupid, or Lee does not understand what I mean by 'beginning absolutely speaking.' Is it sufficient reason to assign to the Son the 'beginning absolutely speaking' if the term 'beginning' can be used of him in some respect? Is it sufficient reason to call me 'learned absolutely speaking' if I know Latin grammar? This is exactly what prevents us from calling the Son the beginning absolutely speaking: the Father is the beginning in some respect in which the Son is not. But Lee proceeds to show that my words are inconsistent because the beginning that I attribute to the Father absolutely and without qualification I attribute also to the Son, in the perfect sense but not absolutely, because that kind of 'first-beginning' does not apply to the Son at all. On the contrary, in attributing to the Father the beginning in its most proper and absolute sense, I am not thinking about a specific quality of beginning, but about beginning as a genus which contains the different ways of beginning. This genus I never attribute to the Son. Nor is it contradictory to say that the Son is said to be the beginning in the perfect but not in the absolute sense. It is no more contradictory than to say that Peter is perfectly learned in grammar but not learned in the absolute sense.

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780 Lee fol XCIII, the index cited in the preceding note.
781 Peter Lombard *Sententiae* I 29 PL 192 600–2
782 Lee fol XCIII recto–verso, the part of the index cited n779 above.

Here Lee charges me in passing with attributing words found in Augustine[783] to 'the crowd of modern theologians.'[784] Why should I not attribute to the crowd of modern theologians what I find cited by Peter Lombard,[785] treated by Thomas,[786] Scotus,[787] and other similar authors? I certainly read it there, and I could not have read it there without realizing that it comes from Augustine, whose name is cited there. There are many things in the old authors that the crowd of modern theologians does not touch. Augustine says that 'in Christ man is mixed with God';[788] the crowd of modern theologians nevertheless does not speak in this manner. But, to show that I am not going beyond the theologians and am not the first to deny that the Son is called the beginning absolutely speaking, I shall adduce the commentary of Albert the Great on John, chapter 1.[789] 'Augustine,' says Albert, 'said that in the phrase "in the beginning was the Word," "the beginning" implies the Father or the mind of the Father.[790] In the context of this interpretation the question arises in what respect "beginning" implies the Father, for there is a beginning in many concepts, as it says in the fifth chapter of the *First Philosophy*.[791] Augustine also says that the Father is the beginning, as is the Son, as is the Holy Spirit, and together these three are not three beginnings but one.[792] We must add to this that absolute, active first-beginning is the property of the Father alone. For there are two kinds of originating, first when one Person proceeds from another Person, second when creature proceeds from Creator. The first is the cause of the second, as Augustine says; the beginning of the whole beginning in the first sense is only found in the Father, for it is clear that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, but the Son has this quality from the Father. The Father, however, is the beginning not from a

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783 *De Trinitate* 4.20 PL 42 908; cf 208 above.

784 Lee fol XCIII verso, referring to the end of the annotation *principium qui et loquor* (on John 8:25); cf Reeve 248. In *1522* Erasmus replaced the reference to modern theologians with a reference to Augustine.

785 *Sententiae* I 29.1 PL 192 600

786 Cf *Summa theologiae* I q 39 a 5 ad 6.

787 Cf *Quaestiones in libros Sententiarum* I 29 *Opera omnia* 26 vols (Paris 1891–5) X 439–43; *Ordinatio* 29 *Opera omnia* (Vatican City 1950–) VI 165–7.

788 Ep 137.11 PL 33 520; cf Note 71 176 above.

789 *In evangelium secundum Joannem expositio* 1.1 in *Opera omnia* ed A. Borgnet 38 vols (Paris 1890–99) XXIV 24–5

790 *De Trinitate* 6.2 PL 42 925

791 That is, Aristotle *Metaphysics* 5.1

792 *De Trinitate* 5.13 PL 42 920

beginning, and therefore the first origin of beginning, and its first cause, is in the Father. For this reason Augustine says that in the Father there is the beginning of the whole divinity, and therefore "beginning" can be substituted as an epithet for "Father."' Thus Albert. Can one express any more clearly that by 'beginning absolutely speaking' the Father is meant? Nor is this at variance with what St Bonaventure writes on the *Sentences*, book 1, distinction 29: 'The concept [*intentio*] of beginning,' he says, 'most properly applies to God, and especially with respect to the Person of the Father.'[793]

But Lee still presses on: 'Let us grant you,' he says, 'that the Son cannot be said to be the beginning absolutely speaking; why does this go against the interpretation of St Augustine? Augustine[794] was satisfied that the Son is the beginning of creation together with the Father.'[795] Lee is right, if it were agreed that here the Son is called 'beginning.' But this is exactly what is called in doubt. One could object that some exegetes say 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth' implies 'in the Son.' Even if we accept this interpretation, which seems forced to me, the word 'beginning' is not used in the absolute sense; but immediately afterwards follow the words 'he created,' etc. But in the Gospel of John the word 'beginning' is used in the absolute sense and even those to whom Lee gives a great deal of weight interpret it as referring to the Father. In the Apocalypse, chapter 3 (although long ago they were not in the habit of using testimony from the Apocalypse as cogent proofs in disputation),[796] Christ is not simply called the beginning but the beginning of God's creation.[797] I think that this cannot be accepted in any other sense than in the sense of the words in chapter 1: 'I am the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end' and later 'the first and the last.'[798] Indeed the general context reveals that the writer is speaking of Christ and the church whose beginning he was when by assuming a human body he reconciled her with himself, and whose end he will be when he perfects her happiness at his second coming. Again when

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793 *Commentarii in libros Sententiarum* I 29.1.1 ad 1 *Opera omnia* 10 vols (Quaracchi 1882–1902) I 509

794 *De Trinitate* 5.13 PL 42 920

795 Paraphrasing Lee fol XCIII verso; cf n3 above.

796 Dionysius of Alexandria (fl c 200), a pupil of Origen, first rejected the book; in the third and fourth centuries, doubts about its authenticity persisted, especially among the Greeks. Cf Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 7.24–5 PG 20 692–704; Erasmus *Apologia ad Fabrum* CWE 83 82 and 85.

797 Rev 3:14, added by Erasmus to his annotation in *1535*; cf Reeve 248.

798 Rev 1:8, 21:6

he uses these words in chapter 22,[799] he speaks of the coming of Christ: He was the first because he was the start of our salvation; he will be the last because after his coming this church will no longer exist.

Finally Lee ends the disputation by saying that he disagrees with my denial that the Son can be called beginning in the absolute sense, but he can see how this passage could be construed according to the Greek reading, which differs from our translation and which, he says, 'does not entirely please me, to tell the truth.'[800] What am I to do with Lee if I cannot convince him on anyone's authority or by means of any arguments that the term 'beginning' in the absolute sense applies only to the Father? Yet Jan of Ath, then the most learned theologian at the university, did not think there was any danger if anyone said that the term 'beginning' in the absolute sense applied only to the Father, not to the Son. This is what Maarten van Dorp reported to me at that time, for he consulted Ath about this matter on my behalf, even[801] if he did not tell me until after the second edition had appeared. I know well that even today he will not deny that I am telling the truth. If I may go further,[802] why do we recoil so completely from the notion that the word 'beginning' applies specifically to the Father when Hilary attributes to him the epithet 'eternal' as properly his?[803] When Chrysostom is not afraid to say with Paul that the Father is the only God for no other reason than that the Father alone is the origin of the eternity and the godhead of the other Persons?[804] But why does Lee not indicate to us his own novel manner of explaining the passage? For if he says he is not pleased with 'our translation,' meaning the Latin translation, where does this leave his argument that this translation comes from the Holy Spirit? If he means Augustine's translation, I am surprised that he disagrees with so great an author and casts his vote entirely for my view. I am even more pleased that he thinks the passage can be corrected on the basis of the Greek books. But where does this leave the argument he preaches so often, that the Greek books must not be trusted? But let there be an end to this much too prolix disputation about the 'beginning'; only let me add first that I am puzzled

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799 Rev 22:13

800 Lee fols XCIII verso–XCIIII; cf n3 above.

801 even ... had appeared] Added in *1522*. It is not clear whether Erasmus is referring to the second edition of his New Testament or the second edition of his response to Lee.

802 Literally 'jump over the pit'; cf Lucian *Gallus* 6.

803 For example *De Trinitate* 2.6, 3.2 PL 10 56A, 76C

804 Perhaps a reference to *Hom in 1 Tim* 4.2 PG 62 522–3 (on 1 Tim 1:17)

why Lee wanted to list the same passage twice, first in the index where he notes what I have modified,[805] and again in the index where he notes what I failed to correct.[806]

Concerning Note 93

I pointed out that in the passage in John *principium qui et loquor vobis* [I am the beginning, who also speak to you] the word *principium* was not a noun but an adverb and meant the same as if you said 'in the beginning' or 'in the first place.'[807] It sat ill with Lee that I should disagree with Augustine,[808] whose special partisan he wants to appear to be. These are the words of mine that gave him such offence: 'Good God, how long-winded Augustine is in his effort to persuade us that *principium* must be understood in the sense of "believe that I am the beginning."' Here Lee comes to Augustine's assistance by showing that Jerome too was caught in the same error,[809] for in his exegesis of Psalm 39 he writes that Christ, asked who he was, responded: *principium* [the beginning].[810]

First of all, I pointed out that those commentaries do not seem to me genuine or the work of one author.[811] But granted that they were written by Jerome in haste while engaged in other work, should I therefore be afraid to note that the Greek phrase could not have this meaning? The same author explains in the same passage: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth,' that is, he created it 'in the Son' – certainly a forced interpretation. Then he adapts to this interpretation the passage from the Gospel of John 'in the beginning was the Word,' whereas here 'beginning' does not refer to the Word but to the Father, if it refers to a Person at all. And in the index Lee expresses surprise that I am still insisting on my

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805 See n779 above.

806 Lee did not include Note 92 in his list of unchanged passages; cf n3 above. He did, however, include there Note 93, which deals with the same passage (Lee fol c verso).

807 A continuation of the disputed point in the same annotation on John 8:25; cf Reeve 246–8.

808 *Tract in Joan* 38.11 PL 35 1681; cf *De Trinitate* 5.13 PL 42 920. In *1519* Erasmus removed the words that offended Lee (cf Reeve 246) and substituted a longer, more moderately worded explanation.

809 Lee fol XLI verso

810 Pseudo-Jerome *Breviarium in psalmos* 39 PL 26 (1884) 1002A

811 In the prefatorial pieces to his Jerome edition; see Jerome *Lucubrationes* I fol γ 5 verso (under 'Sequuntur ea quae falso titulo non unius sunt authoris').

view,[812] since I admit that Ambrose too shares the opinion of Augustine.[813] But since Lee himself admits that he does not like Augustine's translation, why does he want me to change my mind and[814] agree with Augustine, when he – so great a man – disagrees with him?

Concerning Note 94

I confess I could not read this annotation of Lee's without laughing. You too will laugh, dear reader, when you come to know the matter. When I was first editing the New Testament in Basel and came to the passage about the woman caught in adultery,[815] I consulted the commentaries of Augustine to see whether he had explained this passage. By some chance or other, either because I was not attentive enough or because the sequence in the manuscript was different, I convinced myself that this passage had been passed over by Augustine. On my return to Brabant,[816] when I went through the work at leisure, I discovered that I was mistaken and, changing the note, I attested that it was found in Augustine's commentaries and was cited repeatedly by him,[817] but in a way that nevertheless indicated that this story was missing in many manuscripts, both Greek and Latin. He even says so in *Against the Pelagians*, book 2,[818] where it was very much in his interest that the greatest weight be given to the Gospel passage. Afterwards it happened that Lee in an informal conversation said of his own accord that this passage had not been explained by Augustine. I asked whether this was so. He asserted it. Then I laughed and said: 'When I was in Basel I was under the same mistaken impression as I see you are now. But read Augustine's commentaries more attentively and you will discover that you are wrong.' And at the same time I showed him that I had excised the reference from my annotations. Now Lee pretends it never happened. 'Not true,' he says,[819] as if he was arguing with me. His purpose, of course, is to

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812 Lee fol C verso; see n806 above.
813 Ambrose *Hexameron* 1.2 PL 14 (1845) 124B–C / (1882) 135C, cited in the *1519* addition to the annotation; cf Reeve 247.
814 and ... with him] Added in *1522*
815 Cf the annotation *adducunt autem scribae et pharisaei mulierem* (on John 8:3) Reeve 245–6, with the changes of *1519*.
816 In May 1516. Erasmus spent most of the two years leading up to the publication of the first edition (1516) in Basel.
817 Cf Augustine *Tract in Joan* 33.4 PL 35 1648–9.
818 Not Augustine but Jerome *Dialogus contra Pelagianos* 2.17 PL 23 (1883) 579A
819 Lee fol XLI verso

transfer this bit of glory to himself. Indeed in the index where he lists the passages he wants us to believe were corrected on his advice, he writes in this manner: 'He admits that Augustine mentioned the story of the adulterous woman.'[820] Lee charges me with an error as if it had been corrected by him, concealing that he would perhaps still have the same erroneous opinion had I not warned him. If Lee denies this I shall not call him a liar or an impudent man, the names with which he continuously honours me, but I shall swear that he has a wretched memory.

Next he teaches us, citing Eusebius, that Papias added this story to the Gospel of John out of the apocryphal Gospel of the Nazarenes.[821] I do not condemn what Lee says, but I could threaten the man with his own weapons. After he so often exaggerates the danger to the Christian religion from men who are hungry for innovation, and just because I had pointed out that *clarificare* is δοξάζειν in Greek or because I preferred the translation *creditor* to *foenerator*,[822] why does he fearlessly state in his book (which he himself believes will circulate worldwide) that what the church reads in the liturgy under the name of John was tacked on out of the apocryphal books? Why in this case does he not tremble lest the authority of all of divine Scripture collapse? If we believe that no small part of the Gospel was tacked on from books in which the church forbids us to put our trust, what can we trust without doubting? He[823] thought the Christian religion was stem and stern[824] in imminent danger of shipwreck because according to the manuscripts of the Greeks a few words were redundant in our copies of the canonical Epistle of John;[825] and is everything in safe waters if the whole Gospel of John is called into question? For if we grant that such a considerable section is taken from the apocrypha, what follows but that the remainder must come under suspicion as well? But I have no time to quibble. At any rate you can see, dear reader, how I could deal with him here if I had the time or inclination.

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820 Lee fol xc; cf n3 above.

821 Lee ibidem; cf Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.39 PG 20 300C–D. Lee does not state this definitely, as Erasmus would have us believe, but qualifies his remark carefully: 'it appears to me that one may deduce from the words of Eusebius . . .' Indeed Eusebius says nothing about the story being added to the Gospel of John.

822 See Note 108 below and Note 53 above.

823 He . . . under suspicion as well?] Added in *Basel 1520*

824 *Adagia* I i 8

825 See the discussion on the Comma Joanneum in *Responsio 3* Note 25, 403–14 below.

I almost forgot to mention – yet the reader should be aware of this – that Lee here cites as Augustine's a book entitled *De vera ac falsa poenitentia*, although Augustine is mentioned by name in chapter 17 of the book.[826] You can conjecture from this how diligently Lee studied the writings of Augustine, whose reputation he has set out to protect.

Concerning Note 95

I point out that Greek manuscripts have a text different from that in our copies.[827] Instead of *audientes autem haec, unus post unum exibant* [but hearing this, they went out one by one], in them we read, with a few additional words: οἱ δε ἀκούσαντες, καὶ ὑπὸ συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐξήρχοντο εἷς καθείς, that is, 'But when they had heard this, being convicted by their own conscience, they went out one by one.' Here Lee notes that the words which I say I have found in Greek volumes are not in my edition.[828] Is it surprising if I follow in my edition what I prefer, especially when other manuscripts support this reading?[829] For what was added there is not printed in the Aldine edition.[830] Nor do I see the point of what Lee writes in his index: 'Here he adds: "although Valla reads otherwise" '[831] – as if I had not made the same observation in the first edition, attesting that there was a variant reading in the Greek. What[832] thirst for glory!

Concerning Note 96

The same answer applies to this annotation.[833] I pointed out that in some manuscripts we find added ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων, that is, 'to the last.' Since I did not find these words in other manuscripts I obtained later on, and since they are not in the Aldine edition either,[834] I preferred to follow what agrees with our reading.

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826 Cf *De vera et falsa poenitentia* 17 PL 40 1128.
827 In the annotation *audientes autem hoc unus post unum* (on John 8:9) Reeve 246
828 Lee fol XLI verso
829 *Novum instrumentum* I 213
830 Cf Aldina fol 385 verso.
831 Lee fol C verso (cf n3 above), referring to the 1519 edition; cf Reeve 246. The reference to Valla *Annotationes* (*Opera* I 842) had appeared already in *1516*, as Erasmus says.
832 What thirst for glory!] Added in *1522*
833 Lee fol XLI verso, discussing *a senioribus* (on John 8:9) Reeve 246
834 Cf Aldina fol 385 verso.

Concerning Note 97

We read *quia Patrem ejus dicebat Deum* [that he spoke of his Father, God];[835] I show on the basis of the Greek texts that we must read *eis* [to them] for *ejus* [his], and that we need not add *Deum* [God]. Next I point out that ὅτι [that] can be taken in the sense of τί [what], resulting in the meaning that the Jews did not understand 'what' he meant when he referred to his Father and repeatedly spoke about him in such magnificent terms. For they knew that Joseph, whom they considered to be his father, was a man of low standing to whom these magnificent words did not apply. Nor do I insist that this is the meaning, but merely propose it hesitantly, for I begin by saying: 'The meaning appears to be,' etc. Here Lee solemnly commands me to restore the passage in the text and restore 'that' for the 'Erasmian' 'what,'[836] on the grounds that Chrysostom interpreted it thus.[837]

This fact did not escape my attention, but since in my opinion his interpretation does not square with the meaning,[838] I searched out another. For Chrysostom's explanation, that they did not understand that he spoke of his Father when he said 'he who has sent me is true,'[839] does not appear to be very plausible, since a little earlier Jesus expressly said many things about his Father: 'But I and the Father who sent me' and again 'And the Father who sent me is my witness. Then they said: Where is your Father? Jesus replied: You do not know me, and you do not know my Father. If you knew me you would perhaps also know my Father.'[840] Since these words are found earlier in the same passage, why would they now be oblivious to them and suddenly fail to understand that he spoke of his Father? It is plausible, moreover, that John was repeating here in his own person what he had just said in the person of Jesus, 'and you do not know my Father.' You see, dear reader, that it was not rashness that led me to seek out another interpretation, one different from the common interpretation. If I had the Greek text of Chrysostom at hand I could perhaps refute Lee's assertion on his authority. I also wonder why Lee lists this passage among those which I did not change in the second edition when I translate in the text: *Et non*

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835 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 8:27) Reeve 248.
836 Lee fol XLII
837 Cf *Hom in Joan* 53 (52).1 PG 59 293. In the *1519* annotation Erasmus added a reference to Chrysostom; cf Reeve 248.
838 Literally 'square with the rule'; *Adagia* I v 90
839 John 8:26
840 John 8:16, 18–19

cognoverunt quod de Patre eis loquutus esset [and they did not know that he had spoken to them of his Father],[841] and in the annotations I favour this interpretation, about which I have now almost changed my mind. Is it not shameful to criticize something without checking what you criticize?

Concerning Note 98

I had noted that the Greek manuscripts have ἀτιμάζετε, a verb in the present tense, for *inhonorastis* [you dishonoured] in our translation. But since I found in other manuscripts ἠτιμάσατε [you dishonoured], I preferred to adopt what agreed with our reading, especially since both readings had the same meaning.[842] The fact that in very old Latin manuscripts I found *inhonoratis* [you do not honour], with the verb in the present tense, shows at any rate that I did not dream up the reading ἀτιμάζετε. This too Lee lists among the passages I left unchanged,[843] whereas I point out the two variants to the reader in the second edition. What does he want? Does Lee not permit me even this much?

Concerning Note 99

Peccatores Deus non audit [God does not hear sinners]:[844] I have no reason to respond to this annotation, which is nothing but an unprofitable quarrel. 'How do you know,' Lee says, 'whether the Translator might not have read εἰσακούει or κατακούει?'[845] – as if it were my task to divine this. Next he says that this is not a serious matter, meaning there is no difference between

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841 Lee fol CI (cf n3 above). Cf *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 210. The word *quid* 'what' appeared in the text of the first edition, *Novum instrumentum* I 214, but was replaced by *quod* 'that' thereafter.

842 In the annotation *inhonorastis* (on John 8:49) Reeve 249; cf Lee fol XLII. From *1519* Erasmus explained that some, not all, Greek manuscripts used the present tense.

843 Lee fol CI; cf n3 above.

844 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 9:31) Reeve 250.

845 Paraphrasing Lee fol XLII. Erasmus had noted that here the Vulgate rendered the term ἀκούει *audit* 'hear'; *exaudit* 'hear' further on in the same verse. He commented that there was no corresponding variation in the Greek and the Translator was merely indulging a whim. Lee countered with the speculation that the Translator might have followed a Greek text containing a compound verb, such as εἰσακούω or κατακούω, which justified the use of the compound verb *exaudio* in Latin. Compound verbs are more emphatic than simple verbs; in theological language *exaudio* refers to 'hearing prayers,' as in this verse.

audio and *exaudio*. But even the common kind of theologians thinks that there is a great difference!

Concerning Note 100

Since *sicut dixi vobis* [as I told you] was omitted in the first edition, either by my own or by the typesetters' negligence, it was added in the second edition.[846] Lee claims credit for this,[847] although nothing is owed to him. For if I had made no additions to the second edition, what need was there for me to take such trouble? This, if nothing else, could have been discovered by my assistants.

Concerning Note 101

Si illos dixit deos, ad quos sermo Dei factus est, et non potest solvi Scriptura, quem Pater sanctificavit, et misit in mundum, vos dicitis quia blasphemas, quia dixi, Filius Dei sum [If he called them gods, to whom the word of God came, and if Scripture cannot be broken, whom (or which) the Father has sanctified and sent into the world, you say 'you blaspheme' because I said I am the Son of God].[848] Since this arrangement of clauses does not make sense, as you can see for yourself, dear reader, I sought to avoid the awkwardness through punctuation, so that we read in this manner: *Si illos vocavit deos, ad quos sermo Dei factus est, et non potest solvi Scriptura* – here I place a question mark;[849] then comes the rest: *Quem Pater sanctificavit*, etc. Lee does not approve of this punctuation[850] and cites the interpretation of Chrysostom,

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846 At John 10:26; cf *Novum instrumentum* I 220, *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 216, and the annotation *quia non estis ex ovibus meis* on this verse (Reeve 251).

847 Not explicitly. Lee neither discusses the *1519* annotation on this point nor lists this text in the index of unchanged passages.

848 John 10:35–6; cf the annotation *et non potest solvi scriptura* (on John 10:35) Reeve 251–2, where Erasmus proposes several ways of dividing the sentence. Modifying DV slightly, one could render the verses as follows: '(35) If he called gods those to whom the Word of God was spoken, and Scripture cannot be broken; (36) do you say of him whom the Father has sanctified and sent into the world: You blaspheme, because I said, I am the Son of God?'

849 In Erasmus' time, a question mark (*percunctatio*) was sometimes used to mark off an indirect question or a conditional clause. Cf the position of the semicolon in the translated version in the preceding note.

850 Lee fol XLII verso

who explains the passages in these words: 'If he calls gods those to whom God's speech has been addressed, why do you say that I am blaspheming because I said that I am the Son of God?'[851] He also adduces Augustine explaining the passage: 'If the word was addressed to human beings and as a result they were called gods, how can the Word itself which is with God not be God?'[852] I ask you, dear reader, what has this to do with my annotation? There is no ambiguity about the meaning of the passage. I was speaking merely of the arrangement of clauses, and Lee interprets the meaning for me. I see no awkwardness in Chrysostom's speech, nor in the words of Augustine, but in the words of the Evangelist the arrangement makes little sense. I attempted to remedy this, although I did not adopt in the text what I had indicated in the note.[853] What is Lee's point? Am I not allowed to point out to the reader that the wording is awkward? And yet Lee issues a warning as if I had done an injury to the reading of the church.

Concerning Note 102

I had pointed out that instead of our reading, *omnia traham ad meipsum* [I shall draw everything to myself], the Greek manuscripts consistently have πάντας, that is, 'everyone.'[854] Here Lee confronts me with Jerome,[855] who reads 'everything' in the commentaries in which he explains Hosea.[856] But it could be that this was changed by a scribe. Let us grant, however, that it was written thus by Jerome; I do not conceal that the Latins have a different text, I merely translate what appears in this form in the Greek manuscripts, since I had no manuscript that supported a different reading. Indeed the edition that was recently published by the Aldine press has what I have indicated.[857] Certainly[858] Chrysostom both reads and interprets 'everyone,'[859] to make us understand that not only the Jews but the other nations are included as well.

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851 *Hom in Joan* 61 (60).2 PG 59 338
852 *Tract in Joan* 48.9 PL 35 1745
853 Cf *Novum instrumentum* I 221.
854 In the annotation *omnia traham* (on John 12:32) Reeve 254
855 Lee fol XLII verso
856 Jerome *Commentarii in Osee* 3 PL 25 (1884) 940A
857 Cf Aldina fol 387 verso.
858 Certainly ... included as well.] Added in *1522*
859 *Hom in Joan* 67 (66).3 PG 59 373

Concerning Note 103

I had indicated that in the words *quodcunque petieritis Patrem in nomine meo* [whatever you ask the Father in my name], 'Father' was not added in the Greek or in the oldest Latin manuscripts, at least those that I was able to see.[860] In the second edition I add that 'Father' was not added in Augustine's exegesis of the passage either.[861] Here Lee deals me a double blow. First he presses on me the authority of Chrysostom, who reads 'my Father.'[862] I admit that the translator read thus. Whether Chrysostom read thus is uncertain. What[863] is certain is that Theophylact is on my side.

Then Lee reasons that the phrase that follows, *ut glorificetur Pater in Filio* [that the Father may be glorified in the Son] does not make sense unless it is preceded by 'whatever you ask the Father.' I do not at all deny that 'Father' must be understood as implied in the first part. For from whom should they ask in the name of the Son, if not from the Father? The Son after all taught them to ask for what they need in the words 'Our Father who art in heaven,' etc.[864] But[865] what must be understood is not necessarily in the text.

A second point bothers Lee:[866] If 'Father' is not added in the first part but it is read as 'whatever you ask the Father in my name,' when 'If you ask for anything in my name, I shall do it' follows soon afterwards, it would seem that the same thing is said twice. As if that were something novel in this evangelist, when we may discover the same practice in this very chapter! Yet in some old manuscripts the second part reads: 'If you ask me for anything in my own name, I shall do it' – as if anything could be asked from Christ that is not asked in his own name. And this passage Lee notes among those that I failed to change.[867] What is his point? Should I have added 'Father' on my own account, relying on the authority of Lee (if indeed he had so advised me!), although all Greek codices, of which I consulted a considerable number, read otherwise, although Augustine read otherwise, and the trustworthy old manuscripts read otherwise? And what difference does it make whether the word is implied or expressly written?

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860 In the annotation *Et quodcunque petieritis patrem* (on John 14:13) Reeve 257.
861 Cf Augustine *Tract in Joan* 73 PL 35 1824–6.
862 Lee fol XLII verso. Cf Chrysostom *Hom in Joan* 74 (73).2 PG 59 402. The PG text omits *Patrem*.
863 What ... my side.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Enarr in Joan* PG 124 176.
864 Matt 6:9
865 But ... in the text.] Added in *1522*
866 Lee fols XLII verso–XLIII
867 Lee fol CI; cf n3 above.

Concerning Note 104

Et alium paracletum dabit vobis [and he will give you another paraclete]:[868] My note on this passage is petty, I admit. Since the word 'paraclete' is so common in Latin that many think it is the proper name of the Holy Spirit, I indicated in a word or two that it would have been clearer if he had translated the Greek word into Latin and put *consolator* [comforter] in place of *paracletus*. For what Christ says here is said for the sake of consolation. Therefore, lest they consider themselves deserted after his departure, he says: 'I shall not leave you orphans, but at my request the Father will give you another, who will comfort you in my absence.' Since this inconvenience does not exist in Greek, what was the point of confronting me with the Greek Chrysostom?[869] That *paracletus* is a general epithet here, moreover, is clear from what follows: 'the Spirit of Truth.'[870] Finally, since what I noted was insignificant, I did not carry it over into the text, at least in the first edition.[871] And what risk would there have been if I had done so?

Concerning Note 105

I show that what John expressed in Greek by the words ὑπάγω καὶ ἔρχομαι could have been translated *Abeo et venturus sum* [I go away and shall come], because the tense of the participle is indeterminate.[872] Yet I did not change the received text,[873] realizing of course that the verb in the present tense is also suitable to express the swift return.

Concerning Note 106

I noted that our reading, *mittetur ... et arescet* [shall be cast away ... and wither], corresponds to ἐβλήθη ... καὶ ἐξηράνθη in Greek, that is, *ejectus*

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868 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 14:16) Reeve 257.
869 *Hom in Joan* 75 (74).1 PG 59 403, cited Lee fol XLIII
870 John 14:17
871 Cf *Novum instrumentum* I 231 (*paracletum*), *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 227 (*consolatorem*).
872 Cf the annotation *vado et venio ad vos* (on John 14:28) Reeve 260 and Lee fol XLIII. Erasmus is referring to the fact that ἔρχομαι 'I come' is in the present tense but has a future connotation; the Latin *venio* 'I come' he finds as suitable as his own suggestion *venturus sum* 'I am going to come.'
873 Cf *Novum instrumentum* I 232.

est ... et exaruit [has been cast out ... and has withered].[874] If Lee doubts my credibility, let him consult the manuscripts of the Greeks or a copy of the Aldine edition.[875] There[876] is no doubt that Theophylact reads in this manner. Just as above he wishes to explain the near future by a verb in the present tense,[877] so he expresses the immediate future here in much more common fashion by a verb in the aorist tense. Since we are speaking here about Greek idiom, moreover, it is not very much to the point to adduce Chrysostom in a Latin translation.[878] For it could be that he read in the text as we read but rendered the meaning, not the words, in his exegesis.

Concerning Note 107

I noted that our reading, *docebit vos omnem veritatem* [he will teach you all truth], corresponds in Greek not to διδάξει but to ὁδηγήσει, that is, not 'will teach' but 'will guide you to all truth.'[879] The Aldine text, among others, will show that this is so.[880] Since the meaning is the same, moreover, why should I be afraid to adopt what is more plausible and consistently found in the Greek manuscripts? Once again Lee confronts me with Chrysostom in Latin.[881] This is rather impudent, since one cannot at all conclude from the interpretation what Chrysostom read.[882] Theophylact[883] certainly reads and interprets as I note.

Concerning Note 108

Clarifica me tu Pater apud temetipsum claritate [glorify me, Father, with yourself, with the glory]:[884] Here I point out to the reader that what the Translator

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874 In the successive annotations *mittetur foras* and *et arescit* (on John 15:6) Reeve 260.
875 Cf Aldina fol 388 verso.
876 There ... manner.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Enarr in Joan* PG 124 196.
877 At John 14:28, see Note 105 above.
878 *Hom in Joan* 76 (75).2 PG 59 412, cited Lee XLIII verso
879 In the annotation *docebit vos omnem* (on John 16:13) Reeve 261. Erasmus rendered the Greek verb by *ducet* 'will lead,' 'will guide.'
880 Cf Aldina fol 388 verso.
881 Lee fol XLIII verso
882 *Hom in Joan* 78 (77).2 PG 59 423
883 Theophylact ... as I note.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Enarr in Joan* PG 124 213A.
884 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 17:5) Reeve 262.

frequently translates by *clarificare* and *claritas* is δοξάζειν and δόξα in Greek, that is, *glorificare* [glorify] and *gloria* [glory]; but content with having pointed this out I do not change the verb *clarificare*.[885] Here Lee confronts me with Jerome,[886] who in the epistle to Sinia and Fretela points out what I point out, but added: 'I did not want to change the old reading, because the meaning was the same.'[887] Why, I beg you, am I being reproached here? Because I pointed out that Greek δοξάζειν means *glorificare*? So does Jerome. Because I changed the received word? But I left it intact. Certainly Lee's annotation is irrelevant to this passage. But what if I had changed the word here, as the Translator did not scruple to do elsewhere, saying: *Gloria in excelsis* [Glory on high], *da gloriam Deo* [give glory to God]?[888] Why did he not translate *claritatem*? And in Paul, why did he not translate δοξάζω τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου [I glorify my gospel], *ut clarificem*?[889] Finally, what Jerome did not dare to do with respect to δοξάζω, I did not dare to do anywhere. For I never changed anything in the public reading and the text of the church, indeed not even the text used at universities. I address the reader in his study.[890]

Concerning Note 109

Lee reproaches me for translating *priusquam mundus esset apud te* [before the world was, with you][891] instead of the Vulgate reading *priusquam mundus fieret* [before the world was made]. He says I did so on the basis of 'my Greek,'[892] meaning, I suppose, a book corrupted by me because I read πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί. What if this very phrase is found in most Greek books and also in the Aldine edition?[893] Will it be called 'my Greek'? Is[894] what Theophylact not only reads but also interprets 'my Greek'? But Jerome reads *fieret*.[895] What else can be concluded from this but that instead of εἶναι [to be] he read γίνεσθαι, which can mean either 'to be' or 'to be made'? Did Lee want me to use *fieret* in my translation when it is εἶναι in

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885 Cf *Novum instrumentum* I 236.
886 Lee fol XLIII verso
887 Ep 106.30 PL 22 848
888 Luke 19:38, John 9:24
889 Perhaps referring to Rom 11:13
890 Cf 92 and n112, 194, and 200 above.
891 *Novum instrumentum* I 236 at John 17:5
892 Lee fol XLIII verso
893 Cf Aldina fol 389.
894 Is ... 'my Greek'?] Added in *1540*. Cf *Enarr in Joan* PG 124 228B–D.
895 *Commentarii in Jonam* 2 PL 25 (1884) 1134C, cited Lee fols XLIII verso–XLIIII

Greek? And he thought it worthwhile to note this passage too among those which I did not correct.[896]

Concerning Note 110

Ascendo ad Patrem meum [I ascend to my Father], etc.[897] Lee[898] casts into my teeth that I previously showed that the article must be used whenever someone in particular is denoted.[899] Here therefore he is 'slaying me with my own sword,'[900] for in the passage καὶ θεόν μου, καὶ θεὸν ὑμῶν [and my God and your God] in John the article is not used, although it cannot be denied that he is speaking of the Father. But I have refuted this quibble once before.[901] For the article is used earlier on and applies also to what follows: ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, καὶ θεόν μου, καὶ θεὸν ὑμῶν [I ascend to the Father of me and Father of you, and God of me and God of you]. Why does he not add the article to the second 'Father'? Simply because the preceding article pertains to all the nouns. For it is like saying, 'I ascend to him who is my Father and your Father, my God and your God.' And yet Lee lists this passage among those which I left uncorrected.[902] But what did he want me to change? Should I have added the article in Greek when it was lacking in the Greek manuscripts? If John wrote in this manner, was it my task to change it? Especially when what he wrote does not contradict my annotation – that is to say, not 'my' annotation, but that of the most learned Greeks.[903] I should say, moreover, that if one changes what is written and adds the article as Lee wishes, the meaning is at risk. For if he had said πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν [to the Father of me and to the Father of you] he would have given the impression of denoting two fathers, one his own, the other that of the disciples. As it is, with the article omitted, one cannot understand it in any other way but as a reference to

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896 Lee fol CI; cf n3 above.
897 John 20:17; cf *Novum instrumentum* I 244.
898 Lee fol XLIIII
899 See Note 70 above.
900 *Adagia* I i 51
901 See Note 70 174 above.
902 Lee fol CI; cf n3 above.
903 Erasmus annotated this passage only in *1522*, in the annotation *ascendo ad patrem meum* (on John 12:20) Reeve 266. The reference to 'my annotation' must therefore be to *et deus erat verbum* (on John 1:1) Reeve 221, the annotation in which he had first discussed the subject and which had also been tackled by Lee; cf Note 70 above.

one Father, who is the Father of Christ and at the same time shared by him with the disciples. Apelles once refused to tolerate the cobbler who dared to speak of things beyond his own shoe leather.[904] Who will tolerate this man who teaches with such arrogance, with so much abuse and criticism, what he does not understand?

Concerning Note 111

Dominus meus et Deus meus [my Lord and my God]:[905] Here once again he confronts me with my rule. 'In the Greek,' he says, 'the article is added in the phrase ὁ κύριός μου, καὶ ὁ θεός μου, although it refers to Christ, not to the Father.'[906] What about it? Who ever said that it was not right to add the Greek article to 'God' unless the reference was to the Father? But I said somewhere that the article was added because the reference was to the Father.[907] True, but I used this as an example, as if I were saying an article was used in the phrase ὁ ἄνθρωπος [the man], when the reference was to Peter if it chanced to be about Peter. Would it follow that the article cannot be added if the reference is to Paul? I ask you, dear reader, what kind of novel intelligence is this in the man who calls me stupid? What sort of annotations are these, in which I am traduced to the applause of men who think they are theologians?

Concerning Note 112

Et illa nocte nihil prendiderunt [and that night they caught nothing].[908] And soon afterwards: *Adferte de piscibus quos prendidistis* [bring of the fish that you have caught].[909] I note that the Greek words ἐπιάσατε [you caught] and ἐπίασαν [they caught] are translated in the Latin manuscripts by two variants. In some we find *prendiderunt* and *prendidistis*; in others again *ceperunt* and *cepistis*.[910] I cannot understand at all what Lee writes here. For he writes: 'Here it was necessary to add *prendiderunt* and *prendidistis*, lest someone is under the impression that the Translator rendered it wrongly, which is easy

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904 See n588 above. Apelles (fl c 330 BC) was a famous Greek painter.
905 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 20:28) Reeve 267.
906 Paraphrasing Lee fol XLIIII
907 See n584 above.
908 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 21:3) Reeve 267.
909 John 21:10; cf ibidem.
910 The verbs *prendere* and *capere* are interchangeable in this context.

for someone who does not know Greek.'[911] What is this I hear? When *prendere* and *capere* mean the same thing, and the reader is advised that *prendere* is the same as *capere* and that both variants are found in the manuscripts, will anyone suspect that the Translator translated the Greek word wrongly? This passage, too, is listed by Lee among those that I failed to change.[912] Nor do I see what he wanted changed, for I left the Vulgate reading intact.[913]

Concerning Note 113

On the basis of this passage[914] Lee tried to arouse serious prejudice against me in the seditious index by which he arrests the reader's attention at the very beginning.[915] In the query, the only one which the traitor,[916] as he calls him, communicated to me, he accuses me of sinking my teeth into Augustine. He alleges that I even gather false evidence against Augustine because I want to reproach him for his ignorance. Here he speaks somewhat more moderately, yet in much more acerbic terms than the matter warrants; but in fact he has no case at all, as I shall soon make plain. First, however, to make the matter more easily comprehensible to the reader, I shall repeat my words, which Lee quotes from the first edition.[917] 'Among the old theologians,' I say, 'only Augustine appears to have read *sic eum volo manere* [thus I wish him to remain].[918] He was undeniably a holy and upright man and a fine intellect, but very credulous, and lacking, moreover, in the language skills without which these things cannot be treated as they should be. He was called to the office of bishop as a young man and almost a neophyte[919] – a step forbidden by Paul,[920] for he who occupies the place of a teacher

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911 Lee fol XLIIII
912 Lee fol CI; cf n3 above.
913 Cf *Novum instrumentum* I 246.
914 Cf the annotation *sic eum volo manere* (on John 21:22) Reeve 268–70. Erasmus noted that the first word in the cue phrase should read *si* 'if' instead of *sic* 'thus.'
915 Lee fol DDIIII; cf n3 above.
916 See *Apologia* n67 above.
917 The passage was toned down in *1519*; cf Reeve 269 and n926 below.
918 Cf Augustine *Tract in Joan* 124 PL 35 1969–76. Erasmus' surmise in the 1519 edition that Augustine read *si* but that his text had been corrupted (see the next paragraph of this Note), is correct.
919 Augustine (354–430) was baptized by Ambrose in 387 and ordained in 391. In 395 he was made assistant (coadjutor) of bishop Valerius of Hippo, whom he succeeded in 396.
920 1 Tim 3:6

is not allowed to be ignorant of anything. He therefore learned what he taught as he was teaching it and learned what he wrote as he was writing it. He made progress nevertheless, especially when he began to emulate Jerome.[921] Nor should we be critical of so pious a man if he did not achieve his goal in every respect, but rather bear with him. Conversely we must not lend an ear to those who prefer him to everyone, even to Jerome, to whom he was so inferior in the knowledge of Holy Writ that it would be quite impudent to compare the two men.'

Thus far I have faithfully quoted my words. Now hear what it is in these words that gives offence to Lee.[922] 'How do you know, Erasmus,' he says, 'whether Augustine consulted the Greek manuscripts and there found "thus" rather than "if," since there undoubtedly were variant readings even in Augustine's time? And today they vary to such an extent that one can often read in Jerome, Origen, and Chrysostom what cannot be found in any Greek manuscripts, as you yourself admit – *bonae voluntatis*, at Luke, chapter 1,[923] to give just one example.' Thus far Lee. First of all, what is more impudent than to say that Augustine had found 'thus' rather than 'if' in Greek manuscripts when there is such complete agreement in the Greek books, and even the old Latin manuscripts support [the reading 'if']? Especially when the general drift of the thought goes against reading 'thus.' For if 'to follow' in this passage means to die after the example of Christ, and if 'to remain' is not to die, how does *et non dixit Jesus, non moritur, sed, sic eum volo manere* [and Jesus did not say 'he does not die,' but 'thus I wish him to remain'], which follows a little later,[924] make sense? If[925] he says 'thus I wish him to remain,' what does he mean other than that he does not want him to die? Then when he says *si eum volo manere, quid ad te?* [if I wish him to remain, what is it to you?], he phrased it to show that it was no concern of theirs what Christ had decided about John. What need was there for this argument, moreover, when in the second edition I show on the basis of Augustine's own interpretation that he read 'if,' not 'thus'?[926] When Lee says, moreover, that I admit that *bona voluntas* in Luke is not documented

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921 Cf *Hieronymi vita* CWE 61 45.
922 Lee fol XLIIII verso
923 Actually Luke 2:14
924 John 21:23
925 If . . . *quid ad te?*] Added in *1522*
926 Cf this annotation with the modifications of *1519*, Reeve 269: 'If anyone examines Augustine's exposition more closely, he will find that he too read "if" rather than "thus," and that the word "thus" is a corruption introduced by some ignorant person.'

anywhere, anyone reading my response concerning that passage will see that this is not so.[927]

Lee adds: 'Nor do I believe you think this of Augustine that he did not know Greek at all.' And here he proves with many arguments that Augustine had had a taste of Greek. If he does not believe I think this of Augustine, why does he use superfluous arguments to refute me? And it would be impudent of him to hold this belief, for I assert in many places exactly what Lee here declares so emphatically: that Augustine had had a taste of Greek as a boy and returned to it when he was already a bishop and an old man besides.[928] I have not heard before that Augustine translated Aristotle's *Categories* from Greek into Latin for us,[929] for he declares in his *Confessions*, book 4, that that book was undoubtedly translated into Latin by others and that certain people very proudly taught it in Carthage, whereas he himself had read the book without the help of a translator when he was about twenty years old; and he understood it so well that afterwards, when he met with them, he realized that they were unable to add anything that he had not seen himself.[930] I am surprised that this passage slipped Lee's mind, since he wants to be regarded as a devotee of Augustine and would for his sake almost insult Jerome. For[931] when Augustine says at the end of that work that he produced a version of it,[932] the content itself makes clear that he did not produce a version in the sense of translating but in the sense of explaining it, for he expands on it in his own words and occasionally mentions Themistius. As for Lee's reference to verses by Chrysostom translated by Augustine from the Greek – I do not know from what source he took this.[933]

But granted that Augustine knew Greek well, how does this apply to the refutation of my note? I said that Augustine, compared to Jerome,

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927 See Note 30 above.

928 So Ep 373:132–3 (preface to the New Testament edition); cf Augustine *Confessiones* 1.14 PL 32 671. But Erasmus repeatedly said that Augustine did not have an adequate knowledge of Greek; cf for example Ep 844:236–7, *Hieronymi vita* CWE 61 54, *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* CWE 71 63–4.

929 Claimed by Lee fol XLIIII verso

930 Augustine *Confessiones* 4.16 PL 32 704

931 For ... Themistius.] Added in *1522*

932 That is, Pseudo-Augustine *Categoriae decem ex Aristotele decerptae* 22 PL 32 1440. Themistius (c 320–c 390) was a teacher of rhetoric and Aristotelian philosophy.

933 Augustine appears to have read Chrysostom in Latin translation; cf Baur 68–70.

was lacking in the language skills Jerome possessed. Did Augustine know Hebrew? Or Chaldaic? Or Syriac? For I was not concerned there specifically with Greek; otherwise, why does Lee not object by the same token that Augustine was not lacking in knowledge of the Latin language? But having proved his point, as he thinks, Lee attacks the fact that I called Augustine 'exceptionally credulous' and responds as if I had said 'exceptionally tenacious' and too self-confident. 'It is strange, however,' he says, 'that you call him "exceptionally credulous." For can you find anyone else who more readily yielded to another's opinion? Was he not almost the only one who, to avoid injuring the Catholic truth in the slightest degree, recanted voluntarily what he could well have maintained? A man who did not consider anyone unworthy of being his teacher if he could learn something from him? He consulted Jerome, whom you prefer so vastly over him, and was not honoured with a reply,' etc.[934] What is the point of these words, I ask you? Was Augustine not credulous because he was keen to learn, because he recanted his errors, because he consulted Jerome? On the contrary, he was the more credulous just because he wanted to to be taught by everyone. Surely I do not 'sink my teeth' into this saintliest of men just because I call him 'exceptionally credulous'! Indeed, Paul lists this quality among the praiseworthy features of charity: to believe all things.[935] The more innocent a man is, the more he believes and the less he distrusts. I am surprised that Lee either dissimulates or fails to understand why I call Augustine 'credulous.' Jerome everywhere distrusts the Latin manuscripts and consults the Greek, or he distrusts the Greek manuscripts and consults the Hebrew or Chaldaic. Nor is he readily swayed by a story, however popular; nor does he readily agree with the opinion of one man or another without examining it first. Augustine wanted the authority of the Seventy translators to be regarded as sacrosanct for no other reason but that it was traditional;[936] Jerome was unmoved by the popular verdict and rejected it on the basis of facts. Augustine believed the widespread and common story about the seventy cells; Jerome derides it as fiction.[937] Augustine approved 'with a white rule,' as they say,[938] whatever books were accepted in the church by tradition; Jerome

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934 Lee fols XLIIII verso–XLV
935 1 Cor 13:7
936 Cf *De civitate Dei* 18.42–3 PL 41 602–4.
937 See Note 1 78–9 above.
938 *Adagia* I V 88

plainly rejected some of them, marked them with obelisks as fictitious, and removed some from the core which he wanted to have the weightiest authority.[939]

It could be that because of his credulity Augustine believed to be correct what he happened to read in a Latin manuscript. If he discovered that τὴν ἀρχήν in the Gospel of John was an accusative,[940] it does not follow that he collated the rest as well. If he had done so, he would perhaps not have erred in some places. I rather think that he was advised by someone concerning τὴν ἀρχήν and that he had written this work before he collated the Latin manuscripts with the Greek. He appears to have been inspired to do so by the new version of St Jerome.

After having brought this battle too to such a fine conclusion, for some reason Lee launches into a comparison between Jerome and Augustine, whereas he had set out to refute my attribution of credulity to the latter. 'It is easy to conjecture why Jerome kept silent,' he says.[941] 'He did not begrudge him a learned response, but he could plainly see that nothing more accurate could be said concerning the matters about which he was consulted than had been written by the man who had consulted him.' I believe Lee is referring to the question concerning the origin of souls which Augustine had put to Jerome.[942] For this is the question that Jerome never answered, not because he was lacking material for an answer, but because he either did not have the time or suspected that the question was supplied by others who wanted to see, through Augustine, whether Jerome embraced any of Origen's views. For it is agreed that he was suspect to many in this regard.

Lee proceeds: 'Not to compare one with the other,' he says, 'which you seem to do with zeal rather than judgment, anyone who examines his disputations with Jerome will readily see Augustine's greatness, disputations in which he was if not superior at least not inferior to him in any point.' Thus Lee. He says he does not wish to compare one with the other, but is this not a comparison? If he says, moreover, that Augustine was not inferior to Jerome in the disputation about the meaning of the Epistle to the Galatians[943] (to grant for the moment that he is right, although many

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939 In ancient manuscripts signs in the shape of daggers or obelisks were used to signal spurious passages. Cf Rufinus *Apologia* 2.35–6 PL 21 613C–615B, complaining about Jerome's emendations.

940 Cf Note 93 above.

941 Lee fol XLV

942 Ep 161 PL 33 720–33

943 For this dispute cf *Paraphrasis in epistolam ... ad Galatas* CWE 42 104 with n5.

think differently, among them His Lordship Adrian, cardinal of Tortosa),[944] it does not therefore follow that Augustine is more learned than Jerome because he was victorious in one disputation. Indeed it happens sometimes that he who suffers defeat is clearly more learned. But I do not have in mind at present to argue which of us is more correct in his judgment of Augustine. I have responded at sufficient length to this question, I believe, in a letter written to Johann Eck,[945] and I am surprised that Lee does not refute the arguments made there if he had made up his mind to cross swords with me over this question. For he had read the letter before he published his annotations.

But Lee continues: 'Nor does it depend on the verdict of Erasmus alone who is awarded pride of place: Jerome, whom all good men revere, or Augustine, whom no sane man disdains.' What does this silly babbler mean to say? Do I not revere Jerome, whom all good men revere? Do I disdain Augustine, whom only insane men will disdain? And if their authority does not depend on my opinion, does it follow that I have no right to indicate my opinion? I prefer Jerome, but in such a manner that I want Augustine greatly honoured nevertheless.

Lee adds: 'When you say that he learned what he wrote and taught as he was writing and teaching it, I do not consider this a reproach at all. If it is a reproach, Augustine shares it with the rest. For how few men are there who do not do the same? Did not Jerome learn what he wrote and taught as he was writing and teaching it?' Thus Lee. If it is no reproach, neither do I criticize Augustine; rather, I justify and defend him. What then is the point of Lee's quarrel with me? He was rapidly advanced to the rank of presbyter, he was rapidly made assistant to his bishop, and taught the people on his behalf. And what Jerome wrote is true: It is a difficult task and a lengthy business to obtain a solid understanding of Holy Scripture.[946] Augustine did not have time to do so. This is his complaint in a letter to Valerianus, in which he beseeches him by all that is holy to give him time to learn what he must teach the people. He knew his own shortcomings; he was not ignorant of the great danger in this

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944 Adriaan Floriszoon Boeyens of Utrecht (1459–1523), theologian, chancellor of the University of Louvain, councillor of Charles V, from 1516 Bishop of Tortosa, from 1517 cardinal, and eventually (from 1522) Pope Adrian VI. Cf CEBR I 5–9.

945 Ep 844:132–291

946 Cf *Commentarii in Michaeam* 1 PL 25 (1884) 1164B, *Commentarii in Naum* PL 25 (1884) 1242B.

procedure.[947] Will I not be allowed to say of Augustine what he said of himself? On that passage Lorenzo [Valla] went after Augustine in terms that are somewhat too harsh; I, conversely, justify his error, if it is an error at all, and play it down.[948] Does this disturb Lee? No,[949] the fellow is so fair, he praises Valla's diligence and ignores his mordant criticism, while he slanders my well-meant words, thereby giving plain evidence that he had no other motive but hatred of me. I ask you, does Lee seem to have given any thought to his words when he writes stuff that touches on neither heaven nor earth, as they say?[950]

And not content with this, he goes on: 'Unless by chance you are pleased with the arrogance of men who teach and write what they have not learned by either teaching or writing. I at any rate absolve Augustine from this fault, and Jerome as well.' Thus Lee. What risk was there if Lee had not absolved them? For I am not disturbed by his belief that this reproach applies to me. Rather, I fear that readers of his book of annotations will turn it against him.

He continues: 'Nor was Augustine ashamed to admit that (as you write)[951] he progressed after he began to emulate Jerome, not because he learned anything from Jerome, but because he acquired learning by these writing exercises.'[952] Why is Lee so afraid that Augustine might appear to have learned something from Jerome? For he greatly disparaged this suggestion in the query I intercepted.[953] But even more atrocious is the following accusation: 'If you object to the young Augustine being called to the office of bishop as a neophyte, a step forbidden by Paul, why not bring this accusation also against Ambrose, who was elevated to that rank when he was yet a catechumen? He will defend his position easily, however, for

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947 Augustine Ep 21.3 PL 33 88–9, addressed to Valerius (not Valerianus), Bishop of Hippo, to whom he was assistant and eventually successor.

948 In *1519* Erasmus explained in this annotation (on John 21:22) Reeve 269 that his comment was a reflection on the criticism of Augustine in Valla *Annotationes* (*Opera* I 846). Valla had stated that Augustine considered only the Latin manuscripts and paid no attention to the Greek, looking for the true among the false – and wanted us to believe him. Erasmus quotes Valla, but adds that Augustine deserved a measure of indulgence. His revision of the annotation in *1519* eliminated the *1516* remark quoted 229 above (from 'conversely we must not' to the end of that paragraph).

949 No ... hatred of me.] Added in *1522*

950 *Adagia* I v 44

951 In the 1516 edition. Erasmus excised the sentence in *1519*; cf Reeve 269.

952 Lee fol XLV recto–verso

953 See *Apologia* 14 above.

he was prepared and well armed, having defended himself earlier against the Vercellians.'[954] If I had not decided to abstain from all passion, would I not have very good reason here to rage against Lee? I defend Augustine, and especially what he wrote as a young man, because he was immediately caught up in the responsibilities of a bishop. And Lee denounces me for charging Augustine with ambition because he seized the office of a bishop, contrary to the teaching of Paul, when he was still almost a neophyte. It[955] was because Paul forbade it that Augustine avoided this honour as far as he could. The fact that he was drafted unwillingly deprived him of the necessary leisure to study. Was this the right place to mention Ambrose, who was bishop designate before he was baptized? If I called this a calumny, Lee would bring an action for injury against me. But tell me, dear reader, if this is not calumny, what is? 'There was,' he says, 'I venture to say, a mature faith in both that was worthy of the episcopate.' What amazing liberty Lee is taking in daring to state what nobody denies! But was Augustine for this reason any less ignorant of many things in sacred letters? Was he Jerome's equal by reason of being mature in faith? But this is not the end yet. Lee adds: 'He says Augustine must not be attacked but rather tolerated if he does not achieve his goal in every respect.'[956] Does Lee disagree with my words? Does he demand that we praise Augustine even if he is in error? Is it not sufficient that I tolerate his error and do not inveigh against him, as Valla does? For that he erred, and erred not infrequently, will not be denied even by those who give the greatest weight to Augustine. And yet he shares this fault with others. 'But you do inveigh against him nevertheless,' Lee says, 'and you do it in a manner that places him lower than anyone's verdict so far. You credit him with talent but at the same time deprive him of erudition; you praise his sanctity but at the same time you almost accuse him of ambition because he accepted the episcopate while being a neophyte.' Thus Lee. What is this I hear? No other man before me has judged Jerome superior in sacred doctrine? I could report the verdicts passed on Augustine by famous theologians, but I do not wish to recount them here. Is he without learning who is ignorant of something, or who is surpassed in learning by another? Does one accuse a man of ambition if one justifies him by saying that he did not achieve what he wanted because he was

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954 Ambrose (339–97) was elected bishop of Milan in 374, when he was a catechumen. He was baptized and ordained only after his election. Cf Ambrose Ep 63.65 PL 16 (1845) 1206C–1207A / (1880) 1258A–B.

955 It ... leisure to study.] Added in *1522*

956 Lee fol XLV verso; cf n948 above, on the passage excised in *1519*.

rapidly and unwillingly involved in the responsibilities of a bishop? Does one accuse a man of ambition if one writes that he was 'called' to these responsibilities? But here Lee, at my warning, added 'almost,' that is, he moderated what appeared to have been spoken too harshly. But what is the purpose of adding that 'almost' when I am a whole world removed from charging Augustine with ambition? And yet that 'almost' was not in his original notes, in which, among other things (for the page is not at hand), he openly accused me of falsely accusing him through some perverse hatred. But on being warned he deleted this part. Yet how many times were those words transcribed in the meantime? How many people read them before he deleted them? If he had injured my reputation in conversation only, it would have been the duty of an innocent Christian heart to make good the harm done; but now, what kind of Christian heart is this, that fills the pages of books with such things and has them copied and spread far and wide? And the man who acts in this manner denies that he ever spoke of me other than in respectful terms.[957] In our next conversation, at the very time that this book was in the hands of the printer, he denied that there was anything insulting in it, although some things were 'expressed rather freely.'

But Lee continues: 'You imply that he did not achieve in literature what he wanted to achieve. Granted that he did not achieve what he wanted, is it not enough to have achieved more than almost anyone before him?' Thus Lee. What is the point of Lee's argument? Are the works Augustine wrote in his youth not to be tolerated if in the end he achieved more than hardly anyone before him? For I do not dispute here whether he achieved as much as Lee attributes to him. Yet Lee[958] allows us to prefer another man to him, for he says 'hardly anyone else' – perhaps thinking of himself. Lee adds: 'But, with all due respect, how much have you yourself achieved that you allow yourself to play the censor of such a great man, whose sanctity and, even more importantly, whose erudition the whole Christian world has admired, venerated, and almost adored for many centuries now?' Well! Would the world have ceased to do so if Lee had not written this? And why does he once again say 'almost'? Do we not clearly venerate and adore Augustine? But if he meant the special form of veneration which is reserved for God alone, it was not timely to add 'almost,' for no mortal comes close to God. Is it 'playing the censor' if one makes excuses for Augustine? If a man is inferior to Augustine, can he not say what he thinks of Augustine?

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957 Cf Ep 1061:447–50.
958 Yet Lee ... himself.] Added in *1522*

If Lee does not permit me to speak about Augustine, with what cheek does he permit himself to censure Jerome? For I shall say nothing of myself, whom he disdains so deeply that he thinks nothing can be written against me so carelessly that it does not suffice to overwhelm Erasmus.

After he has refuted me sufficiently with these arguments, he adds a very severe conclusion, expressing the wish over and over again that, having reached my old age, I should imitate Augustine in his old age. 'I beseech you,' he says, 'by the love of Christ, reread diligently what you have written and examine it fairly, and if you find that in the human way of things you have erred anywhere, be not ashamed to recant the false note you have sounded, following the example of the most blessed and miraculously learned Father of the church. And then you will see how much you yourself are in need of a censor rather than acting the censor, especially of so great a church Father.'[959] Can any informed person read this without laughing? Conversely, will any uninformed person not think that this is the grave and serious admonition of a bishop of mature years and great authority? When Lee himself hallucinates in so many places, when he so often reproaches what he does not understand, so often uses reasoning that is so far from arguing against me that it argues against its author, so often distorts words well meant by me to a slanderous meaning, so often cites sacred authors in a sense they had not intended, so often is carried along by feelings of hatred against his neighbour, from whose books the young man certainly learned much, so often – but I prefer to end here rather than point out errors as often as he made them. Why does he not sing to himself the song he sings to me? Why did he not listen to trustworthy and learned friends advising him (to my great disadvantage) to suppress his work because it would disgrace not only its author but all of Britain? Why did he not listen to Jan of Ath, who did not wish to see this business carried on in a contentious fashion?[960] Why did he not at least accept my advice, for I warned him many times to consider carefully what he was writing for publication and not to expect that everyone would be pleased with what pleased him as he wrote it; to shape his language to the standard of grave and learned men rather than to the applause of his supporters; to conduct the matter by force of argument rather than abuse. This was my frequent counsel to him, not very friendly counsel (or so he thought), but friendlier than the advice given by those whom he considers his closest friends, and perhaps even friendlier advice than he gave himself.

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959 Lee fol XLVI, also partially quoted at *Apologia* 43 above
960 Cf *Apologia* 11–13 above.

You see, dear reader, that there is nothing here that calls for recanting. Since I added certain things in the second edition to avoid giving anyone cause to slander me in the same manner, what need was there for Lee to publish so much that is so hateful and so quarrelsome? And it is even more ridiculous that he reproaches and admonishes me now, when the volumes of the second edition are already completed. For I did not get hold of that page, as I said in my apologia, until I returned to Louvain with one volume already completed.[961] And yet, if Lee's book had come out after my death, which undoubtedly was Lee's intention,[962] the reader would have believed that he had admonished me in these words before I began to revise my work. I would not obtrude such nonsense on either my leisure or your study time, good reader, if Lee had not brought a capital charge against me, and if the rumour of this book had not, by certain people's doing, reached the greater part of the world before it was published. But let this be the end of this volume. What remains will be completed in the next volume. In the meantime the reader may conjecture what a rich triumph awaits one who has begun his task in such a tumultuous manner.

BOOK 2, IN RESPONSE TO THE REMAINING ANNOTATIONS OF EDWARD LEE

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM TO FAIR READERS, GREETINGS

Even as I was writing this, good reader, I regretted having undertaken the labour, for I believe I have not spent time on a subject more tedious or less useful in many years. I do not know whether Lee regrets having written his book. For they say that he is equipping himself for a new fight with even larger forces. If this is a false rumour and he prefers peace, let us divide the victory between us. Let him take half the credit, and me half. Let him take the prize for insults, and me the prize for truth. Let him be superior in exclamations, and me in arguments. Let him excel in seditious language, me in moderate words. But if he wishes to carry off the victory in this conflict in its entirety, let him refrain from another attempt at quarrel and abuse, for in this respect he has carried the day by the verdict of all,

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961 Cf *Apologia* 8.
962 Cf *Apologia* n282.

mine included, and in this kind of fight he will not have me as an adversary hereafter. For what is easier than flinging insults back and forth and blindly addressing the blind?[1] This is a competition for women and fools, not for theologians. Anyone can cast aspersions on another man's name if he does not fear to risk his own dignity, for just as we are masters of another's life, so are we masters of another's reputation as long as we have no care for our own. If Lee wants to be regarded by others in the same light as he sees himself – scholarly, prudent, watchful, perceptive, strong – let him defend with good arguments the annotations of which he boasted so often and finally displayed to the world. Let him never again vomit forth such a putrid heap of abuse, promising all the while that he will answer my arguments 'soon,' which he will obviously do at the 'Greek calends.'[2] If he has confidence in himself, let him first tackle what is relevant to the matter at hand, let him discard the methods in which no one denies his expertise. If he deals with me in the reasoned manner that becomes learned men, he may perhaps have Erasmus as his opponent. In the other kind of contest I do not wish to exercise my faculties, for it relies not on the forces of eloquence but on insults, and both contestants are left covered with shame and injuries, except that the victor carries off the reputation of being the worse and more acerbic man. I hate a victory which cannot be won except by inflicting grave harm on a neighbour. It is a cruel pleasure to triumph over a ruined brother. The fairest kind of contest is that from which the victor departs with greater honour, the loser with greater knowledge. If Lee thinks that nothing is more learned than exchanging insults, he will not have me as his opponent; yet perhaps this Bithus will not lack his Bacchius.[3] Even now I see some people prepared to give Lee the reception he deserves.[4] If I had known this, I would not have wasted my time.

Henceforth I shall not allow myself to be called away from better studies by nonsense of this kind. Otherwise, what could be easier than to suborn some shady character or demagogue to attack the man's reputation with boorish and rude insults? Indeed such an actor is already waiting in

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1 The 1522 text has 'addressing,' a reading that alludes to Persius *Satires* 1.128, though LB has *discere* 'learning from' rather than *dicere* 'addressing.' Cf the Introduction xx–xxi above.

2 *Adagia* I v 84, meaning 'never'

3 Famous gladiators closely matched in strength; cf *Adagia* II v 97.

4 As threatened in EEV and the epigrams published against Lee by the Erfurt literary society, *In Edouardum Leeum quorundam e sodalitate literaria Erphurdiensi Erasmici nominis studiosorum epigrammata* (Erfurt: Knapp 1520; Mainz: [Schöffer] 1520). On both publications see Introduction xxii–xxiv above.

the wings,[5] professing the most stringent religion but daring the most irreligious deeds, so ignorant of letters that he cannot even be called the name some people hurl at me, 'a mere grammarian'; so lacking in mental ability that he is quite devoid of common sense and brings nothing to his composition but a mind thoroughly corrupted by every kind of virulence. He is a young man and burning with a wretched itch for fame and reputation. He is ready to jump on the stage to the great disgrace of his order, and in spite of being such a champion of Lee's, he envies him his sudden rise to fame. I see that it is my fate to instruct those who carp at my work, to make famous those who defame me, to spur those who distract me from humane studies to the study of the humanities. For if Lee does not want to appear openly ungrateful, he will admit that Erasmus has been quite useful to him. For while he attempted to criticize me, he began to touch on some aspects of better literature, he began to embrace the study of languages, he began to study some of the ancient authors, despoiling my works on every side. Indeed he even took up the works of Politian[6] to avoid the impression that he was worth nothing in that department. In some cases, love stimulates men to take up noble disciplines, as Plato wrote;[7] it was hatred that prodded Lee to do the same. Perhaps people who cannot love anyone but themselves need this stimulus. Finally, Lee's name is now known to the world no less than Erasmus'. Lee will not disdain this prize, I think. For this was his meaning, if I am not mistaken, when he wrote in the short preface with which he dedicated his sacred annotations to me: 'Whatever the future may bring the upshot will not be bad or unfortunate for me.'[8] What he means is: However unfortunate the throw of the dice, at least I shall succeed in becoming famous.

Once Lee has achieved this (and he has my blessing), it remains for him to make use of the gift for his own glory and the glory of Christ. If it is not enough to have won a reputation unless it is a good reputation among good and learned people, let him first recant the abuse with which he attacks the reputation of a man who does not deserve such treatment; then let

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5 Perhaps a reference to Vincentius Theoderici (Dierckx) of Beverwijk (1481–1526), a Dominican who attacked Erasmus from 1520 and who published in 1525 a diatribe dedicated to Lee under the pseudonym 'Taxander.' See CEBR III 317–18; Introduction xxii and n49 above.

6 The Italian humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), cited at Lee fol DDii (Asso 248); cf CEBR III 106–8.

7 Cf *Symposium* 196D–197A.

8 Ep 1037:8–9

him admit his mistakes and correct them, for he displayed them in great number in his little book while trying to show a few in my voluminous work. It would have been best to listen to his advisor,[9] who counselled him not to make a laughing-stock of himself before the world with such a book. Now that he has been made wise after the fact, let him at least obey the counsel of his friends and refrain from heading into another rabid conflict and provoking scholars to take up the pen against him. If virulent language or boorish vociferations can be to anyone's credit, Lee has now accumulated credit enough. I have done nothing in bad faith,[10] I have not intrigued with the printers, unlike Lee, who made sure that no one would see the pages before the printing was finished. And I have treated Lee in such a way that nothing in my response is so harsh that he does not hurt himself worse by his own writings. To make it easier for him to recognize his mistakes – not all of them, for they are without number – I have indicated some in an index,[11] not the kind of index he prefixed to his book,[12] which contains nothing but smoke and mirrors, tricks, and seditious slander. My index promises much less than the work offers, and my response is moderate as well.

If you listen to me, dear reader, you will not waste good time perusing either Lee's slanders or my apologiae. But if you have by chance swallowed some poison from Lee's book, it is a good precaution to take my antidote. I ask anyone, moreover, who wishes to act the censor to read my work with attention and, if he has time, to compare it with what Lee writes. For I have everywhere aimed at brevity as far as possible, to avoid wasting too much time on a matter that is both unpleasant and unprofitable. But if the unavoidable plague of research is that anyone who writes out of a desire to make a contribution is obliged to contend with every kind of monster, I give the whole field over to others, for there is no lack of boorish and stupid people ready for a fight. So far no one's name has been or will be blackened by my doing, if only I am allowed to pursue my plan. So far I have never knowingly written anything that goes against piety or Christ's glory. I embrace the articles of faith with all my heart; I accept the teaching of modern theologians without being willing either to maintain them too stubbornly or attack them too zealously. No one will be able to call me his teacher in impious doctrine or his leader or companion in sedition and uproar. I have

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9 Probably John Fisher, see *Apologia* 21 above.

10 See, however, Erasmus' admission in the *Apologia*, 13–14 above.

11 See the index following this preface.

12 The index that precedes Lee's annotations, at Lee fols DDiii–DDvi verso; cf *Responsio 1* n3 above.

enough glory. I have no desire for wealth. My small talents, my insignificant writings will serve Christ's glory. May I please only him, since I can hardly hope to please certain people who are more zealous for their own gain than for Christ's. There is no kind of study that I condemn; there is no kind of life that I inveigh against – I speak of good men. I do not disapprove of ceremonies sanctioned by the tradition of the church and practised with moderation; I disapprove only of those people who rely on ceremonies and neglect the things that make for true piety. No one loves men who are religious in the true sense more than I, and there are none among whom I would rather live, did not physical constraints dissuade me.[13] I do not claim erudition for myself. I gladly share what the Lord gave me. If anyone can offer better things, I shall follow him ungrudgingly. Let those who cause such upheaval see for themselves what kind of people they are; their own books give them away. Yet none of them has written in a manner so devoid of learning and so full of poison that he does not stand excused in view of Lee's book. But enough of this proem.

Index[14]

He goes completely wide of the mark and accomplishes nothing in the whole first note, and does no differently in the second, in which there is that business – I don't know what name to give it – : that is, it is clear from Lee's own note that he discovered from nowhere but from me that in Jerome's *Commentaries*, *habebit* is a wrong reading for *habet*; yet in his index he still brags that I admit that the reading is as he informed me! What is more shameless?

Likewise Note 188 and the new Note 20.[15]

He does not understand what he is criticizing in Notes 3, 10, 19, 34, 36, 44, and 46 throughout. In 57 he does not understand either what I meant or what he himself is saying; he writes *συντρίβων* with an omega though it modifies *πνεῦμα*. Then he informs us that *συντρίβων* does not agree with *αὐτὸν*, but that *σεαυτὸν* should be written, though *σεαυτὸν* agrees with neither

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13 Cf *Apologia* 55–6 above.

14 Titled only *Index* in LB, but a descriptive title is recorded in ASD IX-4 205 n71: 'An index showing some places in which Lee has made remarkable mistakes.'

15 'New' in this index refers to Lee's twenty-five Notes on the *Novum Testamentum* (1519). Erasmus answers Lee in his *Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei novas* below. For 'wide of the mark,' 'sings a palinode,' and 'blows smoke' cf *Adagia* I x 30, I ix 59, and I v 52.

reading, *συντρίβων* or *συντρίβοντος*, because *σεαυτὸν* means the reflexive 'yourself.' But there is no second person here to whom *σεαυτὸν* can refer.

Likewise in 61, 70, 75, 77, 78, 92, many things in 108, 111, 112, 129, 130, 131, 143, 160, 191, 200, 203, 213, 214, 229, 235, 240, and of the new set, 12.

He quarrels fretfully about nothing in Notes 6, 7, 9 throughout, 11, 4, 8 throughout, 56, 76, 81, 84, 90, 108, 163, the supererogatory 237, 238.

He stirs up tragedies and seditions about nothing in Notes 17, 31, 46, 47, 90, 103, 113, 137, 160, 172, 193, 194, 197, 233, and of the new set, 22, 24.

He is inconsistent with himself in Notes 4, 19 (when he says nothing is indecent to say, though in his invectives he raises quite the opposite objection),[16] 44, 92, 116, 120, and of the new set, 17, 10.

He commits open slander in Notes 4, 5, 13, 17, 19, quite throughout 30, 32, 35 throughout, 44, variously in 68, 71, 72, 113 throughout, 127 throughout, 134, 141, 173, 187, 209, 213, 224, the supererogatory 237, 239; of the new set, 7, 17, 20.

He gives senseless approval in Notes 9, 33, 44, 70, 162, 163, 243; of the new set, 13.

He protests loudly and odiously, since he misunderstands the whole topic, in Note 13.

He makes bad mistakes in 32, 55, 216.

He sings a palinode, but arrogantly, in Notes 14, 17, 92, 115, 181.

He gives false citations in Notes 30, 31, 60, 83, 91, 92; many in 94, 97, 115, 118, 145, 217, 221; of the new set, 25.

He corrupts what he cites in Notes 36, 87, 118.

He takes sacred authors to task in Note 238.

He blows smoke while clutching at glory in Notes 44, 51, 54, 66, 70, 72, 89, 94, 95, 114, 115, 122, 148, 149, 151, 181, 184, 188, 218.

He makes pronouncements about things he does not understand in Notes 78, 132, 160, 161, 186, 193, 215, 217, 224, 232, 238; of the new set, 4.

He approves a heretical meaning in Notes 70, 92.

Things not to the point in Notes 91, 122, 161, 164, 239.

He censures trifles in Notes 4, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35, 45, 50, 52, 53, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 73, 74, 80, 88, 90, 98, 99, 105, 106, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 147, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 189, 201, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 220, 222, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 241.

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16 Cf *Apologia* 51–3 above.

Absurdities and things apparently said mindlessly in Notes 32, 46, 86, 92, 93, many in 112, 137, 142, 188, 190, many in 195, 210, 234, 237, 238, 239, 243; he piles up mistakes in 44, 113, 114, 130, 136, 141, 146, 180, 186, 193, 238, 239, 242, 243, 244; of the new set, fairly often in 12, 14.

ACTS

Desiderius Erasmus' response to Edward Lee's Note 114 against the Annotations of Erasmus of Rotterdam on the Acts of the Apostles

Per Spiritum Sanctum praecipiens [instructing through the Holy Spirit]:[17] The phrase 'through the Spirit' makes the sentence ambiguous, since it can be related either to what precedes, 'instructing through the Holy Spirit' or to what follows, 'whom he chose through the Spirit.' I therefore show that it is better connected with what precedes, especially since the word order would be wrong if we adopted the second alternative, *per Spiritum Sanctum quos elegit*, for what should have been *quos elegit per Spiritum Sanctum*. I had therefore translated it using circumlocution, in this way: *Ad eum usque diem, quo postquam impartitus in hoc ipsum Spiritum Sanctum, mandasset Apostolis quos delegerat, rursum assumptus est* [Until that day on which he was again taken up after, having imparted the Holy Spirit for this purpose, he had given instructions to the apostles whom he had chosen].[18] Here Lee denies that there was any need for circumlocution, since our reading agrees with the Greek phrase.[19] On the contrary, it does not square with it, especially in one point: it does not reflect the tense of ἐντειλάμενος [having instructed].[20]

But Lee denies that the sense expressed by my circumlocution can be elicited from the words of the evangelist. On the contrary, the word order prevents us from eliciting another meaning. What, however, prevents us from interpreting it as I translated? Do we not understand that the person

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17 Acts 1:2; cf the annotation *praecipiens apostolis per spiritum sanctum* on this verse (Reeve 272–3). The order of the quoted words in the response and the curtailment of the cue phrase in the annotation obscure Erasmus' point. The whole phrase duplicated the Greek word order: *praecipiens apostolis per Spiritum Sanctum quos elegit*.

18 *Novum instrumentum* I 248

19 Lee fol XLVI

20 That is, *praecipiens* (the present participle) in the Vulgate does not adequately reflect the aorist participle ἐντειλάμενος in the Greek text

who is said to have raised someone to a position with the help of his money has obtained the position for him 'having imparted the money'? Nor does it mean that I deny that bishops were selected by the Holy Spirit to rule the church when I note that Christ 'through the Holy Spirit' delegated to his disciples the office of preaching. Indeed, what Lee adduces supports my argument more. And taking 'having instructed' with what follows immediately afterwards, 'not to leave Jerusalem,'[21] seems (to me at any rate) rather forced and vague, as if this had been his principal or sole command to them, whereas Luke there touches on the sum of the instructions Christ had given to his disciples after his resurrection. What need was there, moreover, to insert at that point what he was soon going to tell them? If Lee says that Luke does not mention the delegation of the office of preaching to the apostles, I am satisfied that Matthew and Mark mention it.[22] John, chapter 20, moreover, specifically mentions the Holy Spirit: 'As my father has sent me, so I send you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them and said to them: Receive the Holy Spirit' etc.[23] Nor do I adopt this view to the exclusion of any divergent opinion. Yet[24] Chrysostom, explaining this passage in his Greek commentaries, orders the words here as we do, saying 'instructing them through the Spirit, that is, speaking to them words of the Spirit,' and goes on about this at great length.[25] Although Lee had never said anything about this, he nevertheless notes in his index that I failed to change this passage[26] – a[27] tyrannical fellow he is, to demand from us that we divine what he will write in the future!

Concerning Note 115

Et convescens praecepit [and eating with them, he instructed]:[28] I had noted that this text appeared to be corrupted by the mistake of a scribe, who put *convescens* [eating with] for *conversans* [spending time with], for neither of the words found in the Greek manuscripts means 'eating with.' But

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21 Lee asserted that the phrase 'having instructed' at Acts 1:2 pertained to Christ's command to the apostles not to leave Jerusalem before Pentecost (Acts 1:4).
22 Cf Matt 24:14, 26:13, and 28:19–20, Mark 16:15.
23 John 20:21–2
24 Yet ... to change this passage] Added in *Basel 1520*
25 *Hom in Acta* 1.3 PG 60 18
26 Lee fol CI; for the indexes see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
27 a ... in the future] Added in *1522*
28 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 1:4) Reeve 273–4.

Lee has read in Aleandro's dictionary[29] that συναυλίζεσθαι [to congregate] could also mean 'to eat together.'[30] But from where did Aleandro take this (if[31] Aleandro did indeed add it), if not from this passage, for no Latin speaker, I believe, ever said *convesci*, although admittedly αὐλή in Greek means 'inn.' Spending time together and eating together are not mutually exclusive, but they are not synonymous. Nor does it go against my annotation that Christ took food with his disciples after the resurrection. The Gospel account clearly indicates that he took food with the disciples immediately after his resurrection.[32] Nor did Luke mean by these words that Christ held a banquet with his disciples on the day he returned to heaven. He is giving a summary of the events before the Saviour's ascension to maintain continuity between the Gospel story and this account. The rest is less significant. Nor did Lee advise me of this matter, although he now lists it among the 'remaining' passages.[33] Here, however, Lee adopts a Christian spirit and sings a palinode of sorts, and on that count he wants the reader to feel indebted to him, as if[34] it is not enough for someone who corrects his own error to obtain pardon. This is how he begins: 'Because,' he says, 'I am zealous for your advantage, excellent reader, I do not wish you to be ignorant,' etc.[35] Then he promises that he will act with similar modesty in the remainder of his book as well. If he finds anything in the theologians of old, he will not be ashamed, he says, to recant if necessary, or at any rate to point it out. If Lee does what he promises, we will no doubt have two hundred recantations. But it is shameful to recant when the reputation of a neighbour is attacked in this way, when matters are conducted with such arrogance, when I am dealt blows everywhere, when words like 'heresy' and 'schisms' and words even more atrocious than these are aimed at me.

Here Lee will not begrudge us a recantation, or[36] if this seems unbecoming in so great a man, for he might lose some of his dignity, he will at any rate point it out to the reader, indicating, I believe, that the passage

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29 Girolamo Aleandro's Greek lexicon (Paris 1512); see *Responsio 1* Note 32 n375 above.
30 Lee fol XLVII
31 (if ... add it)] Added in *1522*
32 Luke 24:43, cited Lee fol XLVII
33 Lee fol CI; cf *Responsio 1* n3 above.
34 as if ... obtained pardon] Added in *1522*
35 Lee fol CVI verso. Although Lee lists Erasmus' annotation among the unchanged passages, he adduces a passage from Augustine supporting Erasmus' position, explaining that he had come across this passage belatedly.
36 or ... by falsifiers] Added in *1522*

was corrupted by falsifiers. Assuming he satisfies the reader, how will he satisfy me? In the first edition I myself gave a much more sincere promise to recant if I discovered anything that was not as I should have put it,[37] and for this reason I invited scholars in more than one place to point out to me anything that gave them offence. And I did so in a work produced not to criticize but to instruct, in which no one's reputation was attacked, in which I ennoble the names even of those with whom I disagree. And after so many quarrels, so many reproaches, so many insults, after so many things expressed in an inflammatory way, after publishing a book that is defamatory in the extreme – after all this, Lee will forgive himself as long as he points out his error to the reader, but without losing his own dignity. And he will do it by yielding to the authority of Augustine or similar men, but only because they have such great authority with everyone. And yet for now he wants us to examine those admirable reasons with which he has defended his position and which will result perhaps in our defecting from Augustine and going over to Lee's side.

With Lee's permission, I would gladly ask – since his index and the preceding annotations were published at the same time – why he did not correct those two annotations rather than adding this recantation to the index without changing what he had written incorrectly. Was he afraid that the volume would not be long enough? For I cannot see what other pretext he can give. The book was printed in Paris, Lee was in Louvain. If he had been there, one could say that those pages were perhaps already printed and the mistake he recants here discovered too late, unless Lee's brother Wilfred[38] added this on his own, for he was in charge of correcting the book. It is he to whom you are indebted, dear reader, for having a book so pure and flawless. He was clearly, according to the Greek proverb, 'a brother to the man.'[39]

But I almost forgot to mention this: Whereas in the second edition I cite Augustine's *Adversus Felicem Manichaeum*, book 1, chapter 3, more than once,[40] Lee conceals this fact and cites the same words out of the work in

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37 See *Responsio 1* 72–3 and n23 above.

38 Cf *Apologia* n142 above.

39 *Adagia* I vii 92

40 *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo* 1.3 PL 42 521. Erasmus quoted Augustine's work not in the annotation under discussion but in additions in the 1519 edition to the annotations *et suspensus crepuit* (on Acts 1:18) Reeve 276, *fiat commoratio* (on Acts 1:20) Reeve 276, and *et annumeratus est* (on Acts 1:26) Reeve 277–8. In each he refers to Augustine's chapters 1.4–5 (correctly given as 1.3 in the first of these, but miscorrected to 1.4–5 after *1519*).

which Augustine responds to the letter of the Donatist Petilianus, 'chapter 10.'[41] This work has three books, but no chapter 10 has anything of this sort, whence it is clear that Lee was mistaken for some reason. And this too is amusing: he calls Augustine's reading a 'paraphrase,' although the passage itself shows that this was the reading of the church. For this is how Novatius' account[42] summarizes what was then transacted: 'And when he had given back the book of the Gospel, he took the Acts of the Apostles and said.' And a little later: 'And he read out from the Acts of the Apostles: '"The first speech,"' etc.[43] That would be a nice touch, if a bishop intent on refuting a heretic with the testimony of Holy Scripture adduced his own paraphrase instead of the words of the evangelists. This one passage in Augustine shows that the reading of the church, among the Africans at any rate, was different from that in use today. You will find the passage in chapters four and five.[44] Anyone who has the leisure may compare it.

Concerning Note 116

Licet audenter dicere μετὰ παρρησίας [if I may speak boldly]:[45] Since *audenter dicere* [speak boldly] and *libere loqui* [speak freely] have the same meaning, why does Lee disagree with me as well as with the Translator?[46] Since he says elsewhere that the Translator's words come from the Holy Spirit, I am surprised that he was not afraid to translate *palam* [openly] rather than *audenter*, except[47] that this single-minded fellow would rather be at variance with the Holy Spirit than with himself. But[48] Chrysostom shows in this passage the special modesty of Peter, who did not speak openly: 'it was said not of David but of Christ, but with much deference to the prophet David, he softens his speech to avoid offending them by speaking freely.'[49] What

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41 The passage in question is *Contra Donatistas* (*De unitate ecclesiae*) 11.27 PL 43 409–10. In the quotation from Acts 1:4 rendered here Augustine read *cum conversaretur*, as Lee fol CVII admits.

42 'Novatius' should probably read *notarius*, that is, 'the secretary's [or stenographer's] account,' as in the Hillen April/May 1520 edition; cf ASD IX-4:207:181.

43 *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo* 1.4 PL 42 521–2, quoting Acts 1 (and reading *conversatus* at 1:4)

44 Actually 1.3–4; cf n40 above.

45 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 2:29) Reeve 282.

46 Lee fol XLVII recto–verso, suggesting *palam dicere*; cf also Note 88 above.

47 except ... with himself.] Added in *1540*

48 But ... understand clearly.] Added in *Basel 1520*

49 *Hom in Acta* 6.1 PG 60 57

room is there for Lee's ridiculous comment? It was as if he said: Allow me to explain to you the meaning of the words of the prophet David, that you may understand clearly. But[50] Lee preferred an inept interpretation to being unable to maintain a previous inept remark.

Concerning Note 117

Moses quidem dixit [Moses indeed said]:[51] Lee points out that 'to the fathers,' which is added in Greek, is not in the Latin. If he had pointed this out then, it would have been added.[52] Nor can he accuse me of anything here but human oversight in a matter that carries no risk. And it was added in the second edition,[53] without Lee's pointing it out.

Concerning Note 118

Adversus puerum tuum Jesum [against your child, Jesus]:[54] Because παῖς in Greek is polysemous, and, I believe, in Hebrew as well, I pointed out that it should be translated *filius* [son] rather than *servus* [slave, servant] whenever we speak of Christ, for we read that he was often and unmistakably called Son of God, whereas it is uncertain whether he was called 'servant,' because the word is ambiguous. But, says Lee,[55] Jerome contends that Christ was called 'servant.'[56] But Ambrose disagrees in his exegesis of the Epistle to the Philippians, chapter 2. 'For unlike others,' he says, 'I am of the opinion that he did not assume the form of a servant when he was born a man.'[57] And a little before: 'He is nevertheless said not to have received the form of God but to be in the form of God; and to have assumed the form of a servant

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50 But ... inept remark.] Added in *1540*

51 See the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 3:22) Reeve 285. The annotation includes 'to the fathers' in its translation of the Greek.

52 Lee fol XLVII verso, referring to the fact that Erasmus included the Greek in *Novum instrumentum* I 254 but failed to translate it.

53 *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 251

54 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 4:27) Reeve 286–7; *sanctum* was added to the cue phrase before *puerum* in the 1535 edition. Erasmus noted that the Vulgate reading *puer* could mean 'son,' 'servant,' or 'child (boy).' The Greek παῖς has a similar range of meanings.

55 Lee fols XLVII verso–XLVIII

56 See the discussion just below on Lee's use of the *Concordantiae bibliae*.

57 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Phil* PL 17 (1845) 409A / (1879) 432A (on Phil 2:7–8). In *1522* Erasmus added the reference to his annotation (Reeve 287). Cf *Responsio 3* Note 20.

while he was humiliated like a sinner. One becomes a servant on account of sin, as did Ham the son of Noah, who first deservedly received the name of servant.' You see that Ambrose does not admit the role of servant in Christ in any other way than in the role of sinner. However, since after being deceived so many times I did not quite trust Lee's citation, I decided to examine the passages he adduces, not, I think, out of the sources themselves but out of the index that is commonly called the *Concordantia bibliae*.[58] For in the first book of Isaiah, chapter 41, Jerome, who translated from the Hebrew *Et tu Israel serve meus* [and you, Israel, my servant], expounds the passage at great length but says not a word about Christ, relating the whole passage to the apostles and specifically to Paul, who was first a servant of the Mosaic law and then chosen to preach the gospel.[59] Nor does the Gloss called the 'Ordinary' interpret it any differently.[60] And this is the passage which Lee the censor says cannot be taken to refer to anything but Christ. Then let him refute Jerome's 'wrong' interpretation and adduce his own authorities, that we may follow them after having repudiated Jerome.

As for what Lee adduces out of chapter 42 of the same prophet,[61] I wonder why he thought it necessary to change the prophet's words. For while we find there according to the Hebrew *ecce servus meus, suscipiam eum* [behold my servant, I shall raise him up] and according to the Septuagint *ecce Jacob puer meus, assumam eum* [behold Jacob my (child or servant); I shall take him up], Lee quotes: *Ecce servus meus, suscitabo eum* [Behold my servant, I shall rouse him up]. Where now is that terrible law that does not allow us to change even an iota in citing Holy Scripture?[62] Will he justify this as carelessness? But in his own opinion carelessness in Holy Scripture is impiety.[63] Yet perhaps the index cites it thus.[64] Indeed, in a sacred matter he

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58 *Concordantiae maiores sacrae bibliae* (Basel: Froben 1496 and often thereafter). This work indexes in alphabetical order the words found in the Bible. It consists of two parts: *declinabilia* and *indeclinabilia*. See nn64, 69 below.

59 *Commentarii in Isaiam* 12 PL 24 (1865) 429B–431C on Isa 41:8–16; the passage quoted by Erasmus is Isa 41:8.

60 *Glossa ordinaria* III [63] under *Et tu Israel serve meus*. This work was the standard medieval commentary on the Bible. It consists of marginal notes on the Bible text – mainly extracts from the church Fathers and early medieval authors – and brief interlinear explanations of words. It was begun in the school of Anselm of Laon (d 1117) and expanded by later compilers.

61 Isa 42:1; cf Jerome *Commentarii in Isaiam* 12 PL 24 (1865) 436A.

62 See *Responsio 1* Note 1 75–6 and nn36, 37 above.

63 Cf Lee fol xxx recto–verso.

64 See n58 above. Erasmus was right: the verse is cited in this form under *servus* (in the part indexing the *declinabilia*).

should have examined the passage itself, especially when he was preparing to make a carping remark. And to be sure, Jerome interprets this passage as referring to Christ; he does not say, however, that Jacob is mentioned, since the prophecy concerns Christ; yet 'Jacob' is added here in the Septuagint.[65] As for the passage Lee cites from Isaiah, chapter 43,[66] observe in how many ways the man who inveighs so fretfully against the mistakes of others goes wrong. First of all the passage according to Jerome as well as the Septuagint runs *Vocavi te nomine tuo, meus es tu* [I have called you by your name, you are mine],[67] whereas Lee has it as *Vocavi te nomine tuo, servus meus es* [I have called you by your name, you are my servant]. Is that terrifying law 'whoever diminishes or adds' in abeyance now? Lee has no excuse here other than his own carelessness or ignorance, for which he never makes allowance in my case, playing Cato to others, Suffenus to himself.[68] But I believe I have discovered what deceived Lee here: the index called *Concordantia* quotes the passage as Lee has it,[69] so that I fear he may bring an action against Froben and call him a falsifier. What I say makes Lee's denial that this passage can be applied to anyone but Christ more plausible, although Jerome interprets the whole passage as a reference to the group of the apostles, just as he did the first one.[70] And perhaps the passage in the middle applies to them as well, although Jerome is of a different opinion. Lee would not have written such nonsense, I think, if he had not taken his evidence from the index. This is the man who disqualifies me from dealing with Holy Scripture, this is the man who will teach the world how purely, how carefully, how religiously Holy Scripture must be treated.

As for the rest, Jerome attempts to demonstrate that the name 'servant' applies to Christ, but many shrink from the sound of this word because at first sight it seems an indignity and is at variance with the name 'son,' which Christ always claims for himself in the gospel. Christ calls even the apostles 'friends' rather than 'servants' after they have been taught the mysteries.[71] If[72] anyone needs authorities, he can certainly rely

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65 Jerome *Commentarii in Isaiam* 12 PL 24 (1865) 436B

66 Isa 43:1

67 *Commentarii in Isaiam* 12 PL 24 (1865) 443B

68 That is, critical of others while flattering himself. For Suffenus, a Roman poet ridiculed by Catullus, cf *Adagia* II v 12. Cato (the Elder, the Censor, 234–149 BC) was a Roman statesman noted for his strict morality.

69 See nn58, 64 above. The verse is cited in this form under *servus*.

70 *Commentarii in Isaiam* 12 PL 24 (1865) 444D

71 Cf John 15:15.

72 If ... above your fellows.'] Added in *1522*

on a passage in Chrysostom that I have now come across. Commenting on chapter two of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he expounds the verse 'Therefore God, your God, has anointed you [with the oil of gladness] above your fellows.'[73]

In this passage, however, I am not giving my own opinion but discussing the opinion of Lorenzo.[74] For speaking in my own person, I say in the annotation: 'And perhaps the term "servant" does not apply to him. And it certainly does not apply to him in so far as he is the Son.'[75] That this was my view is sufficiently clear from the words that follow: 'even if he obeyed the Father and was subordinate to him according to the human nature he had assumed, but he was subordinate as a son, not as a servant.' For the son obeys voluntarily; the servant does his duty out of fear. The fact that in Jerome Christ is called 'worm,'[76] moreover, supports my argument if it is taken as hyperbole. Nor is there any lack of authors who cast their vote for this position. Lee rejects what I added in passing, that Christ was not a child when he brought us salvation.[77] What need was there to argue with me here, when Peter has the same interpretation of Christ's death, by which he redeemed us, although the whole birth and life of Christ pertains to the salvation of the human race? 'Truly,' he says, 'Herod and Pontius Pilate were gathered together against your holy child [*puerum*] Jesus.'[78]

Lee takes up the matter again in his index,[79] arguing against my second edition, but it concerns Ambrose, whom I followed there, more than me.[80] He must first refute Ambrose, who says he does not approve of the opinion of those who say that Christ had accepted the form of a servant because he was made man. As for his saying that Christ was not subordinate to the Father in so far as he was his son but in so far as he was a servant – this may be true, if Christ according to his human nature cannot in any way be said to be the Son of God, in spite of the fact that pious men are called 'sons of God.'

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73 *Hom in Heb* 3.1 PG 63 28–9 on Heb 1:9 (not chapter 2, as Erasmus states)
74 Valla *Annotationes* (*Opera* I 848) reproaches the Translator for attributing the term 'servant' to the Son of God.
75 Cf Reeve 286; *fortasse* 'perhaps' was added in *1519*.
76 *Commentarii in Isaiam* 13 PL 24 (1865) 460A, cited Lee fol XLVIII
77 Lee fol XLVIII
78 Acts 4:27
79 Lee fol CI; for the indexes cf *Responsio 1* n3 above.
80 It was only in *1522* that Erasmus added the reference to Ambrose (Ambrosiaster); see n57 above.

Concerning Note 119

Non cessat loqui verba [does not cease to speak words]:[81] Since I change nothing here, either in our text or in the Greek, there is nothing for Lee to carp at other than the conclusion or rather conjecture I have in the annotations.[82] Yet I had cause to suspect that the phrase was added by the Greeks, for one reason at any rate: that it was lacking in the Latin manuscripts, and especially because the sentence makes sense without the addition. And[83] I am supported in this by the exegesis of Chrysostom, who in explaining the passage makes no mention at all of blasphemous words.[84] As for the rest, I think what Lee says in passing, that someone may speak against the temple or against God without blaspheming, is very far from the truth.[85]

Concerning Note 120

Here Lee inveighs against the Greek manuscripts for no reason whatsoever.[86] I had pointed out that in some Greek manuscripts one or two lines are lacking, but I also state that in my opinion they were omitted by the carelessness of scribes[87] and I added them because I had found them written in the margin in another codex.[88] What is Lee's complaint here? Nothing is missing, not even in the first edition. My annotation attests that some codices were defective, but that another came to the rescue. Is the fact that a corrupt passage is found in one or two manuscripts reason enough for not putting our trust in Greek manuscripts? Who would be so stupid as to trust one single codex in this kind of business? I[89] am speaking as if it were an established fact that the Greek manuscripts are defective here. Yet the Greek exegete Chrysostom does not touch on the passage I have

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81 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 6:13) Reeve 290. Erasmus noted that the Greek manuscripts have 'blasphemous words,' but suggested that 'blasphemous' was a later addition.
82 Lee fol XLVIII recto–verso
83 And ... blasphemous words.] Added in *Basel 1520*
84 *Hom in Acta* 15.1 PG 60 120
85 Lee fol XLVIII verso: 'This latter [speaking against a holy place] can be done without blasphemous words.'
86 Lee fol XLVIII verso
87 Cf the annotation *dixit autem Philippus* (on Acts 8:37) Reeve 294.
88 *Novum instrumentum* I 268
89 I ... preparing the third.] Added in *Basel 1520*

indicated is missing.[90] I had published two editions before his commentaries provided me with support in preparing the third. But in the conclusion of this annotation Lee is more civil than he usually is in other passages. He says we must not trust Greek manuscripts unless we find that Jerome or one of the other old exegetes agrees with them. But that is the method I use in this whole work. He should have added, moreover, 'or when the old Latin manuscripts support the reading.' And[91] yet he says this in a tone suggesting that only Lee adduces the testimony of ancient authors, while I am nodding off.

Concerning Note 121

Durum est tibi [it is hard for you]:[92] Since the text, both in Greek and in Latin, has what Lee approves,[93] what was there to keep me from pointing out in the annotations that this phrase was missing in some Greek manuscripts?[94] What else could be suspected but that I obtained different manuscripts later on? Nor is it a standing rule, as Lee says,[95] that the repetition of a narration corresponds in every point to the original. Nor[96] does Chrysostom touch on what I say is missing.[97]

Concerning Note 122

Quomodo unxit eum Deus [how God anointed him]:[98] I do not deny that the speech of the apostles, although unpolished, is nevertheless more effica-

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90 *Hom in Acta* 19.1 PG 60 150. Erasmus added the reference to his annotation in *1522*.
91 And . . . nodding off.] Added in *1540*
92 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 9:5) Reeve 295.
93 Lee fol XLVIII verso
94 In *1519* Erasmus commented that the phrase was missing, not in all Greek manuscripts (as he had said in *1516*), but in most of them.
95 Lee fol XLIX
96 Nor . . . is missing.] Added in *Basel 1520*
97 *Hom in Acta* 19.3 PG 60 153
98 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 10:38) Reeve 298–300. In *1516*, discussing a Hebraism that the Translator should have ignored, Erasmus had noted: 'Even if the apostles wrote in Greek, they introduced many idiomatic elements from their own language . . . for the apostles learned their Greek not from Demosthenes' orations, but in conversation with the people' (cf Reeve 298). In *1519* he added that God in his divine wisdom wished to avoid the trappings of human eloquence. This Note is out of sequence.

cious than the speech of others, however ornate; Lee himself admits that he assigns no importance to the question whether the apostles in Acts spoke one language that was understood by all or different languages, since even today there is disagreement among theologians about this.[99] If this is the case and he does not disagree with my statement that the apostles learned Greek from the common usage of Greek speakers, what is the purpose of his lengthy argumentation? He is displeased that I criticize a flaw in the speech of the apostles. If he calls 'flawed' a form of speech that differs from the rules and usage of people who speak correctly, what offence was it to attribute a flaw to the apostles? Jerome does it many times. 'But you criticize them,' he says.[100] 'Criticize' is Lee's term, not mine. He concludes his annotation with a syllogism: 'You criticize speech diverging from stylistic rules as a terrible flaw; I do not allow anything in the work of God to be called "flawed." And the speech of the apostles is a work of God, speech which I venerate for its majesty, whatever form it takes.' This[101] is how Lee draws conclusions. What does he mean? Do I anywhere express contempt for the speech of the apostles? Do I not frequently express admiration for their heavenly eloquence? If Lee thinks 'flaw' is just another word for 'sin,' I admit that there is no 'sin' in a work of God, or there certainly should not be. If stammering or blindness is a 'flaw,' what prevents such a flaw from being found in a work of God? Lee attributes to Paul inexperience in speaking. Does attributing inexperience not amount to attributing a flaw? Lee, however, venerates this flaw. But not in so far as it is a flaw. We do not venerate the awkwardness of the speech but its meaning. If Paul wore torn clothing, would you not say, without disrespect to Paul, that it was 'flawed'? And if awkward wording bothers the reader, is it not right to come to his aid? For this is all I do in this passage.

Inspect my annotation, dear reader; you will find nothing said about the apostles that is not as it should be. But Lee is pleased that he has an ally,[102] Maarten van Dorp,[103] who shares the position taken in this note, lest he appear alone in his wisdom. As if there would have been a risk in this matter unless Dorp had come to his aid! Although Dorp did not share Lee's motives. Indeed, Lee has Eck's company in this matter as well, so that he

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99 Lee fols XLIX–LI verso, referring to Acts 2:8 (the miracle of Pentecost); cf Erasmus' annotation *linguam nostram* on that verse, Reeve 279.

100 Lee fol LI

101 This ... conclusions.] Added in *1522*

102 Lee fol XLIX verso

103 Cf *Apologia* nn106, 107, 160, 193 above.

need not fear appearing alone in his wisdom. But I responded to Eck in a letter,[104] and I wonder why Lee conceals the fact that he read it. In his index Lee says I added in the second edition that I did not want to quarrel about this matter,[105] but this does not apply to the point I dispute with Lee. For I clearly attribute flawed speech to the apostles, although I do not make an accusation of it and do not inveigh against them.

Concerning Note 123

Here Lee notes[106] that though I pointed out in my annotations that there are a few more words in the Greek manuscripts than in ours, I did not add in the text what ours were missing.[107] Let him pretend that this was carelessness on my part; it was enough to have advised the reader of it somewhere. Lee tacitly asks to have it credited to him that I added in the second edition what was missing in the first.[108] Oblige[109] the starving man, dear reader. I hope he may eventually get his fill of glory.

Concerning Note 124

Salvatorem Jesum [a Saviour, Jesus]:[110] Since in the text I followed those manuscripts that had Jesus' name added and since I translated it accordingly,[111] Lee has no reason to criticize me,[112] except for my pointing out in the annotations that in some codices 'Jesus' is not added and saying 'perhaps it was not yet the time to explain the name.' This occurred to me because we read that there was a time when Jesus did not yet want to be called the Messiah,[113] and also because the apostles, when they began preaching

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104 Ep 844:63–90. The passage summarizes Erasmus' *1519* addition to his annotation.
105 Lee fol CI; for the indexes cf *Responsio 1* n3 above.
106 Lee fol LI verso, on the annotation *quatuor initiis summitti* (on Acts 10:11) Reeve 297.
107 Erasmus included the words in the Greek text but did not render them in his translation; see *Novum instrumentum* I 273.
108 *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 269
109 Oblige ... fill of glory.] Added in *1522*
110 Cf the annotation *Iesum* (on Acts 13:23) Reeve 303.
111 *Novum instrumentum* I 281
112 Lee fols LI verso–LII verso
113 Matt 16:20

before the uninitiated, refrained from using the word 'God.' Thus it could have happened that they spoke of a 'Saviour' because the name Jesus was still hated, and that they were going to use his name expressly when the time was right. Because I was not completely convinced of this, I added 'perhaps.' Lee approves of the added word. There is no quarrel between him and me on this point then. And[114] yet it is remarkable how our little censor rises up in arrogance – you would think Paul himself is speaking. He mentions some second gospel or other,[115] as if the responsibility for preaching were not permanent, or as if the apostles did not continue to keep silent about some things after the resurrection, saving them up for the right occasion. For anyone who expressly saves the name of Jesus for the right occasion does not 'suppress' it. Finally Lee does not take into consideration that the matters related here took place before the resurrection and are told as they happened.

Concerning Note 125

I had pointed out that some manuscripts had σωτηρίαν instead of σωτῆρα, that is, 'salvation' instead of 'saviour.'[116] Yet I follow what is in agreement with our version. What then is the point of Lee's complaint?[117]

Concerning Note 126

I wonder why he makes two annotations out of one.[118] Is it that he disapproves of my preference for the Greek manuscripts that agree with our text while I attest that it was missing in others?

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114 And ... as they happened.] Added in *1522*

115 Lee wrote (fol LII verso): 'What does it mean to preach the gospel to all the created world? Does it not mean: go and spread my name among the gentiles? – unless perhaps someone pretended that preaching the gospel meant something else [*aliud quis finxerit euangelium*] than preaching Jesus Christ.' Erasmus either misunderstood or is misrepresenting the meaning of Lee's phrase *aliud quis finxerit euangelium*, which could be taken to mean 'if someone made up another gospel.'

116 Cf the annotation *eduxit Israel salvatorem* (on Acts 13:23) Reeve 303.

117 Lee fol LII verso. Lee complained that Erasmus did not change the New Testament text, Greek or Latin, to bring it in line with his annotation.

118 Lee's Note 126 (ibidem) offers nothing that had not been said in Note 124. Indeed he refers back to that Note.

Concerning Note 127

Lee indicates that our manuscripts have what is missing in the Greek,[119] namely: *Et commota est omnis multitudo in doctrina eorum. Paulus autem et Barnabas Lystris morabantur* [And the whole crowd rose up against their teaching. But Paul and Barnabas remained at Lystra].[120] What was I to do, if these words are not found even in the Aldine edition,[121] which came out after mine? If Lee had advised me of this earlier, I would perhaps have mentioned it in my annotations.[122] As for Lee's concluding from this passage that we must not trust Greek manuscripts: he is unfair to them for no other reason than that they were edited by me. I in turn conclude that we must not give any weight to Lee's verdict, for in the manuscripts that also contain the Gloss called the 'Ordinary' this whole passage is lacking, whereas the gloss that is clearly Bede's says that the passage is found in the Greek texts but not in all Latin ones.[123] Nor does Lyra, though he writes a running commentary, touch on this passage in his exposition.[124] Indeed it is not found even in the text of the codex I used when I wrote this. In the edition that has the commentaries of Hugh of St Cher I saw written in the margin: 'Elsewhere this is lacking, but it is found in Greek.'[125] Not[126] even Chrysostom in his commentary on the passage touches on what I say is missing.[127] Let Lee go on now and say he has no doubt that what we read in our manuscripts, though not in all of them, is lacking in Greek. Indeed,[128] even in the passage above, after the words *et universam in circuitu regionem* [into the whole surrounding region], Bede notes that the Greek manuscripts have 'and God made peace' but that it is not included in all Latin manuscripts. Why does Lee not see a risk here? Why does he not

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119 Lee fol LIII

120 These sentences appear in some manuscripts at Acts 14:6–7; Erasmus' discussion illustrates their dubious status.

121 Cf Aldina fol 396.

122 Erasmus added a mention in *1522*, extended in *1527*; cf the annotation *et universam in circuitu regionem* (on Acts 14:6) Reeve 304–5.

123 *Glossa ordinaria* IV [486] under *Et universam in circuitu regionem*. The comment of Bede (673/4–735) cited in the Gloss comes from *Exp super Acta* PL 92 975C.

124 *Postilla* IV fol tt iii verso ##n–o

125 Cf Hugh of St Cher (c 1190–1263) [*Postilla*] in *Opera omnia* 8 vols (Venice 1732) VII fol 296 verso (in this edition the two sentences appear in the main text).

126 Not ... is missing.] Added in *Basel 1520*

127 Cf *Hom in Acta* 30.1–2 PG 60 222–3.

128 Indeed ... Lee's oracle?] Added in *1522*

cry out that the majesty of Scripture is called into question whenever the manuscripts in the two languages are at variance? Where will the world flee for refuge now if not to Lee's oracle?

Concerning Note 128

Since the phrase in Greek is ὡς τάχιστα, which could have been rendered literally into Latin as *quam celerrime* [as quickly as possible], I wonder why the Translator preferred to depart from the Greek wording and render it in a way that is not good Latin.[129] Lee advises me that I could have indicated this in a more civil way,[130] that is, I could have deferred to the Translator who, he thinks, translated this at the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. I am of a different opinion, and St Jerome is on my side.[131] Yet[132] what incivility is there in my words here?

Concerning Note 129

De via Domini [about the way of the Lord]:[133] I indicate that in Greek 'of the Lord' is not added, and that it appears to have been added in Latin in explanation of the expression. As for the rest, it could have been translated *de hac via* [about this way], for the article in περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ indicates a specific way, namely that which has been mentioned a little earlier.[134] 'But you do not permit the translation "this world" for τὸν κόσμον in the Gospel of John,' Lee says.[135] I do not condemn the Translator; indeed elsewhere I justify him, although the case is not similar. There is no other world than this world to make it necessary to distinguish between them with a definite article. But it is absurd to say 'about a way' without adding something to specify a particular way. Nor does it follow that the article nowhere indicates anything specific just because it does not do so in some one instance.

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129 Cf the annotation *ut quam celeriter* (on Acts 17:15) Reeve 310. Erasmus called the Vulgate translation *quam celeriter* 'barbarous speech.' He removed the remark in *1535*.

130 Lee fol LIII

131 Cf *Divina bibliotheca* PL 29 (1865) 748A, which, however, reads *quam celeriter*. Cf Note on Erasmus' Biblical Text xxviii–xxix above.

132 Yet ... my words here?] Added in *1522*

133 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 19:23) Reeve 315.

134 At Acts 19:9

135 Lee fol LIII; cf the annotation *venientem in hunc mundum* (on John 1:9) Reeve 224.

Concerning Note 130

I had pointed out that it seems from this passage that James believed that the ceremonies of the law still had to be observed.[136] Lee disagrees.[137] First of all, would it be surprising if James, who lived continually among Jews, held this belief, when Peter too was of this opinion at one time, being reluctant to meet Cornelius?[138] I did not mean, however, that James believed that the law of Moses was necessary for salvation, but that it must still be observed to avoid giving offence to the weak, whereas Paul believed that the time had come to disregard this superstition because it presented a great danger to the gospel teaching.[139]

Concerning Note 131

I say that προεχειρίσατο, which the Translator translated *praeordinavit* [preordained], would better be rendered *praeparavit* [prepared].[140] For *praedestinare* is the word in the case of someone making a decision; προχείρισαι [make to hand, make ready] of someone who undertakes the preparations for what is soon to follow. But Lee contends that even these intermediate matters were predestined.[141] Who denies it? But that is not what Luke says here, and my annotation concerns Luke's Translator. Yet if I remember correctly, Lee notes somewhere in his indexes that I depreciate divine predestination,[142] whereas I have no other purpose here than to explain the force and proper meaning of the Greek term. Certainly[143] Chrysostom in his exegesis of this passage makes no mention of predestination.[144] Nor does it go against me that Lee here cites modern theologians.[145] Such a grateful man, for he does not want those who supplied

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136 Cf the annotation *neque secundum consuetudinem ingredi* (on Acts 21:21) Reeve 319.
137 Lee fol LIII recto–verso
138 Cf Acts 10:28.
139 In the *1522* annotation Erasmus added an explanation to this effect; cf Reeve 319–20.
140 Cf the annotation *praeordinavit te* (on Acts 22:14) Reeve 322.
141 Lee fol LIII verso
142 Lee fol DDVI; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
143 Certainly ... mention of thorns.] Added in *1522*
144 *Hom in Acta* 47.2 PG 60 329
145 He does not give specific references, however.

this piece of sycophancy to be deprived of their due credit! What he adduces out of Hosea, 'I shall hedge your ways with thorns,'[146] is even less of an argument, except that this thorny thinker delights in the mention of thorns.

Concerning Note 132

Percutiat te Deus [May God smite you]:[147] Here I show that Paul neither insulted the high priest nor lied when he said he did not know that he was the high priest, and yet on account of the commotion he acknowledged it was a sort of insult and he acknowledged him as the high priest although in truth he was not. But Lee prefers to defend Paul against the accusation of lying by saying that Ananias was not the true high priest because the Mosaic priesthood had now been abolished.[148] Yet how could Paul not know this? In this case he is even more liable to the risk of being called a liar. 'A liar,' he says, 'is one who denies that a high priest, however wicked, is a high priest.' But a person calling a man who like a brute is a slave to his stomach 'no human being' does not lie. 'Paul will stand accused of a lie,' Lee says, 'even if what he said were in some way true, if it is not true in the ordinary sense of the word.' I flatly reject this rule. Otherwise we shall not free Christ of the accusation of being a liar when he said, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall rebuild it.'[149] Likewise, when he commanded the apostles to sell their coat to buy a sword.[150] By[151] that rule Paul is a liar indeed. Lee admits that Paul knew the man was the high priest, or his remark would make no sense. And according to the ordinary meaning he was the high priest. He therefore lied when he said he did not know that Ananias was the high priest. Chrysostom indicates that some people like to interpret 'I did not know that he was the high priest' as ironically spoken, but he himself prefers a different view: that Paul was truly ignorant that he was the high priest, partly because he had been absent for a

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146 Hos 2:6. Lee fol LIII verso commented that God continued to 'hedge the way with thorns': 'and he predestined to do so, that is, before the creation of the world.'

147 Cf the annotation *percutiat te deus, paries* (on Acts 23:3) Reeve 322–3.

148 Lee fols LIII verso–LIIII

149 John 2:19

150 Luke 22:36

151 By . . . a crowd of people.] Added in *Basel 1520*

long time from the society of Jews, partly because Ananias was in a crowd of people.[152] Bede thinks differently. He wants Paul's words to be regarded as a prophecy, not as an explanation. But[153] of course Bede read *percutiet* [(God) shall strike], not *percutiat* [may (God) strike].

Concerning Note 133

I indicated that there were one or two lines in our text that are not found in the Greek manuscripts,[154] advising the reader to add them if he discovered them anywhere, for I do not find them added in the Aldine edition either.[155] What else could I have done, even if the omission absolutely had to be added? And here Lee thinks that this is a reason for not trusting in Greek manuscripts: 'And why,' he says, 'do we put such trust in Greek texts? Even if our edition is not correct, how shall we emend it by comparison with texts that are sometimes defective, sometimes plainly wrong?'[156] How authoritative is the pronouncement of our little censor! You might think you were hearing the voice of a dictator. Lyra indicates that this whole passage, which Lee claims is missing from the Greek manuscripts and therefore calls them 'defective,' does not belong in the text and is not found in the better manuscripts; rather this was a marginal gloss added to explain why the tribune wanted Paul to be armed in this manner. Some scribe transferred the gloss to the text.[157] Lyra certainly did not dream this up in his own head, but found it in some of the ancient commentaries from which he wove together his exposition. Not[158] even Chrysostom in his exegesis of this passage reads or explains what I said was lacking.[159] Let us go now and, distrusting the Greek manuscripts, put our trust in Lee's dreams, who,[160] taking for granted that these words are missing from the Greek manuscripts,

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152 *Hom in Acta* 48.2 PG 60 334–5
153 But ... *percutiat*.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Exp super Acta* PL 92 989B–C.
154 Cf the annotation *timuit enim, ne forte* ... (on Acts 23:25) Reeve 324. The spurious words are: 'For he feared that the Jews would seize and kill him, and that he would later be slandered as if he had accepted money.'
155 Cf Aldina fol 400.
156 Lee fol LIIII
157 *Postilla* IV fol VV v verso #h
158 Not ... was lacking.] Added in *Basel 1520*
159 *Hom in Acta* 49.2 PG 60 340–1.
160 who ... plainly corrupted] Added in *1522*

clamours that we must not trust the Greek books, as they are sometimes mutilated and sometimes plainly corrupted.

Concerning Note 134

I did not have very many manuscripts for Acts. For it appears that among the Greeks Acts was not much used in church. I found a part written in the margin of one codex and added from it what was lacking in the rest.[161] What then is the point of Lee's complaint?[162] He has what he wants. Does it follow that we must not trust the Greek manuscripts because a scribe omitted something in one manuscript that is nevertheless found in other, more correct copies? For I myself found it in one codex, as I said, and it is in the Aldine edition.[163] The Gloss called the 'Ordinary' attests that our manuscripts lack a few lines that are contained in the Greek.[164] Their meaning is: 'whom we apprehended and wanted to judge according to our law. The tribune Lysias intervened and took him out of our hands with a great show of force, commanding that his accusers come before you, from which you might deliberate about everything yourself and decide.' If Lee is right in saying that it is necessary to add these words, and if the Gloss is not lying when it says that they are lacking in our manuscripts, why does Lee not find our manuscripts untrustworthy rather than the Greek ones? Lee is angry with the Greek nation, I believe, because so far he has had little luck with the Greek language. And[165] yet it is agreed that this is Bede's comment,[166] so Lee need not spurn it completely. Lee says that the passage is incoherent if we omit what I said was lacking, because it continues with the words 'from whom.'[167] The[168] more he urges this argument on us, the more he reduces the authority of the Latin manuscripts. The Greek certainly

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161 A passage at Acts 24:6–8 was missing; cf the annotation *quem et apprehensum* ... (Reeve 325). Erasmus quotes it just below.

162 Lee fol LIIII

163 Cf Aldina fol 400.

164 *Glossa ordinaria* IV [503] under *Quem et apprehensum*

165 And ... spurn it completely.] Added in *1522*

166 *Exp super Acta* PL 92 990B, quoted in the *Glossa ordinaria*; cf n164 above.

167 Lee fol LIIII verso

168 The ... to be interrogated.] Added in *1522*. In both 1520 editions the previous sentence continued as follows: 'a quo, cum glossa citet: quo possis ipse diiudicans cognoscere' ['from whom,' although the Gloss quotes: 'from which you yourself might deliberate and decide'].

reads παρ' οὗ, that is, 'from whom,' and we may understand this to mean that someone was sent who was ordered to be interrogated.

Concerning Note 135

I shall not respond to this note, since Lee's conjecture does not make sense.[169] You may decide about mine, dear reader. If something better occurs to you, be kind enough to share it. Nothing[170] of the sort dreamed up by Lee can be concluded from the interpretation of Chrysostom.[171] Lyra refers us to chapter nine of this work,[172] obviously favouring my position. For we read there the following: 'But when the seven days were over, those Jews who were from Asia, when they had seen him in the temple, aroused the whole people and took hold of him.'

Concerning Note 136

Although the Translator nodded off and permitted himself a prodigious solecism, translating *Omnia quae apud nos sunt consuetudines et quaestiones* [all the things that are our customs and questions],[173] Lee is nevertheless indignant with me because I pointed it out.[174] He makes excuses for the Translator on two counts: either he made a mistake unwittingly or the passage was corrupted by scribes. But who is so ignorant that he would not perceive this solecism? It is not plausible that the passage was corrupted by others, because he frequently nods off elsewhere in the same way and because all the manuscripts are in agreement. Jerome[175] cites the passage without solecism in his book *De optimo genere interpretandi*. As for my men-

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169 Lee fol LIIII verso, on the annotation *quidam autem ex Asia Iudaei* (on Acts 24:19) Reeve 326. Erasmus suggested supplying (after 'Certain Jews of Asia') the phrase 'caused this uproar'; Lee suggested supplying 'seized me.'

170 Nothing ... took hold of him.] Added in *Basel 1520*

171 Cf *Hom in Acta* 50.2 PG 60 346.

172 *Postilla* IV fol vv vi #i, actually referring back to Acts 21:27, quoted here by Erasmus. 'Nine' in LB is written out; but in *Basel 1520* the numeral is given, xi 'eleven,' an easy mistake for xxi 'twenty-one.' Cf ASD IX-4 219 apparatus criticus to line 450.

173 Acts 26:3; cf the annotation *aestimo me beatum* (on Acts 26:2) Reeve 328. According to Latin grammar, *omnia* (neuter plural) should have read *omnes* (feminine plural) to agree with the two nouns *consuetudines et quaestiones*.

174 Lee fol LV

175 Jerome ... *interpretandi*.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to Ep 57.1 PL 22 568.

tioning the theologians here, I do not inveigh against them but express my surprise that they so patiently bear with solecisms of this kind.[176] And Lee defends the barbaric language of the theologians at length and incites them against me, as if he were doing them a great favour by not wanting them to be free of barbarism. Finally, he lists this passage among those which I failed to change,[177] although in the second edition I omitted any mention of the theologians to avoid anything hateful.

Concerning the annotation without number:[178]

Benigne triduo habuit [for three days entertained us courteously].[179] Because the Translator failed to see such a remarkable solecism just above, I wonder why he has used such an elegant expression here, especially when the Greek wording is different, for he said *benigne* [courteously] for 'humanely' and *habuit* [entertained] for 'treated.' Here again I am chided by Lee for treating the Translator so harshly, as if we owe him great respect. Lee says that it is not my task to emend the Latin gospel by comparison with the Greek original. On the contrary: this is exactly what I undertook, and if the Translator rendered something incorrectly, I indicate it. Why is it not right to point out that he departed somewhat from the Greek wording for the sake of elegance?

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

Concerning Note 137

Ex resurrectione mortuorum [by the resurrection of (or 'from') the dead]:[180] Since the phrase in Greek is ambiguous and can be accommodated to many meanings, I gathered together various arguments. I myself am more inclined to think that we must understand the divine power of Christ to have

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176 In *1516* Erasmus had written: 'as if it were allowed for theologians to speak thus.' He deleted 'for theologians' in *1519*.

177 In fact, Lee (fol CI verso) does not list this passage in the *Manentia*, for which see *Responsio 1* n3 above.

178 Lee's unnumbered Note appears at fol LV between Notes 136 and 137.

179 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 28:7) Reeve 333.

180 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rom 1:4) Reeve 338–41 / CWE 56 19–24.

been manifested in the fact that he himself rose from the dead, rather than that some returned to life while he was dying. For only Matthew makes mention of this.[181] And to make the argument more plausible, I add this conjecture: If what Matthew mentions in passing (concerning some who were recalled to life but whose names he does not cite) had specifically pertained to proving the divinity of Christ, the other evangelists would likewise have mentioned the matter. That Christ died no one fails to mention, for it specifically pertains to revealing his human nature. His resurrection is mentioned by all, for it clearly pertains to revealing his divine nature, especially because he returned to life by his own power, as he himself attested, saying that it was in his power to relinquish his soul and to receive it back when he so desired.[182] For the fact that some returned to life at Christ's call may attest in general to his divine nature, but it does not attest to it specifically, since we read that the dead were recalled to life by the prophets as well.[183] But no one who is completely human has put down his life in this way and returned to life in this way by his own choice.

Although I said this in my annotations in the interest of inquiry, and not entirely foolishly, if I am not mistaken, Lee dreams up some tragic meaning, reasoning in this manner: 'In the things that are articles of faith,' he says, 'such as what the evangelists did or did not write, I do not even consider probable what is not a fact, for what is probable can to some extent be defended by arguments. The notion that the evangelists wrote what they did not write is so far from being defensible that it is clearly impious to defend it, especially when the church has long ago handed down to us a full complement of evangelical writings, so that it would be impious to add or take away anything. If anyone dares to say that it is probable that the evangelists wrote what is not found in the evangelists, or that something has not been written by the evangelists that is plainly contained in the Gospels, what can more openly support the decrees of the heretics? Once this door is opened to them, those who persecute the gospel will proudly rise up. No quotation from the gospel will be unassailable, for they will twist it around and protest that it was probably not written by the evangelist and that it was false and invented by us.'[184] Thus Lee.

I beseech you, dear reader, if Erasmus wrote such stuff, who would believe that he was in his right mind? I frequently close my eyes to such things, and wish I could always. Indeed I would do so in this case if Lee

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181 Matt 27:52–3
182 John 10:18
183 See 1 (Vulg 3) Kings 17:17–24 (Elijah), 2 (Vulg 4) Kings 4:31–7 (Elisha).
184 Lee fol LV verso

were not attacking me in such hateful terms. Who ever said that the evangelists related deeds that had not been done? Who ever took away or added anything to the Gospels? Who ever deprived the evangelists' narrative of authority? Who said that there was anything invented by us? Who can tolerate such hateful words, spoken without a thought, let alone without any reason? And yet he also notes this passage in his first index as extremely dangerous.[185]

Finally Lee comes closer to the point, showing that some evangelists said or omitted one thing, others another, but that Scripture was arranged in such a way that the sum of our faith remained constant. What can we conclude from this? Does it follow that whatever somehow pertains to the teaching of Christ pertains specifically to proving the divinity of Christ? Nor does Lee deal civilly with me, for he acts as if I had said that if anything is omitted by one of the evangelists, we must consider an invention what [that evangelist says that] is not also mentioned by the others. Lee puts it like this: 'Nevertheless you will not, I believe, suggest the probability that they would not have omitted things if they were as John reports;[186] otherwise almost nothing would be certain in the evangelists, for they do not all say everything, and what they do say is phrased differently, though not with a different meaning if one interprets it in a Christian spirit.'[187] Upon my life, I am ashamed of this argument on his behalf, my adversary though he is, for one reason at any rate, that he calls himself a theologian! I wish he had listened to the good advice even of his enemy when he was publishing this. If he had shared his notes with me, he would not have revealed this sort of thing to the world. What scholars will think of it I am ashamed to guess!

Concerning Note 138

From the arguments I used then Lee plucks out this one: I had written that since the dead mentioned by Matthew returned to life before Christ came back to life, it was not likely that Paul was thinking about them here.[188] But to sum up the matter briefly: Lee disagrees with me in one point, that I call the dead who were brought back to life 'precursors of the resurrection of Christ.' 'What kind of precursors are these,' he says, 'who appeared after

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185 Lee fol Diiii verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
186 John 21:25
187 Lee fol LVI
188 Continuing the discussion of Erasmus' annotation on Rom 1:4; cf Reeve 339 / CWE 56 21.

him whose precursors they were?'[189] To respond to this in a few words: Is not a precursor he who returns to life first? But (he might say) it was unknown that they had come back to life. But it is known to us from the narrative of the evangelist; it[190] therefore will not be absurd to us for them to be called precursors. And perhaps it was known to many then. Finally, was John not the precursor of Christ because he preached to a few people in the desert? Lee prefers them to be called 'witnesses' rather than 'precursors.' Was John the Baptist any less a witness because he was a precursor? But too much effort is being wasted on this nonsense.

Concerning Note 139

Lee criticizes what I wrote: 'If Paul wanted to assert the divinity of Christ he ought to have mentioned his resurrection rather than that of others.'[191] Lee, by contrast, thinks the argument is more effective if it refers to the general resurrection.[192] He would be right if that had taken place by then; but Christ's resurrection, which had already happened, had to be made convincing first in order for Paul to make the general resurrection convincing. And yet I list among other interpretations something like the view Lee advocates, namely that the resurrection in its entirety, of both head and members, is meant, which is the same as saying the resurrection of all.

Concerning Note 140

Avaritia [avarice], etc.[193] Manuscripts, both Greek and Latin, often vary when such lists of virtues or vices are given. Some theologians torment themselves greatly over the lists, as if there were a fixed number [of virtues or vices], whereas it is more probable that the apostle wanted to make a summary list of such things so that we may gather other related ones from the ones mentioned. I therefore pointed out in a few words that the names should not be counted so anxiously. After all, in the Epistle to the Galatians the fruits of the spirit are enumerated;[194] the works of the flesh are not. I meant that if Paul had intended to list a definite number of spiritual

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189 Lee fol LVI verso
190 it . . . to be called precursors.] Added in *1522*
191 Cf Reeve 339 / CWE 56 21.
192 Lee fol LVI, continuing the discussion of Erasmus' annotation on Rom 1:4
193 Cf the four annotations *avaritia*, *nequitia*, *invidia*, *homicidiis*, and *malignitate* (on Rom 1:29) Reeve 349–50 / CWE 56 60–2. Rom 1:29 contains a list of vices.
194 Gal 5:22–3

and carnal works, the number of opposites should have matched on each side. For the spirit produces as many advantages as the flesh disadvantages. Lee answers that there is a limited number of virtues, whereas vice has a wide reach.[195] How is this relevant? Paul enumerates the works of the flesh, but their number does not correspond to the number on the other side. What Lee says will perhaps have a place if we speak of kinds or forms of virtues and vices, but here it is their fruits that are mentioned. Does vice yield more disadvantages than virtue yields advantages? Although what I have pointed out concerning numbers does not apply only to vices and virtues but to itemized lists of anything. I do not wish the exegete to labour scrupulously over such matters.

Concerning Note 141

In this passage I clearly attest that I hold the orthodox belief about original sin,[196] so Lee has no reason to expostulate with me, on this account at any rate. I merely advise that we not use the concept of original sin where there is no need and not twist the meaning of Sacred Scripture everywhere into a reference to the blame incurred from Adam, the first parent of humankind, when another meaning could also apply. I do not wish to have widespread allusion made to this concept of sin because by its aid we slip out of the straits of disputation as easily as astronomers using the argument of epicycles.[197] What is there here so far that can offend pious ears? That I do not want to have Scripture twisted into arguments against heretics? 'But you imply,' Lee says, 'that original sin is an invention of the theologians.'[198] Is it consistent to admit that original sin exists and at the same time consider the thing an invention? Before the conflict with Pelagius this passage was interpreted in two ways; now that we have declared war on the Pelagians, we narrowly construe the passage as if it could not be interpreted in any other way. Yet St Ambrose interprets it without any need for bringing in original sin.[199] And Origen, although he reports both interpretations, nevertheless adopts the one that makes sense without the concept of original sin.[200]

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195 Lee fol LVII
196 Cf the annotation *forma futuri* (on Rom 5:14) Reeve 374 / CWE 56 167–8. This Note is out of sequence.
197 That is, small circles having their centres on the circumference of another circle; epicycles were used to explain the motion of planets before it was recognized that their course is elliptical rather than circular.
198 Lee fol LVIII
199 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Rom* PL 17 (1845) 94A–95B / (1879) 98C–99D
200 *Comm in Rom* 5.1 PG 14 1018B–C

'But in the meantime you deprive the theologians of a weapon to slay the heretics,' Lee says.[201] As if the concept of original sin could not be demonstrated except on the basis of this passage! If it is impious to explain the passage otherwise than as a reference to original sin, what shall we do about Ambrose, who interprets it differently? 'If you keep to the church doctrine on original sin,' Lee says, 'you need not fear that it is an invention of the theologians.' But who said it was? Let him assume that this passage cannot be explained in any other way but as a reference to original sin; is it then impossible that elsewhere we use the concept inappropriately? Let him assume that there is no passage in Sacred Scripture that helps us prove the concept of original sin; should I then not believe what the church teaches us to believe?

This annotation, which contains nothing beyond a desire to vitiate my work, concludes like this: 'Examine, Erasmus, whether it is fair [to claim] that you alone are wise in the face of the weighty testimony given by so many church Fathers. I beg and beseech you by the love of Christ, Erasmus, not to introduce into Holy Church this novel manner of treating the sacred Epistles, with its slander of ancient authors.' What is this? Am I alone wise, I who follow the authority of Origen and Ambrose, and in addition Theophylact,[202] who I am sure emulated the old Greek exegetes? Do I oppose the testimony of the church Fathers because I indicate that another meaning is possible? Do I slander the old authors when I reveal an alternative interpretation without rejecting their interpretation? I ask you, dear reader, check this passage in my annotations, and you will see that Lee had nothing else in mind here but to slander me.

Concerning Note 142

διῆλθεν [he went through], the Greek word that Paul used, was rendered by the Translator as *pertransiit*.[203] I translated it *pervasit*,[204] for the verb caused Augustine to stumble because he thought that *pertransire* meant 'pass beyond.'[205] I removed the ambiguity. But Lee confronts me with Origen in

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201 Paraphasing Lee fol LVIII verso
202 *Exp in Rom* PG 124 404D–405B
203 Rom 5:12; cf the explanation in the annotation *in quo omnes peccaverunt* on this verse (Reeve 367 / CWE 56 141) in the lengthy addition of *1535*.
204 *Novum instrumentum* II 9
205 *Quaestiones ex Novo Testamento* 73 PL 35 2270–1 (on Luke 2:35)

the Latin translation,[206] who read *pertransiit* and diligently explained it.[207] Why would Origen not do so, since *pertransire* and *pervadere* are all one to him? And what is strange about Jerome following the Vulgate reading in his translation?[208] Will this prevent me from changing the word and removing the ambiguity? But Origen said that no syllable was superfluous in the sacred Epistles.[209] What has this to do with me? I am not changing Paul's verb διῆλθεν, am I? For Origen was speaking of the Greek word. And yet this passage is listed among those I have not changed.[210]

Concerning Note 143

In plures abundavit [has abounded in more]: I point out that in Greek it is not εἰς πλείους, that is, 'in more' but εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, that is, 'in many.'[211] But, Lee says,[212] Jerome read 'more.'[213] Perhaps so, but thinking that there was no difference between 'more' and 'many.' But Origen explains the mystery of the increased number.[214] Yes, but he does so not on the basis of this word but of the one that follows, ἐπερίσσευσεν, that is, 'abounded.' What is abounding is growing. And in the previous section there was no mention of abundance. And this passage too Lee notes as not having been corrected by me,[215] when[216] there was nothing to correct.

Concerning Note 144

Supra modum peccans peccatum [sin exceedingly sinful]:[217] Since it is ἁμαρτωλὸς ἁμαρτία in Greek, which produces the same effect as if you said 'criminal crime,' I indicate that the translation *peccaminosum peccatum* [sinful sin]

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206 Lee fol LIX
207 *Comm in Rom* 5.1 PG 14 1003D
208 Ibidem; see *Responsio 1* n148 end above.
209 Ibidem 1013A
210 Lee fol CI verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
211 Rom 5:15; cf the annotation *forma futuri* (on Rom 5:14) Reeve 374 / CWE 56 168, at the very end.
212 Lee fol LIX
213 That is, in the translation of Origen ascribed to him, *Comm in Rom* 5.2 PG 14 1021B; cf *Responsio 1* n148 above.
214 Ibidem 5.4 1027B–C; cf 5.1 1006B–C.
215 Lee fol CI verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
216 when ... to correct] Added in *1540*
217 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rom 7:13) Reeve 379 / CWE 56 191.

would be more lucid than Latin.[218] Here Lee confronts me with Jerome,[219] who he alleges read *peccatum peccator* [sinner sin].[220] Where does Jerome translate it like this? In the text? Does Lee, then, admit that this translation is not Jerome's? In his commentaries? But how does that affect me? Both Jerome and I have overlooked the stylistic flaw to express the meaning of the apostle, but he committed a solecism different from mine – whether[221] mine is more tolerable I cannot say. What is the risk, then?

Concerning Note 145

Et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam [and mercy not obtained, mercy obtained].[222] I point out that this is not found in the Greek manuscripts, and[223] not even in Theophylact's commentaries. And I indicate the reason why the words were apparently added, namely on account of the two variants shown by Jerome.[224] Here Lee the censor writes: 'Origen[225] both reads and explains the reading as the church reads it.'[226] First of all, do the Greeks not (or did they not once) represent the church? Secondly, what does Origen read, and in what place? In Hosea the reading varies, as I said.[227] Concerning this passage Origen writes nothing from which we could conclude that he read what we read in the Latin books. On[228] the contrary, one might conjecture the opposite. This is what he says: '. . . lest perhaps we too, who were not the people of God, but he called us his people through the wealth of his glory; and because we were not beloved, but have become beloved and sons of the living God.'[229] From these words it is apparent that Origen read what we read in the Greek manuscripts. For his mention of mercy a little earlier[230] does not arise from this passage but from

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218 That is, the phrase, made up by Erasmus, would parallel the Greek expression, but *peccaminosum* 'sinful' is not found in classical Latin.
219 Lee fol LIX
220 That is, in the translation of Origen *Comm in Rom* 6.8 PG 14 1076C, 1084B
221 whether . . . I cannot say.] Added in *1522*
222 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rom 9:25) Reeve 397 / CWE 56 268–9. This Note is out of sequence.
223 and . . . commentaries] Added in *1540*. Cf *Exp in Rom* PG 124 471A.
224 *Commentarii in Osee* 1 PL 25 (1884) 829C
225 That is, Origen quoting Hosea 2.24 in his *Comm in Rom* 7.18 PG 14 1151C
226 Lee fol LIX
227 In the annotation; cf Reeve 397 / CWE 56 269. For Rom 9:25–6 cf Hos 1:10, 2:1 and 23–4.
228 On . . . the opposite.] Added in *1522*
229 Origen *Comm in Rom* 7.18 PG 14 1151C
230 Ibidem 1151B

the preceding one about the vessels of wrath and the vessels of mercy.[231] Ambrose also agrees with the Greeks.[232] What is it then that Lee wanted changed here? Did he want me to add on my own what is neither in the Greek manuscripts nor in the exegetes? Yet Jerome indicates two variants in the prophet: in some the reading was 'beloved, not beloved'; in others 'mercy obtained and mercy not obtained.' Did Lee want me to join the two versions when Jerome was content with one of them? This too is listed by Lee among the passages I did not change.[233]

Concerning Note 146

Qui est in omnibus Deus [who is God over all]:[234] It is not unknown what Origen thought about many things later embraced by the Arians, and in particular about the redemption of demons.[235] But those who translated or followed his commentaries, especially Jerome and Ambrose,[236] either completely excised any dangerous errors they contained or corrected them, but in such a way that it is possible to discover some traces still. Lee once demanded an explanation of this statement from me. I told him to read the commentaries of Origen on the Epistle to the Romans, chapter 3, in which one can still divine what Origen wrote and what Jerome corrected.[237] Lee answers me now at last, although he kept silent at the time. He denies that there is in that passage any word about the redemption of demons, but that the opposite is asserted instead.[238] Both parts of Lee's answer are correct, but so is what I wrote. For I did not say that this is stated there, but that there are some scant vestiges of Origen's error. I did not deny the opposite, for I admit that any underlying error was corrected by Jerome.

As for the rest, Paul treats there of the Mosaic law, which made everyone understand that they were answerable to God and that they could not obtain salvation without his clemency; but Origen expands the term 'law' to include the law of nature, which also covers the angels. And he relates this

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231 Rom 9:22–3
232 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Rom* PL 17 (1845) 139B–C / (1879) 146A
233 Lee fol CI verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
234 Cf the annotation *qui est super omnia deus* (on Rom 9:5) Reeve 391–3 / CWE 56 242–6.
235 Cf the original version of the annotation at Reeve 392 / CWE 56 250, 251–2 nn9, 10. See Note 218 320 and n592 below.
236 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Rom* PL 17 (1845) 132A–D / (1879) 138B–139A; cf the annotation at Reeve 392 / CWE 56 250.
237 *Comm in Rom* 2.14–3.11 PG 14 913D–960B, especially 925B–928A (on Rom 3:5–8)
238 Lee fol LIX verso

to 'that the whole world be under God's sway,' because the angels are a part of the created world.[239] From this it can be detected that Origen in this passage discussed the future redemption of the fallen angels, especially because in those same commentaries he attributes vanity to the archangels.[240] Anyone who reads the interpretation of the Pauline passage 'that the manifold wisdom of God become known through the church to the princes and powers in heaven' given by Ambrose,[241] Origen's[242] imitator, will not be surprised that I harboured these suspicions. The passage is in the Epistle to the Ephesians, chapter 3.[243] I could indicate other traces as well, but at present I am content with having refuted Lee's accusations, who in his index denies that there are even faint traces of this matter in the passage in Origen.[244]

Concerning Note 147

In captionem [for a trap]:[245] Since this is θήρα in Greek, that is, 'hunt,' I cautioned readers against believing that no other interpretation was possible but one suggesting fraud and deceit, the sense in which we call some people *captiosi* [deceptive]. Lee[246] confronts me with Jerome,[247] who wrote in his commentaries: 'It could appear to be a type of luring [*captio*] to the table of fellowship when the Lord caught them off guard, saying: "What is your opinion of Christ? Whose son is he?" '[248] If Jerome indicates a possible meaning, it does not follow that this is the meaning. Furthermore, one may correctly say that Christ 'caught' the Jews, but it is not equally correct to say that he was *captiosus* [deceptive]; for he did not catch them with trickery, but arrested them with the truth. Finally, nothing prevents us from applying trickery in a hunt too. But this does not mean that I must refrain from indicating the proper meaning of the Greek word. And this too is noted by Lee among the passages I did not correct.[249] Yet he never mentioned the subject to me.

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239 *Comm in Rom* 3.6 PG 14 938–40
240 Ibidem 7.4 1112A
241 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Eph* PL 17 (1845) 382C–383C / (1879) 404B–405A
242 Origen's imitator] Added in *1522*
243 Eph 3:10
244 Lee fol XCIIII verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
245 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rom 11:9) Reeve 404 / CWE 56 298. This Note is out of sequence.
246 Lee fol LIX verso
247 That is, the translation, attributed to Jerome, of Origen *Comm in Rom* 8.8 PG 14 1183A; cf *Responsio 1* n148 above.
248 Matt 22:42
249 Lee fol CI verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.

Concerning Note 148

I stated that *alioqui gratia non est gratia* [otherwise grace is not grace] is added in the Greek, though it is not contained in our manuscripts.[250] A learned friend of mine[251] was greatly taken with the phrase, but I was not satisfied with his argumentation when I examined it more attentively later on, and explained this at length in the second edition. Lee noticed it, and therefore tried to claim a share in the credit,[252] which he deserves, in this place at any rate.

Concerning Note 149

Domino servientes [serving the Lord]:[253] In the first edition I put Κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες, which corresponds to our reading. Afterwards when I discovered a variant, I did not conceal it from the reader.[254] Lee said later that he had pointed it out to me in his notes,[255] and that Jerome, or rather Origen, had indicated the variant readings;[256] he said I responded that I 'had already added it to my annotations.' If what I replied was true, I owe no thanks to Lee except for his good intentions; if it was false, as he perhaps wants you to suspect, dear reader, you owe him a debt of gratitude for his advice.

Concerning Note 150

Necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes [providing for the necessities of the saints]:[257] This is how I translated the passage in the first edition.[258] I did not annotate it because I had not yet come across a variant reading. Soon afterwards when I discovered one, I added it to the second edition of the

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250 Cf the annotation *alioqui gratia* (on Rom 11:6) Reeve 403 / CWE 56 295.
251 Not identified. In later additions to this annotation Erasmus observed that neither Origen nor Chrysostom had commented on the phrase.
252 Not explicitly; cf Lee fols XCIIII verso–XCV, CI verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
253 Cf the annotation (added in *1519*) with this cue phrase (on Rom 12:11) Reeve 413 / CWE 56 334–5.
254 *Novum instrumentum* II 21
255 Lee fol LX
256 That is, the translation, ascribed to Jerome, of Origen *Comm in Rom* 9.10 PG 14 1219–20; cf *Responsio 1* n148 above.
257 Cf the annotation (added in *1519*) with this cue phrase (on Rom 12:13) Reeve 414 / CWE 56 336–7. This Note is out of sequence.
258 *Novum instrumentum* II 21. Erasmus preserved the Vulgate translation.

Annotations. Lee says[259] that he pointed out to me Jerome's statement that in some Latin codices *memoriis* [memories] is found instead of *necessitatibus*, but that he did not condemn either reading.[260] Here, he says, I had written: 'Oh, the modesty of a Jerome!'[261] Lee did not want you to be ignorant of this, good reader, for this was pertinent to the business of the Catholic faith. But[262] let him acknowledge, by the way, that some things are approved which diverge from the Vulgate reading.

Concerning Note 151

Quae sit voluntas Dei [which is the will of God]:[263] Here Lee[264] advises me that through carelessness one little word, *bona* [good], was omitted from the Latin text.[265] I do not see the purpose of the remainder [of Lee's note], unless he wants the credit for my having added the word to this passage in the second edition.[266] But anyone who reads what I added will realize that there was no need of Lee's help.

Concerning Note 152

Damnationem acquirunt [they receive damnation]:[267] I pointed out that the Greek has λήψονται, that is, 'will receive.' Lee objects,[268] saying that Jerome in Origen's commentaries reads *acquirunt* and interprets *conquirunt*[269] Either Jerome had a different reading from that found in the Greek manuscripts today, or the passage is corrupt and *conquirunt* [they receive] was written for *conquirent* [they will receive], or there is some other explanation for it. Certainly nothing can be imputed to me.

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259 Lee fol LX
260 That is, in the translation of Origen *Comm in Rom* 9.12 PG 14 1220B
261 Lee fol LX. The phrase is Lee's; it is not ascribed to Erasmus.
262 But ... Vulgate reading.] Added in *1540*
263 Cf the annotation (added in *1519*) with this cue phrase (on Rom 12:2) Reeve 410 / CWE 56 324–5. This Note is out of sequence.
264 Lee fol LX
265 *Novum instrumentum* II 21
266 *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 343
267 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rom 13:2) Reeve 417 / CWE 56 350.
268 Lee fol LX verso
269 Origen *Comm in Rom* 9.27 PG 14 1227B; cf *Responsio 1* n148 above. *Acquirunt* and *conquirunt* have the same meaning in this context.

Concerning Note 153

Assumite [take unto]:[270] I indicate that this is προσλαμβάνετε in Greek, which could be translated *adjungite* [receive]. Lee notes that Jerome[271] used the old word, *assumite*.[272] But who finds fault with *assumite*? – although in Latin *adjungere* is a verb more appropriate to this meaning than *assumere*. I do not think it worthwhile to answer the remaining annotations[273] because they merely add to the number. There are several like this one.

[FIRST EPISTLE] TO THE CORINTHIANS

Concerning Note 158

Quam nemo principum [which none of the princes]:[274] Here Origen, in his commentary on Matthew, interprets *principes* to mean demons,[275] and Ambrose follows Origen.[276] I prefer the interpretation of Chrysostom[277] and Theophylact.[278] What risk is there, when[279] anyone has the right to reverse our order [of preference]?

Concerning Note 159

Quia oculus non vidit [that eye has not seen]:[280] I show that Greek ἀνέβη, *adscendit* [it has entered] in our version, should have been translated by

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270 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rom 14:1) Reeve 421 / CWE 56 366.
271 That is, the translation of Origen *Comm in Rom* 9.35 PG 14 1234B
272 Lee fol LX verso
273 Lee's Notes 154–7 (fol LX verso). In each of them Lee points out that the Latin translation of Origen's commentaries on Romans supports the Vulgate reading.
274 Cf the annotation *neque principum huius seculi* (on 1 Cor 2:8) Reeve 442, with the addition of *1519*.
275 *Comm in Matt* 16.8 PG 13 1390A, cited Lee fol LXI
276 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 1 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 194A–D / (1879) 204C–205A
277 *Hom in 1 Cor* 7.2 PG 61 57
278 *Exp in 1 Cor* PG 124 590A. As Erasmus explains in his annotation, Chrysostom and Theophylact interpreted 'princes' as 'philosophers, orators, and other learned men who in days of old held sway' (cf Reeve 442).
279 when ... our order] Added in *1522*
280 Cf the annotation *quod oculus non vidit* (on 1 Cor 2:9) Reeve 443. Erasmus' remarks concern the sentence introduced by this phrase: 'That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what God

adscenderunt [they have entered]. And I show that it was cited in this form several times by Jerome.[281] Lee[282] confronts me with Jerome, who reads *adscendit* in his translation of Origen's Homily on the Book of Numbers, chapter 9.[283] But what if this passage was corrupted to bring it in line with our reading, especially since Jerome reads differently elsewhere? Not[284] to argue about the authorship of this work when there is no preface by Jerome and he does not acknowledge anything beyond the twenty-eight homilies by Origen on Jeremiah and Ezekiel he translated. But let Lee assume that Jerome had a different reading; is what I note therefore any less true?

Concerning Note 160

Lignum, foenum, stipulam [wood, hay, stubble]:[285] To refute the opinion of those who believe that all these things must be related to grades of good works, I cite the view of Jerome, who believed that one part addresses the pious, the other the impious.[286] Shortly afterwards I indicate that according to Ambrose's view 'wood, hay, stubble' are interpreted as meaning doctrine, but false doctrine, which, measured against the truth of the gospel teaching, must be abolished, but in such a way that whoever learned it or taught it will be saved, though their false teaching is burned.[287] Here Lee deals with me at great length with arguments that have no relevance to the subject, as if I had thought that 'wood, hay, and stubble' pertained to any kinds of evil work, and that the fire was the conflagration by which the impious are tormented,[288] whereas even in the first edition I specifically state that the passage should not be taken as a reference to the fire of purgatory.

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hath prepared for them that love him' (DV). More literally the last part says 'neither have the things that God has prepared ... entered into the heart of man.' Erasmus argues that the Latin verb 'entered' should be in the plural to match its subject, 'things'; cf *Responsio 1* n564 on plurals of Greek verbs.

281 *Contra Rufinum* 2.25 PL 23 (1883) 469 with n5

282 Lee fol LXI

283 That is, the translation, now ascribed to Rufinus, of Origen *In Numeros homiliae* 9.8 PG 12 634A; cf *Responsio 1* n148 above.

284 Not ... translated.] Added in *1540*

285 Cf the annotation *foenum, stipulam* (on 1 Cor 3:12) Reeve 446–7. In *1519*, *1522*, and *1527* the cue phrase was *lignum, foenum, stipulam*; cf Reeve.

286 *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.3 PL 23 (1883) 223A–B

287 In a *1519* addition (Reeve 446). Erasmus cites the passage from Ambrosiaster later in this paragraph.

288 Lee fols LXI–LXII verso; the fire is mentioned in 1 Cor 3:15.

If Lee had consulted Ambrose's exegesis of this passage, he would not have poured out such a flood of words in vain. Ambrose's words are: 'The work which is said to burn is false doctrine.' And in the passage that follows he interprets punishment by fire as the driving out and refutation of false doctrine.[289] And a little later he says: 'But when Paul says "but as if by fire," he shows that he [the false prophet] will be safe but will suffer the punishment of fire, so that cleansed by fire he will be saved, unlike the infidels, who are tormented by eternal fire in perpetuity. This is to make it worthwhile to have believed in Christ in some degree. For he who sees that he has defended falsehood instead of truth must always blush, and in a similar manner he who casts off falsehood and follows the truth will always have the trust of God.'[290] Thus far Ambrose. What could be plainer? He says that punishment by fire is the shame felt by the person who stands convicted. The fire cleanses him, but in such a way that he himself remains unharmed while the false doctrine is burned away. And this is of course what I had noted on Lee's pages:[291] the deeds are destroyed, not the persons. For a student is also obliged to unlearn what he has learned wrongly, and the teacher to recant what he has wrongly defended. You see therefore, dear reader, that Lee delivered this whole speech off the mark. But I am more surprised that he did not discover his error even in the new annotations[292] that he added to the old ones with someone's advice or assistance. For there too he imagines that I am speaking of punishment in hell, whereas I clearly show that I am speaking of the shame felt by the person who is refuted and abandons his false teaching. Since I state this clearly in both editions, I wonder again and again what it was that distracted Lee so that he could not see this. But although he is a whole world off (as they say),[293] observe how arrogantly he speaks: 'Here he applies a remedy,' he says, 'but this second lapse is worse than the first.'[294] What

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289 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 1 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 200B–C / (1879) 211B–C (on 1 Cor 3:15)

290 Ibidem (1845) 200C–D / (1879) 211C

291 As cited Lee fol LXI verso. For pages that Lee had shared with Erasmus, see Introduction xvi and *Apologia* 7–8 above.

292 That is, those on the 1519 *Novum Testamentum*; Lee fol CXIII recto–verso. Cf *Responsio* 3 Note 16 below.

293 *Adagia* I i 49

294 Lee fol CXIII verso; cf n292 above. Lee argues that the sinners denoted by 'wood, hay, stubble' will not be pardoned. 'Here [Erasmus] applies a remedy: They will be pardoned, he says, if they repent. But this second lapse is worse than the first, for if they are impious, what hope is there that they will repent in the netherworld?'

is more shameful than arrogance combined with ignorance? He introduces so many unheard-of things, so many inconsistencies, so many absurdities that would have had no place if he had read through the entire annotation he criticizes! But it was the fellow's unrestrained eagerness to find fault that imposed on him. Indeed, I also wonder why he separated these notes from the ones in the first part when he published his annotations a long time after my second edition. To make us believe that in the first part he had added nothing out of what I had put in later? But the notes themselves prove the opposite.

Concerning Note 161

Omnes quidem dormiemus [we shall all indeed sleep]:[295] Here I had indicated in the first edition the reading found in today's Greek manuscripts, the reading followed by Chrysostom[296] and Theophylact.[297] I had shown that in Jerome's letter to Minerius this passage is cited in two variants: *Omnes non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur* [we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed] or *Non omnes resurgemus, sed omnes immutabimur* [we shall not all rise again, but we shall all be changed].[298] I had shown that Ambrose expounds our reading,[299] but mixes in a bit of the alternative reading and even of the other interpretation, indicating that there will be those who do not die at the coming of the Lord and will therefore not come back to life. For only someone who has died comes back to life. If we accept this interpretation, the reading found in the Greek manuscripts makes sense. Ambrose repeats the same view a little later: '[Paul] certainly means in general that all the dead will rise again,' he says, 'but only the saints will be

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295 Cf the annotation *omnes quidem resurgemus* (on 1 Cor 15:51) Reeve 515–19.
296 *Hom in 1 Cor* 42.2 PG 61 364, quoted in the annotation; cf Reeve 515.
297 *Exp in 1 Cor* PG 124 779C–D, quoted in the annotation; cf Reeve 515.
298 Ep 119.2–7 PL 22 967–73 (in Erasmus' own edition *Lucubrationes* III 189), quoted in the annotation; cf Reeve 515. Jerome cited a number of variants on the Vulgate reading *omnes quidem resurgemus sed non omnes immutabimur* ('we shall all indeed rise again but we shall not all be changed'): *non omnes quidem dormiemus sed omnes immutabimur*' ('we shall not indeed all sleep but we shall all be changed'), and phrases with the same meaning but changed word order: *non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur* and *omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur*. None of these corresponds exactly to the variants quoted by Erasmus here. Cf also *Novum instrumentum* II 54.
299 Cf Reeve 516.

changed and glorified with the living who are found to be just.'[300] I had indicated that the reading found in Greek manuscripts today is more easily related to the passage in Paul in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, 'we who live, who remain, shall be caught up,' etc.[301]

Although I pointed this out, Lee claims the credit[302] as if he had discovered all this himself, considering it an outrage that he should appear to have learned something from me, no less than if Augustine had learned something from Jerome. Here when Lee argued: 'If you read *Omnes immutabimur* [we shall all be changed] in the first part, how does it agree with what follows soon afterwards, *et nos immutabimur* [and we shall be changed]?'[303] I had answered (in a few words written on his sheet of paper, I think): 'Of course by distinguishing the living from the dead.'[304] Lee thinks it does not make sense to say at first in general 'we shall all be changed' and then add later 'and we shall be changed.' But being more keen to carp than to learn, he does not notice the preceding *et mortui resurgent incorrupti* [and the dead shall rise uncorrupted]. Afterwards, as if someone had asked 'What will happen to us who are among the living, should that day find us here?' he answers: 'And we shall be changed.' Has he not here distinguished the living from the dead?

Here again I wonder about Lee's intention. Why did he prefer to place in the index the long-winded discussion he started about this passage,[305] rather than putting it in its proper place here? Clearly to make everyone believe that I had read it. Lee certainly never replied to what I wrote on his sheets, unless perhaps he has convinced himself that the 'traitor' put the whole book at my disposal.[306] If that were only true, no more than six days would have intervened between the appearance of Lee's book and my response! But Lee denies that the passage I adduced from the second book of Origen against Celsus is of any help to me.[307] Yet Origen's words, which I

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300 Cf Ambrosiaster *Comm in 1 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 270B–271C / (1879) 285B–286C (on 1 Cor 15:51–3), but the exact words quoted by Erasmus are not in the PL text on this passage.

301 1 Thess 4:17

302 Lee fol LXII verso cites Origen (see n307 below), a reference that Erasmus discussed in his annotation in *1519*; cf Reeve 516.

303 1 Cor 15:52

304 Cited Lee fol CXII verso; cf n292 above.

305 Lee fols CI verso–CV verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.

306 See *Apologia* n67 above.

307 *Contra Celsum* 2.65 PG 11 899A–B, quoted in the annotation; cf Reeve 516

quote in the second edition, clearly show that what I say is correct. If Lee has not read them, I wonder at his failure to do so, especially when he is playing the critic; if he did not understand them, I wonder where he has left the acumen he claims he has. For from the passage cited by Lee we can only conclude that Paul speaks of the faithful being changed (elsewhere too Lee tries zealously to show that the passage argues against me when it does nothing of the kind): 'Not all we faithful shall sleep, but we all shall be changed to glory' and shortly thereafter, 'and the dead will rise, and we shall be changed,' the faithful, that is. Indeed Origen likewise notes specifically that Paul's words 'and we shall be changed' distinguish the dead from the living because of the preceding 'and the dead shall rise.' Not only will they be changed, but we who are left on earth shall be changed as well.

Here too Lee makes a valiant effort to refute my statement that some who are not dead must be changed. He adduces many arguments, partly irrelevant to the subject, partly expressed in such general terms that they do not preclude a few being exempted. Otherwise we will conclude that the Virgin Mother and Christ too have sinned because we read that 'in Adam all have sinned.'[308] If, as Lee will admit, the general statement 'in Adam all have sinned' is no obstacle here, why does he want it to be an obstacle in other cases? But, he says, Paul had foreknowledge of the future, and yet he spoke as if that day would find him among the living.[309] First of all it is more plausible that Paul was uncertain of that day, which the Son says was unknown to himself as well. The theologians interpret: as far as we are concerned, he did not know. If this is correct, how did Paul know it? And the apostles, wanting to learn that day from Christ, were told: 'It is not yours,' etc.[310] Furthermore, it is possible that Paul spoke in his own person about the saints, whoever they might be, whom the coming of Christ would find alive. Since I explain all this lucidly in the second edition, what need is there to repeat it here? Anyone is free to read it there and will see that Lee proffers nothing that I have not discussed. Finally, I have no mind to reply in more detail to this added material, unless the person who supplied this material to Lee signs his name to it.[311]

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308 Rom 5:12

309 Paraphrasing Lee fol CII

310 Acts 1:7

311 Perhaps Henry Standish (d 1535), bishop of St Asaph, or Baechem. In 1522 Erasmus published his *Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem,'* referring to these two critics. Neither man's name appeared in the original edition, but Erasmus left

[SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS]

Concerning Note 162

Christi bonus odor sumus Deo [for we are a sweet savour of Christ to God]:[312] Here I wrote in the first edition, 'And once again he calls the Father "God" in his usual fashion. For whenever he uses the word God absolutely, he means God the Father.' On the authority of the old writers I had noted elsewhere too that it was Paul's custom in almost all cases to mean 'Father' when he says 'God';[313] and while he does so in many places in all the Epistles, in very few places is the Son called God, although I do not deny that it may be sufficiently inferred from his words that the Son is also God. Next I point out that what I have noted elsewhere applies also to this passage.

But Lee believes that the word 'God' here can be referred to the whole Trinity.[314] I do not know whether it can be. Ambrose certainly applies it to the Father, saying: 'Through Christ he [God] wanted himself understood, so that the preaching of Christ, which reaches our ears invisibly, as odour reaches the nose, might insinuate God the Father into his creature.'[315] But more dangerous is the fact that Lee twists my words as if I had denied that the Son is God absolutely speaking: 'If he is not God absolutely speaking,' he says, 'he is not God.' It is a grave wound which he tries to inflict on me, but he is using a more than leaden dagger.[316] If Paul in his usual fashion means the Father whenever he speaks of God in the absolute sense, does it follow that the Son is not God absolutely speaking? Is any pestle duller than this enthymeme? I am not saying what the Son may be called but how Paul usually speaks. And this is the place, if I am not mistaken, that Lee threatened to point out when he argued with me about the term 'first-beginning.'[317] But he would have done better to wipe out this whole passage with his sponge.

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obvious clues to their identity; cf Rummel *Catholic Critics* I 138–40. See also *Apologia* 23 above.

312 Cf the annotation *bonus odor sumus deo* (on 2 Cor 2:15) Reeve 529.

313 Cf the annotations *Iesu Christi domini nostri* (on Rom 1:4) and *deo patre et domino nostro Iesu Christo* (on Rom 1:7) Reeve 339, 342 / CWE 56 18, 31–2.

314 Lee fol LXII verso

315 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 2 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 283C / (1879) 299B–C

316 *Adagia* II V 10

317 Lee fol XL verso, discussing John 8:25; see *Responsio 1* Note 92 202–3 above.

Concerning Note 163

In faciem [upon the face]:[318] I had shown that the Greeks had written εἰς τὸ τέλος, that is, 'at the end,' as St Ambrose, an author by no means negligible, both reads and explains.[319] Afterwards I discovered εἰς πρόσωπον [upon the face] in some Greek manuscripts, which were, I believe, corrected according to ours. And Lee[320] admits that Jerome, in the commentaries on this Epistle that circulate under his name (but incorrectly), has the reading as I indicate.[321] But our clever man Lee suspects that the passage [in the commentary] was slipped in by some Greek fellow. This is ridiculous. The text there concurs with our reading, and if anyone had wanted to corrupt the Greek reading, he would have corrupted that text first of all. As it is, the text cited in the commentary agrees with Ambrose and the whole interpretation is in agreement. Does Lee regard all of this as spurious? What impact could it have to corrupt a single passage in little-known commentaries whose author is uncertain? As for what Lee adduces out of Origen's Homily 34 on Exodus,[322] it does not prove that he did not read 'at the end'; it is more plausible that the passage was corrupted by a scribe. Theophylact[323] certainly reads εἰς τὸ τέλος [at the end].

Concerning Note 164

Quod evacuatur [which is abolished]:[324] Since the Greek texts have the participle τοῦ καταργουμένου, I show the reader that it could be applied to Moses' impending death (as the author just cited by Lee interprets) or in the absolute sense about a thing which is being abolished. Here Lee teaches us, *ex cathedra* as it were, that we must refer it to 'veil.'[325] Granted that this is correct, how will it argue against my annotation? Is a veil not a thing? I have

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318 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 2 Cor 3:13) Reeve 531.

319 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 2 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 287C / (1879) 303C

320 Lee fol LXIII

321 Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in 2 Cor* PL 30 780A / Souter II 248. Pelagius' commentaries on the Epistles of Paul were ascribed to Jerome. For Erasmus' doubts about Jerome's authorship cf CWE 56 155 n22.

322 Now *In Exodum homiliae* 12.1 PG 12 382C, ascribed to Rufinus. Lee does not specify the passage in Origen.

323 Theophylact ... εἰς τὸ τέλος.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Exp in 2 Cor* PG 124 832D.

324 Cf the annotation *in faciem* (on 2 Cor 3:13) Reeve 531.

325 Lee fol LXIII verso; the 'author just cited by Lee' is Origen *In Exodum homiliae* 12.3 PG 12 384C–386B.

no desire to discuss the rest that he heaps up here in prolix fashion, since it has nothing to do with me.

Concerning Note 165

Obtusi sunt sensus [their minds were dulled]:[326] Since the Greek manuscripts consistently have ἐπωρώθη [blinded], I advise the reader that it is better to read 'their minds were blinded', etc. For it is a stronger expression to say that one has been blinded by the magnitude of the light than that one's eyesight was dulled. Here Lee confronts me with Jerome,[327] who elsewhere in his translation of Origen was content with our reading[328] – as if he did not content himself everywhere with the Vulgate reading, or as if therefore it was not right to point out the emphasis of the Greek word or to render it in a better manner than the Translator!

Concerning Note 166

Occulta dedecoris [the hidden things of dishonesty]:[329] Although *pudor*, *probrum*, and *dedecus* often mean the same thing in Latin [shame], I advise readers that here it is better to put *dedecoris* or *probri* than *pudoris*, because the Greek is αἰσχύνης [disgrace], not αἰδοῦς [sense of shame, modesty]. Here Lee objects:[330] But Jerome read *dedecoris*.[331] I approve of this likewise; I disapprove only of the word *pudor*. Lee's annotation is therefore pointless. And yet I wonder by what chance in the first edition the word in the text was changed to *pudoris*.[332] And I am surprised that Lee did not notice it, since he attacks this passage.

Concerning Note 167

Dominum nostrum [our Lord]:[333] I show that 'our' is not in the Greek, and I give reasons why it is more convenient to omit it. Here Lee says:[334] Jerome

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326 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 2 Cor 3:14) Reeve 531.
327 Lee fols LXIII verso–LXIIII
328 *In Exodum homiliae* 12.1 PG 12 382C
329 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 2 Cor 4:2) Reeve 532.
330 Lee fol LXIIII
331 *Divina bibliotheca* PL 29 (1865) 803A; cf Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in 2 Cor* PL 30 (1846) 780D / Souter II 250.
332 *Novum instrumentum* II 61
333 Cf the annotation *sed Iesum Christum dominum nostrum* (on 2 Cor 4:5) Reeve 534.
334 Lee fol LXIIII

reads 'our.'[335] But what if a scribe added it? Nor do I put up much resistance if anyone wants to add it. It is certain that it is not added in Greek. Theophylact[336] likewise neither reads nor interprets it.

Concerning Note 168

Per Jesum [through Jesus]:[337] Because this is in the accusative case in Greek, διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, I advise that we must read *propter Jesum* [on account of Jesus]. And this is what Ambrose reads.[338] Lee writes:[339] 'Jerome reads *per Jesum*.'[340] But how does Lee know whether Jerome read thus?

Concerning Note 169

In faciem [into the face]:[341] Since this is ἐν προσώπῳ [in the face] in Greek, I note that some codices incorrectly have *in faciem* [for *in facie*]. Nor do I see the point of Lee's note here.[342] If Jerome read as I advise it should be read,[343] all the better!

Concerning Note 170

Mortificationem Jesu [the mortification of Jesus]:[344] I note that the Greek says 'the Lord Jesus,' but I do not contend that 'Lord' must be added, for it is not added by Ambrose.[345] Here I apologized for not passing over such minute

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335 *Divina bibliotheca* PL 29 (1865) 803B; cf Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in 2 Cor* PL 30 (1846) 781C / Souter II 251–2.

336 Theophylact . . . interprets it.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Exp in 2 Cor* PG 124 840D.

337 Cf the annotation *nos autem servos vestros per Iesum* (on 2 Cor 4:5) Reeve 534.

338 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 2 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 290A / (1879) 306B

339 Lee fol LXIIII

340 *Divina bibliotheca* PL 29 (1865) 803B; cf Pseduo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in 2 Cor* PL 30 (1846) 781C / Souter II 252.

341 Cf the annotation *in facie Christi Iesu* (on 2 Cor 4:6) Reeve 534.

342 Erasmus failed to see that Lee fol LXIIII was pointing out an error in the cue phrase of Erasmus' annotation (it read *in faciem* rather than *in facie*). The error was caught in *1535*.

343 *Divina bibliotheca* PL 29 (1865) 803B; cf Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in 2 Cor* PL 30 (1846) 781D / Souter II 252.

344 Cf the annotation *semper mortificationem Iesu Christi* (on 2 Cor 4:10) Reeve 535.

345 Cf Ambrosiaster *Comm in 2 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 291A / (1879) 307B; but *Domini* does appear in the PL text.

things, for it is wrong to change knowingly and willingly even a jot or tittle in Holy Scripture. Lee grandiloquently cites my own law against me[346] (I have said enough about this in the first annotation),[347] as if I were in the habit of changing the Sacred Scripture knowingly and willingly. O weighty annotations, when he himself understands neither my words nor his own!

Concerning Note 171

Humiliamur, sed non confundimur [we are humiliated but not put to shame]:[348] I note that this part is found neither in the Greek manuscripts nor in Ambrose.[349] Lee adds: nor in Jerome.[350] He means the scholia that are circulating under Jerome's name,[351] trusting them now while a little earlier on he judged them spurious.[352] But Lee and I are in agreement thus far. What then is the point of his annotation? 'To make you see,' he says, 'that Jerome would also have omitted the other things that are noted above if it had been thus in his manuscripts.' Perhaps Lee would have a point if what Jerome wrote was preserved as it was composed by him, if he did not almost always follow the Vulgate edition, if the Greek codices were in agreement on everything. Certainly[353] Theophylact neither reads nor interprets it.[354] I have examined the passage cited by Lee and I find that it is not as he affirms it is. For he neither reads nor interprets what I say is lacking in the Greek.

Concerning Note 172

I said in my annotations that it was not my intention to examine what Lyra or similar exegetes read, who took their material not from the sources on

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346 Lee fol LXIIII
347 See *Responsio 1* Note 1 75–6 above.
348 The phrase appeared between 2 Cor 4:8 and 9 in the Vulgate of Erasmus' day; for example in the Vulgate with the glosses and the *postillae* of Nicholas of Lyra and other commentaries published at Basel by Froben and Petri in 1498, or in the Vulgate text included in Erasmus' 1527 *Novum Testamentum*. Cf Reeve 534. This Note is out of sequence.
349 Cf Ambrosiaster *Comm in 2 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 291A / (1879) 307B.
350 Lee fol LXIIII verso
351 Cf Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in 2 Cor* PL 30 (1846) 782A / Souter II 253.
352 Lee fol LXIII; cf Note 163 above.
353 Certainly . . . lacking in the Greek.] Added in *1540*. This observation was added to Erasmus' annotation in *1527*.
354 *Exp in 2 Cor* PG 124 841D–844A

which this business depends but from glosses patched together from one place and another.[355] Lee,[356] however, maintains their authority so far as to say that we must be grateful to those too who bring hides and goats' hair to the temple of the Lord.[357] I at any rate assign more importance than this to Lyra, for I have learned more from one page in his work than from this whole book of Lee's, who nevertheless does not, I think, rank himself among the inferior authors. Let no one think that I have as poor an opinion of Lyra as Lee perhaps suspects, since he[358] supposed that Lyra had added nothing to the building of the temple of the Lord but goats' hair and hides. He insinuates, of course, that he himself is bringing nothing but flawless gems and pure gold.

Concerning Note 173

In falsis fratribus [in false brothers]:[359] I point out that according to the custom of the apostles, those who were Christians were called 'brothers,' a name which was once common to all, but is now specifically attributed to certain people, as if Christianity were restricted to them alone.[360] Here Lee contends that they are praiseworthy precisely because they rejoice at being called 'brothers,'[361] and he is right. But has anyone abused them on that account? I should like not only the name but also the reality to be common to all, as it once was. Then[362] Lee would not be playing the role he plays now.

Concerning Note 174

Quinquies quadragenas una minus [five times forty, save one]:[363] I had commented, following Ambrose,[364] that according to the precept in Deuteronomy[365] those who had committed a crime that was not capital were punished

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355 Cf the annotation *ministri Christi sunt* (on 2 Cor 11:23) Reeve 559.
356 Lee fol LXIIII verso
357 For this expression cf Exod 25:4–5, 35:6–7.
358 since he ... pure gold] Added in *1522*
359 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 2 Cor 11:26) Reeve 559–60. This Note is out of sequence.
360 Erasmus refers to members of religious orders.
361 Lee fol LXIIII verso
362 Then ... he plays now.] Added in *1522*
363 Cf the annotation *quadragenas* (on 2 Cor 11:24) Reeve 559.
364 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 2 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 326C / (1879) 345A–B
365 Deut 25:3

with thirty-nine lashes. Lee objects, saying that in Deuteronomy forty lashes are mentioned. And to convince us of this he adds the Hebrew words, indeed before he even knew how to read Hebrew.[366] And yet he wants to give the impression that he wrote this before I departed for Basel. I had probably written on his sheet of paper something like 'Blame Ambrose.'[367] Now at last he offers a serious reply to my words. He thinks it is my obligation to defend Ambrose, whom I cite, especially in such a dangerous matter. 'Carelessness in Sacred Scripture,' he says, 'is tantamount to impiety.'[368] Who would not laugh at such ridiculously severe words? Perhaps Ambrose learned from Hebrew traditions that one lash was forgiven, for this is what Lyra[369] indicates and also the Gloss commonly called the 'Ordinary.'[370] How is this relevant to the subject? Yet Lee forgives me this lapse because I have abandoned Ambrose in the second edition and use his wording[371] – since[372] Lee of course has much greater authority than so excellent a Doctor of the church. If I wanted to argue I could ask whether anyone prescribing forty lashes does not also prescribe thirty-nine. Finally, it could be that there is an error in the number in our text.

Concerning Note 175

An experimentum quaeritis [do you seek proof]:[373] Since it is ἐπεί in Greek, I indicate that *quandoquidem* [because], not *an* [whether], is the appropriate translation. Then I show that the pronoun *ejus* was added by the Translator, for it is not in the Greek text and introduces a significant solecism into the phrase.[374] Lee confronts me with Jerome,[375] who elsewhere follows the

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366 Lee fol LX[v]
367 Quoted ibidem as Erasmus' response
368 Lee fol LX[v] verso
369 *Postilla* IV fol hh iiii #s
370 *Glossa ordinaria* IV [352] under *A Judeis quinquies*
371 In his second index, Lee fol XC verso; on the indexes see *Responsio 1* n3 above. Cf the *1519* addition to the annotation at Reeve 559.
372 since ... Doctor of the church] Added in *1522*
373 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 2 Cor 13:3) Reeve 563–4.
374 That is, 'An experimentum quaeritis ejus qui in me loquitur Christus,' literally 'whether you seek proof of that Christ who speaks in me.' This construction is awkward in classical Latin because it implies the possibility of other Christs. Erasmus preferred 'Quandoquidem experimentum quaeritis loquentis in me Christi,' 'since you seek proof of Christ speaking in me.'
375 Lee fol LX[v] verso

Vulgate reading[376] – as if he did not do this in many places and[377] occasionally criticizes what he follows.

[EPISTLE] TO THE GALATIANS

Concerning Note 176

Cui est gloria [to whom is glory]:[378] I had pointed out briefly that the word 'is' has been added by the Translator, for it is not in the Greek text. Lee[379] confronts me with Jerome, who read *cui est gloria*.[380] First of all Lee cannot be certain what Jerome read. Unless by chance he read whatever we see written. And then what if he had this reading? Why, Lee will say, do you write a note on such a paltry matter? To allow the reader to supply what he wishes, for perhaps it is more appropriate to supply *cui sit gloria*.[381]

Concerning Note 177

Modo enim hominibus suademus, an Deo [do we now persuade men or God?]:[382] I had shown that the meaning of the Greek was ambiguous, for it could be understood in the sense in which we read it, and it could be understood as 'do I now give human or divine counsel.' I attest, moreover, that it does not escape me that Ambrose,[383] Augustine,[384] and Jerome[385] adopt our reading. What is there here that Lee can reprehend?[386] I show both meanings, I reject neither. But in the text, he will say, your translation differs from Jerome's reading.[387] If I am not allowed to differ, Lee will have frequent reason to

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376 *Commentarii in Sophoniam* 2 PL 25 (1884) 1361B
377 and ... what he follows] Added in *1522*
378 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Gal 1:5) Reeve 565.
379 Lee fol LX[v] verso
380 *Comm in Gal* 1 PL 26 (1884) 338A
381 That is, a verb in the subjunctive: 'to whom be glory'
382 Cf the annotation *modo enim hominibus persuad.* (on Gal 1:10) Reeve 566. In *1535* *persuad.* became *suad.*
383 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Gal* PL 17 (1845) 342A / (1879) 361C
384 *Exp Gal* 1.5 PL 35 2109
385 *Comm in Gal* 1 PL 26 (1884) 345B–C
386 Lee fol LX[v] verso
387 *Novum instrumentum* II 75 (*utrum homines suadeo, an deum*). Erasmus' reading has the same meaning as the Vulgate translation.

reprehend me. But this is the right I claim throughout this work, especially because from time to time Jerome adopts a reading of which he does not approve, and sometimes he adopts a variant reading.

Concerning Note 178

Neque didici [and I did not learn]:[388] I had pointed out in passing that *didici* [I learned] in our version is ἐδιδάχθην in Greek, that is, *doctus sum* 'I was taught.' And I do not point this out without reason. For this can be taken as 'I was not taught but inspired.' Lee again confronts me with Jerome,[389] who read *didici*.[390] This is how he supplies the promised number of annotations, but in this manner two thousand annotations could be generated.

Concerning Note 179

Post annos quatuordecim [after fourteen years]:[391] I had pointed out it is 'for . . . years' in Greek, not 'after . . . years.' Yet I agree that the Translator rendered the sense well, and in the text[392] I follow the rendering of the Translator; what then is the point of Lee's complaint?[393] That I advised the reader not to be concerned if the Greek differed from the Latin in words but not in meaning? And yet these are listed in the index among the passages that remained uncorrected.[394] Such smoke Lee casts into the eyes of the simple reader!

Concerning Note 180

In faciem restiti [I resisted to his face]:[395] Here Lee[396] accuses me of the grossest ignorance, as if I said that an act, as opposed to words, of dissimulation could not be called a 'lie,' although I clearly indicate in my annotation that

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388 Cf the annotation *accepi illud neque didici* (on Gal 1:12) Reeve 566–7.
389 Lee fol LX[v] verso
390 *Comm in Gal* 1 PL 26 (1884) 346C
391 Cf the annotation *post annos* (on Gal 2:1) Reeve 568.
392 *Novum instrumentum* II 76
393 Lee fol LX[v]I, referring to Jerome *Comm in Gal* 1 PL 26 (1884) 357A
394 Lee fol CV verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
395 Cf the annotation *in faciem ei restiti* (on Gal 2:11) Reeve 571–4, with the modification of *1519* beginning at 571; the discussion is about the dissimulation of Peter mentioned at 2:13.
396 Lee fol LX[v]I

an act of dissimulation can also be called a lie. But not every act of dissimulation is associated with sin. Yet Augustine contends that no lie is free of guilt.[397] Therefore his discussion could not be applied to anything but spoken lies. Furthermore, what Lee adduces from Acts about Ananias, who is said to have lied to the Holy Spirit,[398] does not concern our subject. Nor does it follow that he said nothing because we do not read that he said anything. Indeed it is more plausible that he replied to Peter's question as his wife did afterwards.[399] But since I discuss this matter at sufficient length in the second edition and it is a matter for lengthy discussion, it is better that the reader peruse it there.

Concerning Note 181

Quoniam reprehensibilis erat [because he was reprehensible]:[400] I had shown that the Greek meant 'he had been reprehended,' and that the Greek scholia interpreted it in this sense,[401] and Ambrose likewise.[402] But Lee rejects my note,[403] perhaps because he disdains their authority. Yet in his index he offers a recantation of sorts,[404] as if he had finally learned of Ambrose's interpretation from my second edition, though he could have read it in the first one. Let anyone who wants to read the rest consult the second edition. For the discussion is lengthy and complex, and it is therefore difficult for Lee to absorb it in his mind and memory, let alone refute it.

Concerning Note 182

Factum ex muliere [made of a woman]:[405] I had said in my annotation that γενόμενον meant 'made,' γεννώμενον 'born,' but I add (and Lee ignores)[406] that this distinction is not observed in the Greek manuscripts. I therefore

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397 *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 5.7 PL 36 86
398 Acts 5:3
399 Acts 5:8
400 Cf the annotation *quia reprehensibilis erat* (on Gal 2:11) Reeve 574. The *quia* in the cue phrase was *quoniam* until *1535*.
401 Oecumenius *Comm in Gal* 3 PG 118 1109C–1112B
402 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Gal* PL 17 (1845) 349D / (1879) 369C
403 Lee fol LX[V]I verso
404 Lee fol CV verso; see *Responsio 1* n3 above. Lee admitted that Erasmus' reading corresponded to Ambrose's view.
405 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Gal 4:4) Reeve 581.
406 Lee fol LX[V]I verso

translate according to our reading.[407] Why then does he note it against me that Jerome read *factum*,[408] when that is the same reading I approve?

[EPISTLE] TO THE EPHESIANS

Concerning Note 183

In ipsum, εἰς αὐτόν [to him]:[409] I had pointed out that it was more appropriate and smoother to refer εἰς αὐτόν to the Father than to Christ. I added the reason: because the adoption through which the Father adopted us makes us brothers rather than sons of Christ. Here Lee pressures me with my own annotation, saying that the alpha must be aspirated if 'to him' is to be referred to the Father.[410] He is right. I noted this, but I added that what I note was not observed in the Greek manuscripts, either through ignorance or through carelessness. When he reasons, furthermore, that nothing prevents us from being called sons of Christ – who denies this? For he himself calls his disciples 'sons' in the Gospel.[411] But here it would be rather forced, for mention is made of the Father adopting us through the Son.

Concerning Note 184

Quae in terra [which are on earth]:[412] I had shown briefly that the two words ἐν αὐτῷ, that is, 'in him,' are in the Greek manuscripts, but are not found in Ambrose[413] or Jerome,[414] in the commentaries at least. If this is not so, let Lee refute it. Indeed, the words will not be found in Theophylact

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407 *Novum instrumentum* II 79
408 *Comm in Gal* 2 PL 26 (1884) 398A
409 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Eph 1:5) Reeve 591.
410 Lee fol LXVI verso argues that aspiration makes the pronoun reflexive (αὐτόν); without a rough breathing, the pronoun cannot refer to the subject, God, but must refer to Christ. (In sixteenth-century editions of Erasmus, the first vowel even of diphthongs has the breathing mark.) Cf *Responsio 1* Note 57 above.
411 Cf John 13:33.
412 Cf the annotation *quae in terra sunt* (on Eph 1:10) Reeve 593.
413 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Eph* PL 17 (1845) 374C / (1879) 395C
414 *Comm in Eph* 1 PL 26 (1884) 483C–D; the disputed words are in the quotation of the verse but are not in Jerome's discussion.

either.[415] But, Lee says,[416] Jerome has this reading in the text.[417] Once again I say: How does Lee know that Jerome had this reading when[418] he makes no mention of this phrase in either of the commentaries, the genuine or the spurious one? And Lee himself is often suspicious of this text. Nor do I condemn adding 'in him'; on the contrary, I indicate that I approve of it. What then does Lee reprehend? That I did not add it to the Greek manuscripts on my own? This[419] was not my intention. I am surprised, moreover, that he put this note among the old ones when he is commenting on the second edition. For there is no mention of this matter in the first edition.[420]

Concerning Note 185

Aliena conversatione Israel [alien from communication with Israel]:[421] I had indicated that the Greeks have πολιτείας, that is, from the 'polity' or 'commonwealth' of Israel. 'But Jerome,' he says,[422] 'reads and interprets *conversationem*,'[423] as if I condemned it. Indeed, as I explain, I do not disapprove. For in Greek 'citizens' are called πολῖται because they are in communication with each other through their shared customs and laws.

Concerning Note 186

Omnis paternitas [all paternity]:[424] I had noted that what the Translator renders as *paternitas* is πατριά in Greek, which means *familia* [family] or *cognati* [relations] in Latin. I cite as my authority Jerome's commentaries in which

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415 Cf *Exp in Eph* PG 124 1039C; the disputed words are in the quotation of the verse but are not in Theophylact's discussion.
416 Cf Lee fol LXVII.
417 *Divina bibliotheca* PL 29 (1865) 818C
418 when . . . spurious one] Added in *1540*. The 'spurious' commentary is Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in Eph* PL 30 (1846) 824–5 / Souter II 346–7; the disputed words are in the quotation of the verse but not in the discussion.
419 This . . . my intention.] Added in *1522*
420 Actually the annotation, with the references to Ambrose and Jerome, had already appeared in *1516* (*Novum instrumentum* II 523).
421 Cf the annotation *alienati a conversatione Israel* (on Eph 2:12) Reeve 598. The cue phrase in this Note was the same as that in the annotation (and the Vulgate) in the first edition of Erasmus' response; the present form appeared in the second edition and remained uncorrected.
422 Lee fol LXVII
423 *Comm in Eph* 1 PL 26 (1884) 502B, 503A–B
424 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Eph 3:15) Reeve 602.

he expounds this Epistle. Lee[425] repeats this as if I had been wrong. Let me now quote Jerome's words: '*paternitas* is called *patria* in Greek, *massechoth* in Hebrew, that is *cognatio* or *familia*'[426] And a little later he cites some passages in which *cognationes* and *familiae* are called *patriae*.[427] Finally he quotes the Psalms to show that even tribes are called πατριαί.[428] What reason is there, then, for Lee to quarrel with me? Does *paternitas* denote *familia* in Latin? In common speech it may be called *parentela*, but to scholars the term *paternitas* means either nothing or something different, namely the concept of fatherhood.

That is what I wanted to explain. What I am about to say does not properly concern the passage, but it does concern the main issue. Lee does not allow us to excise anything from the Latin manuscripts used by the church. Yet Jerome points out in his commentaries that some words in the Latin manuscripts are redundant, namely *Domini nostri Jesu Christi* [of our Lord Jesus Christ],[429] and that we should read according to the Greek: *Curvo genua mea ad Patrem, ex quo omnis paternitas* [I bend my knees to the Father, from whom all paternity], etc. On what grounds does Jerome excise these words if not on the basis of the Greek manuscripts, which Lee deprives of all authority? And yet we find written in the Greek manuscripts today what Jerome says was not written in them.

Concerning Note 187

I had left it up to the theologians to discuss whether the questions raised by Thomas Aquinas concerning the paternity of God[430] had sufficient relevance to this passage, for Thomas did not understand the term *paternitas*. 'But Jerome discusses the same matter,' Lee says.[431] Not at all the same, or certainly not in the same way. For Jerome calls God 'Father';[432] he does not attribute to him *paternitas*, for he takes *paternitas* to mean the whole clan

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425 Lee fol LXVII
426 *Comm in Eph* 2 PL 26 (1884) 519B
427 Ibidem 519B–C, quoting Num 1:2, 1:16, 3:15.
428 Ibidem, quoting Ps 21:28 (not 21:30 as PL indicates).
429 Ibidem 519A. Jerome is discussing Eph 3:14–15, which read in the Vulgate in Erasmus' 1527 *Novum Testamentum*: 'flecto genua mea ad Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi [15] ex quo omnis paternitas in caelis et in terra nominatur.'
430 Cf Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae* I 28–42 passim. This Note continues the discussion of *paternitas* in Eph 3:15.
431 Lee fol LXVII verso
432 *Comm in Eph* 2 PL 26 (1884) 519A–521B

and family. Hence, according to him, *paternitas* relates to those procreated rather than to the procreators. Therefore I do not criticize Jerome, or any of the theologians who do not know Greek, although it would be better if everyone knew Greek. I am not even severe with Thomas, for it is possible for him to raise good questions even without knowing the proper meaning of the Greek word, if for no other reason than that he could have followed Jerome. Whether he did so I leave to others to judge. But Lee in his cunning does not pass up any opportunity to arouse the ire of theologians and preachers against me.

Concerning Note 188

Sacramentum hoc magnum est [this is a great sacrament]:[433] In both editions I clearly stated that there could be no doubt that matrimony is one of the seven sacraments; I added that this could not, however, be very well concluded from the present passage. For although the Greek has *mysterium* [that is, μυστήριον], translated here *sacramentum* [sacrament], something is frequently called μυστήριον which is not one of the seven sacraments.[434] But here Lee battles against me with all his force – to no other effect, however, than to show that the union of husband and wife is a type and image of a mystic thing, namely that link by which Christ has bonded his bride the church to himself.[435] But who has ever denied this? Once Lee has missed the point, does it not follow that he is wasting his whole effort? What was the point of pouring out all these words to no effect? But meanwhile the book is growing in size, which was apparently his principal wish. Next he makes me reply from the annotation in the first edition, I believe, for I find these words there: 'Nor is there a great sacrament in the union of a man and his wife.'[436] And here he starts another of his dialogues, impudently publishing what I had then added to his sheets on the spur of the moment and so casually that I did not even keep a copy for myself. I shall take this in good part if Lee will consent, once I have gotten hold of his annotations – the ones that he himself gave out to be copied so many times and circulated everywhere, the ones in which he traduced me so hatefully, the ones

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433 Cf the annotation *sacramentum hoc* (on Eph 5:32) Reeve 615.

434 Cf for example Matt 13:11, Rom 11:25 (where the Vulgate in Erasmus' 1527 *Novum Testamentum* had *mysterium* and many English translations have 'secret').

435 Lee fols LXVII verso–LXIX verso

436 Cf Lee fol LXVIII, where a marginal note marks the passage as 'Erasmus' reply.'

that he so often threatened to publish except that he wanted, he claimed, to spare me – if he will consent to take it in good part if I publish them as they were at that time, together with my response.

Yet Lee's response here has no relevance to the subject. I had said that there was no great sacrament in the union of husband and wife; Augustine, whom I cited in the second edition and from whom Lee took what he adduces, admits that the union of husbands and wives is of all sacraments the least.[437] I do not see why Lee would want to refute this. Yet he shows nothing else here but that marriage is a symbol of another, holier matter. In this way, as I said, his book grows in volume. And this is what he replies to me now, to make the reader believe that all this was transacted between ourselves, when Lee never sent a word in reply to what I had noted on those sheets of paper, some his and others mine. And while he fortifies his responses from what I cite in my second edition, it is remarkable how zealously he conceals it as he hunts after a little increase to his bit of glory. This is what he says I replied (for I do not wish to seem underhanded):[438] 'Not everything termed *mysterium* is one of the seven sacraments, even if they are great mysteries; for example, that Eve was created out of Adam's rib[439] is a mystery, symbolizing an arcane thing. Augustine, moreover, says that there is no great sacrament in husband and wife, but what their union symbolizes is great. Nevertheless it is not necessary that the symbol correspond in everything [to what is signified]; for example, David's adultery with Bathsheba[440] is a holy sign of the synagogue being led away from Moses and joined to Christ, yet the correspondence is not perfect. Finally there is no ancient writer from whose works it can be proved that matrimony was one of the seven sacraments, since not even Dionysius, who reviews the others, makes any mention of it.[441] And Cyprian admits that the lesser sacraments were instituted not by Christ but by the church Fathers.'[442]

This is what Lee reports as my response. He agrees with me when I say that whatever is termed *mysterium* is not necessarily one of the seven sacraments, since there are great mysteries which nevertheless do not belong to this category, and when I say that it is not necessary that a type

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437 *De nuptiis* 1.21 PL 44 427
438 Lee fol LXVIII verso
439 Cf Gen 2:21–2
440 Cf 2 Sam (Vulg 2 Kings) 11:1–12:25.
441 Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* PG 3 369–584
442 Passage not identified

correspond in every detail [to what is signified]. However, Lee denies that any of this is relevant and expresses surprise that I should adduce 'what has nothing to do with Dionysus.'[443] 'For up to this point,' he says, 'we have not argued whether matrimony is one of the seven sacraments, although no one will deny this unless he wants to take on the Catholic church by himself. Even schoolboys and lay people know this, and matrimony has been venerated as one of the seven sacraments for many centuries now without anyone voicing opposition.' Thus far Lee. What is the point of this wordy argument? If there was no argument, why does he impose on us this rotten stuff when I stated in both editions that I had no doubt that matrimony was one of the seven sacraments of the church? But the point of the dispute is whether this passage proves effectively that matrimony is one of the seven. I show at any rate that it is not sufficient proof for it to be called a sacrament or a mystery; I show that it is not enough if it is called a great sacrament. If Lee has a brain, let him answer whether this is relevant to the subject or not.

Very similar to this is what he adds: 'If you admit that there are seven sacraments,' he says, 'and you remove matrimony from its place, substitute another in place of it and explain to us what those seven sacraments are.' By my life, when I read this my impression is that I am hearing not a theologian, as he wants to be thought, but some quarrelsome little woman. Let his impudent lips explain who ever removed matrimony from its place. Does one who says that no firm conclusion can be drawn from this passage deny that marriage is one of the seven sacraments? I believe that matrimony is a sacrament not because it is called a mystery here but because the church lists it among the seven. Nor do I say outright that such a conclusion cannot be drawn; I say it cannot be readily drawn. 'Substitute another,' he says, 'and explain to us what those seven sacraments are.' Let Lee do so himself, since he claims such great authority. If matrimony is removed from the seven, who does not see that only six remain? If, for example, a person who has twenty teeth loses one, it is clear that no more than nineteen remain; if he commands that in place of the lost tooth another be substituted, he can insert a hog's tooth. In the same vein he might ask: 'After Peter cut off Malchus' right ear,[444] where were his two ears?' The answer will be: 'He has only one left now.' But Lee considers himself a sharp-witted sophist, as if whatever is among a number of things is essentially one of the number.

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443 That is, is irrelevant; cf *Adagia* II iv 57.
444 Cf Matt 26:51, John 18:10.

Will I be one of the Seven Sages[445] if the common people count me among the Seven Sages? If someone attempts to convince us that matrimony is not a sacrament like those commonly numbered seven, he of course imagines that it is not correctly counted among the seven. And it was not enough for Lee to have said this once. He repeats it and impresses it on us – 'twice and thrice what is good'![446] 'If you invalidate penance together with matrimony, what other sacraments will you substitute in their place?' he says.[447] Who cannot see that these words are spoken without mind and without shame? Who would be insane enough to do what Lee in his shamelessness suggests?

Lee continues:[448] 'It is no proof to argue that it cannot be demonstrated from the works of any author of old that matrimony was one of the seven sacraments because not even Dionysius, who lists the rest, makes any mention of it. Does it follow,' he says, 'that none of the old authors mentioned it, just because Dionysius did not?' Here, of course, he wants to be seen as a dialectician. But does he not understand that I am arguing from probability in a conjectural case? If anyone of the old writers had mentioned it, it would have been Dionysius, for it is his professed purpose to give a diligent account of the ceremonies and names of the individual sacraments. Yet in his whole work he never mentions matrimony. It is therefore plausible that in his opinion it was not one of the seven. 'He does not mention penance either,' Lee says.[449] But he mentions it more than once elsewhere, and many other writers beside him do so. The case is not the same with matrimony. Lee goes on to ensnare me with his fine syllogisms. 'Augustine, you say, denies that it is a great sacrament between a man and wife. That is true, and who opposes it? But Augustine does not deny that this sacrament between man and wife is great in Christ and the church.' No, Augustine says that the union between husband and wife is the least of the sacraments. Does he who says it is the least not deny that it is great? It is great in one respect, very small in another: in the union of husband and wife it is very small, in Christ and the church great. If Augustine clearly distinguished these, what gives Lee the confidence to join them together? 'In man and wife,' he says, 'it is great in Christ and the

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445 A group of ancient Greeks (seventh and sixth century BC), famous for their wise sayings
446 *Adagia* I ii 49
447 Lee fol LXIX
448 Lee fols LXVIII verso–LXIX
449 Lee fol LXIX

church.' This is like saying 'In respect to his skin the Ethiopian is white in his teeth.' If a sacrament is always great, let Lee explain to us in what sense Augustine called it very small. Augustine meant of course that the union of husband and wife was a symbol of a sacred and revered thing, and that the symbol too was therefore honoured, just as a picture drawn in charcoal is respected on account of the excellent thing it may depict. If you estimate the price of the picture, it is of little value, but if you consider the object suggested to your mind it is priceless. Matrimony likewise derives dignity from what it represents to us, but in itself it is not a great sacrament compared to the remaining sacraments through which a more abundant grace is conferred. Rather, if we believe Augustine, it is the least of all.

But Lee presses on: 'For,' he says, 'I do not believe that you will call the union of Christ with the church a sacrament, for it is not at all a symbol of anything else; rather it was prefigured by this sacrament, the union of man and woman.' Let Lee admit here that a sacrament is not understood as being one of the seven but merely as a sign of a sacred thing, and argue on that basis. If mystery here means nothing but a sacred and arcane thing, what prevents us from calling the union of Christ with the church or the conjunction of divine and human nature a sacrament or mystery? But this passage cannot be understood in this way, he will say. Let Lee prove that and then continue with his argument. But how can it make sense for Augustine to say that it is great in the one case and very small in the other, and for Lee to say that it is great in both cases? A sacrament has two aspects: the sign [or type] and the thing signified. If you compare it to what is signified, it is very great; if you consider the type, expressed in individual husbands and wives, it is very small. As for the rest, let Lee examine whether the marriage of Mary and Joseph was a sacrament in the fullest sense although intercourse did not take place, for it is he who makes this assertion.[450] For this has nothing to do with me at this point.

But it is not enough for Lee's wrath that he arouses the ranks of the theologians and the congregations of monks against me; he must also set husbands and wives on my trail. I have praised marriage to the point of making myself unpopular.[451] I want marriage to be as highly respected as possible, I state that it is a sacrament and a sacrament in the sense in which the church counts seven, but Lee nevertheless addresses me in hateful terms

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450 Lee fol LXIX verso

451 Cf Introduction xii and n5, *Apologia* n57 above.

as if I wanted to remove matrimony from his number. But I am a bit fairer in my assessment of matrimony than certain theologians, especially modern theologians, who deny that matrimony can be called a sacrament except in the wider sense of the word, in so far as it is a sign of a sacred thing. But what is a sign of a holy thing is not necessarily a sacrament strictly speaking. Strictly speaking, they say, a sacrament is the visible manifestation of invisible grace in such a way that it symbolizes something and effects something. If this is the proper definition of 'sacrament,' as Peter Lombard suggests in book 4, distinction 1,[452] it will not be established that matrimony is a sacrament strictly speaking until it is agreed that it effects a particular grace that is conferred by prescribed words and rites; otherwise it is merely one of the number of things that are signs of something holy. Yet Peter Lombard, book 4, distinction 2, thinks that grace is not conferred by this sacrament.[453] His view is shared by a huge number of jurists; for example, Gaufridus in his *Summa* under the heading *De sacramentis non iterandis*, Hostiensis in his *Summa*, book 1, under the same heading, and Bernard in his apparatus.[454] Indeed, even Durandus,[455] who cites these authors, and is regarded as an eminent authority by the scholastics, teaches at great length in book 4, distinction 26, question 3, that the pontifical jurists and the interpreters of the canons and decretal letters in which the position of the Roman church is explained – and some of these were of the rank of cardinal – were of the opinion that the sacrament of marriage does not confer grace. Thus, if anyone holds the same opinion, he does not oppose the decree of the Catholic church or the custom and position of the Roman church, for he does not go against their view. If this is correct, it follows that it is not absurd for anyone to think that matrimony is not a sacrament of the New Law,[456] according to the proper definition of 'sacrament.' If modern theologians make a sacrament of the New Law one through which spiritual grace is conferred, it is a defensible opinion, and anyone objecting to it is not a heretic. Although these things have been proffered by great

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452 *Sententiae* IV 1.2 PL 192 839

453 Ibidem 2.1 PL 192 842

454 Hostiensis (Henry of Segusio, c 1200–71) *Summa* I fol 36 §7, and, probably, Gaufridus (Anfredus Gonteri, fl 1300–20), and Bernard of Compostela the Younger (d 1267), all cited by Durandus of St Pourçain; see the next note. Hostiensis and 'Gaufridus' were commenting on book 1 title 16 in the Decretals of Gregory IX, on which see *Responsio* 3 Note 15 n93 below.

455 Durandus of St Pourçain *Commentaria* IV 26.3 §6, fol 367 verso

456 That is, not one of the seven sacraments; the term 'sacrament of the New Law' was frequently used by Lombard and hence by all medieval theologians.

authorities and even by a celebrated theologian, I myself prefer to embrace the opinion of the modern theologians who believe that the sacrament of marriage does confer grace and is one of the number of sacraments properly so called.

Meanwhile I wonder about one thing: since I discuss this matter at length in my second edition and preclude fancy reasoning of this sort, why does Lee deal with me as if he had not seen the second edition? Granted that he wrote his comments before the second edition appeared, but it was certainly out more than a year before Lee published them. And his whole book was printed together.[457]

At the end Lee picks apart what he says I wrote on his sheet: 'Cyprian[458] states that the lesser sacraments were instituted not by Christ but by the Fathers.' I believe Lee will confront me with my dreams if I tell him what I saw at night while peacefully sleeping! Assume that I did say this, either carelessly or in my cups; which of us is more to blame, I, who relied on his friendship and entrusted to privately exchanged papers whatever came to mind as if I was chatting with a friend; or he, who casts it in my teeth before the whole world as if it had been a formal transaction before notaries and witnesses, and promises himself a magnificent triumph from the fact that I do not defend what I noted in this way, and noted for his eyes only? But not to appear to neglect even such nonsense, the point of my words was this: if we grant that a sacrament can be instituted by the Fathers, it is possible that there will be more sacraments in future or that there were fewer than seven sacraments in the past. And thus what I am arguing, that Augustine does not speak here of the sacrament of marriage as if it were one of the seven, will be more defensible. Here Lee has me cornered once more: If sacraments instituted by men are lesser sacraments, the sacrament of marriage will be great because it was instituted in paradise by God and instituted in such a manner that it was a sacrament. Let Lee prove that it was instituted as one of the number properly called sacraments. So far I have heard no proof of this matter. Nor is Lee right to correct me by saying that marriage was not instituted by the Fathers as one of the seven because no writer has transmitted this information, when the facts themselves demonstrate that it happened. Nevertheless I do not wish to maintain what Cyprian said, nor need I do so, even if Lee says it

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457 That is, all the parts of the book were printed at the same time
458 See n442 above.

is true. For Cyprian says that marriage can be a sacrament even if it is not instituted by Christ.

And this passage too is listed by Lee among those that I failed to correct,[459] although I appear to have moderated it somewhat. But what did Lee want me to correct here? My statement that marriage is one of the seven sacraments? But he himself does not deny that. My statement that it is not a great sacrament as regards the union of husband and wife, but it is great as regards the union of Christ and the church? But what I say is not great Augustine calls very small for the same reason. My question whether it can be proved from this passage that matrimony is one of the seven? Then that is what Lee should have demonstrated. But so far he has not been able to demonstrate it. And even if he can, it will not argue against me, for I said that this passage was no great proof, that is, not clear enough proof to keep anyone from tergiversation. If anyone asks me 'Why then do you believe that it is one of the seven, if it cannot be sufficiently proved from this passage and there is no other from which it can be proved?' I have a ready response: 'The authority and the consensus of the church motivates me, and not only in this matter but in many others as well.'

[EPISTLE] TO THE PHILIPPIANS

Concerning Note 189

Esse se aequalem Deo [that he was equal with God]:[460] I had indicated in brief that in the Greek we do not read ἴσον, that is, *aequalem*, 'equal' but ἴσα, that is, *aequaliter* [in an equal manner]. However, the adverb gives the same meaning in Greek as the adjective. I pointed this out so no one would be concerned about it; yet I myself translate *aequalem*.[461] Lee confronts me with Jerome,[462] who in some places that Lee apparently gathered from the index reads *aequalem*, not *aequaliter*.[463] As if I had instructed anyone to read *aequaliter*! But Lee thinks he makes a serious assault on my argument in

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459 Lee fol CVI; see *Responsio 1* n3 above.
460 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Phil 2:6) Reeve 622–3.
461 *Novum instrumentum* II 97
462 Lee fol LXX
463 *Commentarii in Jonam* 2 PL 25 (1884) 1134B, *Commentarii in Abacuc* 2 PL 25 (1884) 1312C. Cf n58 above for the 'index,' which cites this passage under *equalis*.

his new annotations with[464] arms supplied by his friends, of course. I shall reply to this in its proper place.[465]

[EPISTLE] TO THE COLOSSIANS

Concerning Note 190

Primogenitus omnis creaturae [first-born of all creation]:[466] Here I show the threefold sense of the phrase. The first, as can be seen, is the one we commonly adopt. Second, we understand that Christ was born of the Father before the creation of the universe. Third, if we accent the penultimate syllable in πρωτοτόκος, we could understand that he, being first, created everything together with the Father.[467] Ambrose interprets it according to the second meaning. 'The words "first-born of all creation,"' he says, 'attest that before creation the Son was born, not created, so that his nativity might be distinguished from the making of creation. And to make this entirely clear, he added: "Because in him all things were created,"' and the rest that follows in the same tenor.[468] But it offended Lee that I added 'lest anyone follow Arius in making the Son of God a creature.' Putting on the lion's skin,[469] he lectures[470] me that it is no more dangerous to call Christ a 'creature' than to call him 'dead,'[471] and attempts to prove with many arguments, taken, if I am not mistaken, from my *Apologia* in response to Lefèvre,[472] that the Son of God is called 'creature.' And yet he admits that some recoiled from the word 'creature' to avoid having anything in common with the Arians. But this is exactly what motivated me to prefer, with Ambrose, the version *genitus ante universam creaturam* [born before all creation] to *primogenitus omnis creaturae*. For what does *primogenitus omnis creaturae* signify if not 'born first of all creatures' or 'among creatures'? The Arians did not

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464 with ... of course] Added in *1522*. Cf Lee fols CXXI–CXXII verso.
465 See *Responsio 3* Note 20 below.
466 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Col 1:15) Reeve 634.
467 In his annotation (Reeve 634) Erasmus discusses only the second and third meanings; the first 'commonly adopted' meaning is 'first-born.'
468 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Col* PL 17 (1845) 423C / (1879) 447A–B
469 That is, playing the lion when you are in fact a donkey; cf *Adagia* I iii 66.
470 Lee fols LXX–LXXI
471 That is, on the basis of Col 1:18: *primogenitus ex mortuis* (literally 'the first-born of the dead')
472 Cf *Apologia ad Fabrum* CWE 83 50–3.

call Christ 'creature' in the sense in which Jerome does, by a metaphor;[473] they believed that the Son of God was a creature in his divine nature. Here let Lee tell us whether there is no difference between calling Christ a 'creature' and calling him 'dead,' a point that does bear on the Arian heresy. Furthermore if, as Lee wants us to believe,[474] *primogenitus omnis creaturae* here means that Christ himself was created and excels among creatures, how does this square with the connection proposed by Ambrose? He says that being called 'first-born' connects with what follows, 'because in him all things were created,' and he interprets 'in him' as 'through him.'[475] But all things could not be created through him unless he preceded the beginning of all created things, which shows his eternity. Lee concludes this annotation: 'I only want to point out that we must not avoid Charybdis to the point of falling prey to Scylla.[476] Rather, one must navigate carefully between the rocks.' What Scylla, what Charybdis is he dreaming of? The fact that we said that the Son of God cannot be called 'creature' in the sense in which he is so called by the Arians? O weighty annotations, through which Erasmus is corrected and the church aided in her danger!

Concerning Note 191

Quod in illo creata sunt omnia [because in him all things were created]:[477] Since 'in him' stands for 'through him,' according to the Hebrew idiom, I say that I cannot see the relevance of the 'ideas' introduced here by Thomas.[478] Lee does not want these 'ideas' to be called 'Platonic,' but 'exemplars,'[479] especially when [Paul] says ἐν αὐτῷ [in him] here but soon changes it to

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473 Cf *Comm in Eph* 1 PL 26 (1884) 501C–D; *Dialogus contra Luciferianos* 3 PL 23 (1883) 165B; *Contra Rufinum* 2.12 PL 23 (1883) 455C.

474 Lee fols LXX verso–LXXI

475 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Col* PL 17 423C (1845) / 447A–B (1879)

476 *Adagia* I V 4

477 Col 1:16; cf the annotation *primogenitus omnis creaturae* (on Col 1:15) Reeve 634.

478 Thomas Aquinas *Super epistolam ad Colossenses* 1.4.37 in *Super epistolas S. Pauli lectura* ed R. Cai 8th ed (Turin 1953) II 133. Referring to the view of the Platonists that reality emanates from ideas, Thomas explained that God created the world according to the Word in the same sense as craftsmen build houses according to their preconceived designs; hence, the world had indeed been created 'in' the Word.

479 Cf Lee fol LXXI recto–verso, citing from one of the notes Erasmus sent him. Commenting on the word 'idea' used by Thomas Aquinas, Lee argues that they were not 'Platonic ideas, but those eternal exemplars [laid up] in eternal wisdom.'

δι᾽ αὐτοῦ [through him].[480] Apart from much other frivolous stuff, Lee argues here that it is not a standing rule that *in* [in] is put for *per* [through]. But who said it was? Does it follow that the rule does not apply here because it does not apply everywhere? Ambrose certainly applies it in this passage,[481] and δι᾽ αὐτοῦ, which follows shortly afterwards, supports this interpretation. What does Lee want me to change here? What I said, entirely correctly, on the authority of St Ambrose? For he notes this passage among those I failed to change,[482] stubborn and incorrigible man that I am.

Concerning Note 192

Imago Dei invisibilis [image of the invisible God]:[483] Because it is ἀοράτου in Greek, not ἀόρατος, that is, genitive not nominative case, I note that 'invisible' must be referred to God the Father, not to the Son, saying 'although the Father is invisible, he is somehow visible in the Son.' Lee,[484] or whoever it was,[485] argues that the image is invisible and that it is therefore in vain to add 'somehow.' But my meaning was that Christ, having assumed human nature, became visible and that through him 'somehow' we had a sight of the Father, although in the Epistle to Timothy the same Paul says that only the Father was invisible,[486] and Ambrose supplies the reason.[487]

Concerning Note 193

In ipso complacuit [in him it pleased]:[488] I show that it is a smoother interpretation to refer εὐδόκησε to the Father: 'Thus it pleased the Father to give the Son perfect divinity, and thus through him to reconcile everything to him-

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480 Lee's point is that the conclusion of Col 1:16, 'all has been created through him (*per ipsum*, δι᾽ αὐτοῦ) and in him (*in ipsum*, εἰς αὐτόν),' suggests that Paul did make a distinction between the expressions 'through him' and 'in him.'
481 See n475 above.
482 Lee fol CVI; cf *Responsio 1* n3 above.
483 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Col 1:15) Reeve 634. This Note was out of sequence in the 1516 edition of the *Annotations* and is out of sequence here. Erasmus' annotation was spurred by the fact that *invisibilis* can be either nominative or genitive and thus can modify either *imago* or *Dei*.
484 Lee fol LXXII
485 See *Apologia* n106 and Note 161 n311 above.
486 1 Tim 1:17
487 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 1 Tim* PL 17 (1845) 464D / (1879) 490C–D
488 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Col 1:19) Reeve 635.

self.' Lee wants 'pleased' referred to the entire divinity.[489] I do not dispute the meaning, I merely discuss the coherence of the words. How does this agree with the subsequent *et per eum reconciliare omnia in sese* [and through him to reconcile everything to himself][490] if you do not distinguish between the Persons? 'Nobody,' says Lee, 'interprets in this manner.' On the contrary, Ambrose does.[491] I do not know whether Ambrose is a 'nobody' in Lee's eyes. Theophylact[492] interprets it thus, no doubt following old sources, nor does anyone adduce the interpretation adopted by Lee, except Lyra alone.[493] Lee is indignant because I added 'Father' on my own account. He gives this right to Jerome,[494] but not equally to Erasmus. Great indeed is the danger if I add a word of explanation in what is destined for private reading, especially when I testify that I added it and show the reasons why I did so! Nor is there any danger that another scholar will do the same wholesale because I did it in one single place. Nor do we need to fear a schism, especially when I admit that I added it, and not in the church's official text but in a private version. What can be more seditious than this man's mind?

Concerning Note 195[495]

Omnem plenitudinem divinitatis [all the fullness of divinity]:[496] I had pointed out that 'divinity' was in neither the Greek texts nor Ambrose,[497] indicating

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489 Lee fol LXXII

490 Col 1:20

491 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Col* PL 17 (1845) 424C–D/ (1879) 448B–C

492 Theophylact ... Lyra alone.] Added in *1522*. The Theophylact reference is to *Exp in Col* PG 124 1224D.

493 *Postilla* IV fol kk vii verso ##a–b

494 Lee fol LXXII verso. Erasmus means that Lee elsewhere conceded to Jerome the right to make textual emendations but was unwilling to concede Erasmus the same right here. Neither Jerome nor Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius add *patri* in their quotations or interpretations of the phrase. Some early medieval authors, however, did so; cf Sedulius Scotus (fl c 850) *Collectanea in epistolam ad Colossenses* PL 103 225C; Geoffrey of Admont (c 1100–1165) *Homiliae dominicales* 69, 81 PL 174 484D, 570D.

495 From here the numbering of the notes is faulty: Erasmus' Notes 195–97 answer Lee's 194–96. As Erasmus passes over Lee's Note 197 (see Note 197 below), the correct numbering is restored from Note 198 onward. The LB text has 194 for *omnem plenitudinem Divinitatis*, 195 for *secundum imperium*, and 197 for *gratia et misericordia*.

496 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Col 1:19) Reeve 635.

497 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Col* PL 17 (1845) 424C–D / (1879) 448B–C

that 'divinity' was added for the sake of explanation, for Ambrose adds it in his exposition. Here Lee is slaying me with my own sword.[498] 'Just as you wonder now how the word *divinitatis* slipped into the Latin codices,' he says,[499] 'so posterity will wonder how your *Patri* slipped in, which is found in neither the Greek nor the Latin texts.' No, my annotation prevents anyone from wondering, for it clearly states that the addition was made for clarification. Nor do I inveigh against adding *divinitatis* here, I merely point it out.

FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY

Concerning Note 196[500]

Secundum imperium [according to the commandment]:[501] Since it is κατ' ἐπιταγήν in Greek, I had advised that the phrase could more suitably be rendered as *secundum iniunctionem* or *delegationem*. For the proper meaning of ἐπιτάττω is 'instruct' or 'delegate.' Lee[502] confronts me with Chrysostom, who reads *imperium*, but in the Latin translation.[503] And what about his interpretation, if to him in Greek *imperium* means the same as *delegatio* to us? O stern annotation!

Concerning Note 197[504]

Gratia et misericordia [grace and mercy]:[505] I show that the copula 'and' is not added in Greek. Lee[506] once again confronts me with the Latin translation of Chrysostom, where it is added.[507] The next annotation[508] is very similar to this.

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498 *Adagia* I i 51
499 Paraphrasing Lee fol LXXII verso
500 See n495 above.
501 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Tim 1:1) Reeve 661.
502 Lee fol LXXII verso
503 *Hom in 1 Tim* 1.1 PG 62 503
504 See n495 above.
505 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Tim 1:2) Reeve 661.
506 Lee fol LXXIII
507 That is, the text used by Lee; cf *Hom in 1 Tim* 1.1 PG 62 503.
508 That is, Lee's Note 197 (fol LXXIII) on 1 Tim 1:2. Here too Lee refers Erasmus to Chrysostom. Cf n495 above.

Concerning Note 198

In vaniloquium [in vain talking]:[509] Since I am specifically referring to 'frivolous arguments' and 'quarrels without end', do I not clearly indicate that I do not condemn the theologians' disputations in their entirety? And yet Lee carries on as if I condemned scholastic exercises, and says something or other about 'eloquence' and stammers something or other about 'stammering,'[510] the point of which I cannot see. I could swear that this annotation was not conceived by Lee but by another, in whose interest it is that theological disputations are carried on as heatedly as possible. Let them all think that I am condemning disputations if one man can be found whom I have deterred from these studies.

Concerning Note 199

Soli Deo [to the only God]:[511] The Greek texts add 'wise' here. Since the word is not found in Ambrose,[512] nor in any other of the Latin exegetes, I suspected that the Greeks added it out of the Epistle to the Romans[513] to counter the Arians, who make only the Father truly God and want the Son to be inferior to the Father and moreover to be his creation. The insertion of 'wise' makes us understand that only the Father is wise, not that only the Father is God. This reading is less helpful to the Arians.

Here Lee uses many ways to put pressure on me. 'What need was there to add it here,' he says,[514] 'when it is agreed that it was added in the Epistle to the Romans?' Something repeated in several places would certainly have been firmer proof in a specific case. Furthermore, Lee quarrels with me in atrocious terms for saying that the orthodox added some words to counter the heretics, but there is no ground for a quarrel. For it

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509 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Tim 1:6) Reeve 662–5, with the long addition of *1519*. Erasmus associated 'vain talking' with scholastic disputations. The annotation was expanded in subsequent editions.

510 Lee fol LXXIII recto–verso, asserting among other things that he would rather join those whom Erasmus considers stammerers than err with Erasmian eloquence. Occasionally Erasmus had spoken of the scholastic theologians as 'stammering'; cf for example Ep 108:30–6.

511 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Tim 1:17) Reeve 666–7, with the substantial changes of *1519*.

512 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 1 Tim* PL 17 (1845) 464D / (1879) 490C

513 Rom 16:27

514 Lee fol LXXIII verso

has never pleased me that we should maintain Christ's teaching by tricks of this sort; on the contrary, I often warn against doing so.[515] But which does Lee prefer here: adding 'wise' or not adding it? If he wants it added, he abandons the Latin texts and puts his trust in the Greeks. If he does not want it added, why does he reproach me for saying that it appears to be added? He says: 'He is a bold and profane spirit who either adds or takes away.'[516] True, but how does this apply to me? I neither add nor take away anything knowingly. On the contrary, I endeavour as best I can to see that nothing is added or taken away. This whole heated admonition, therefore, or rather this quarrel, does not concern me. And again, how civil is it of Lee to confront me in such a critical and grave matter with some sheets of notes written on the spur of the moment? And he does not consider this an injury, although it is a grave injury to publish a volume against the wishes of its author. But meanwhile Lee does not seem to understand the effect of adding 'wise': it goes against the Arians. 'No, it is in their favour,' he says. But I have already indicated earlier on how it goes against them. I do not see how it can be in their favour. It did not escape me that they defended their error on the basis of passages of this sort, but they could have done this with greater plausibility if we read that the Father is 'the only God.'

It is amusing that he calls 'mine' the Greek texts that make additions εἰκῇ, (that is, 'without reason'). Are Jerome's texts 'mine'? Is the text that Chrysostom had 'mine'? And yet I reject the reading of the Greek manuscripts here. What then is the point of Lee's litigation? But to put an end to this, Lee will readily concede that 'wise' is an addition in this passage, for he gladly agrees with the reading of the church, but does not like to attribute it to the Greeks. And as for the added word's being somewhat in favour of the Arians, I have already made my case; nor do I approve its addition. Finally, Lee usually is pleased to state that the Greek manuscripts are corrupt. This being so, tell me, does Lee's peroration apply to me? 'Consider,' he says, 'whether the arguments that urge you to change this passage are weak, and if you find them weak, indicate it and command that this passage remain intact. Rather, why not say: I restore the passage so as not to give offence to the gospel of Christ, and I have decided that nothing should be either added or taken away from the Sacred Scriptures. You are weak yourself if you do not say and genuinely think so.'[517] Who would believe that the man who wrote this was not suffering from a fever? What passage

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515 Cf for example *Ratio* LB V 129A–130F.
516 Lee fols LXXIII verso–LXXIIII
517 Lee fols LXXIIII verso–LXXV

does he want changed? Does he want me to change my preference for our reading over the Greek one? Or where he takes me to say that something was added in the past to our manuscripts by the orthodox so that it could be used against the heretics? Lee is not, I think, indignant because that was said about Greek books. Or does he suppose that what I believe was added by the orthodox was added by the holy Doctors? For I do not necessarily approve what was done by the orthodox. Finally, why is it a crime if our writers added some words in their zeal to prevent heretics, or just inexperienced readers, from seizing on an opportunity, especially when it does not depart from the meaning? For example in the passage *nondum erat Spiritus, quia Jesus nondum erat glorificatus*,[518] we add *datus* with the meaning remaining unchanged. And what is the significance of 'I have decided to add nothing and to take nothing away'? Did I ever decide to add anything to the holy books, or take anything away? Unless[519] Lee by chance considers it an addition if the Greek expresses something in six words and the Latin in seven. Why, moreover, does he tell me to change what has already been changed and that he knows has been changed?[520] But why, he will say, do you defend what you have changed? I changed it not because there was anything wrong in the original wording; I changed it for the sake of inexperienced people, whom I call 'weak.' Who has ever heard a more serious quarrel when there was nothing here that pertained to me? Finally my dear friend Lee asks whether I consider everyone who is offended by this passage weak.[521] Not everyone, I say. Some are stupid, others are slanderers.

Concerning Note 200

Soli Deo [to the only God]: And here he splits one annotation in two.[522] He is so parsimonious with his glory, you could think he was a κυμινοπρίστην.[523]

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518 John 7:39; cf Note 91 above.

519 Unless . . . in seven.] Added in *1522*

520 Rather than to his translation (which remained the same in all five editions), Erasmus is referring here to his annotation; cf Reeve 666–7. In *1516* he had written: 'I suspect that it was added to counter the Arians, who wanted only the Father to be regarded as the true God. But the heretics likewise introduced changes in Holy Writ to maintain their own error' (*Novum instrumentum* II 564). In *1519* he rephrased these sentences 'so as not to offend the weak,' as he had explained in his informal discussion with Lee (cf Lee fol LXXIV).

521 Lee fol LXXIIII verso

522 This Note (Lee fol LXXV) continues the discussion of *soli Deo* at 1 Tim 1:17.

523 Literally 'a cummin-splitter,' that is, a miser; cf *Adagia* II i 5.

I had pointed out that Chrysostom[524] read the text in the form found in the Epistle to the Romans.[525] Lee denies that Chrysostom has 'wise.' He is correct as far as the commentary is concerned, but he adds it in the text, unless it was added there by a scribe, which I plainly suspect happened. Nor was I so blind that I did not see what Chrysostom reads. I annotated it nevertheless because he connects the other, preceding epithets, 'immortal' and 'invisible,' with the word 'only,' meaning that only the Father was immortal, only he was invisible. Otherwise the meaning could be that only the Father was God, and that he was immortal and invisible, but not he alone. If Chrysostom had added 'wise,' he would have connected it with the word 'only,' as he connected the rest. However, this escaped Lee's notice, who is keen-sighted only when it comes to carping. Yet this passage in Chrysostom, in which he says that the Father alone is God, alone is invisible and immortal, is relevant to Lee's argument, if for no other reason than that God does not derive from anyone else that he is God, that he is invisible, that he is immortal. And Lee does not allow us to attribute the concept of first-beginning specifically to the Father,[526] although Chrysostom here attributes the name 'God' specifically to him.

Concerning Note 201

Doctorem [teacher]:[527] Because the Greeks have διδακτικόν [able to teach], I show that Jerome, writing against the Pelagians, criticizes the Vulgate edition, which has *docilem* [teachable].[528] Lee says he has not read this.[529] But I also show where the passage can be found, namely[530] in the first book of this work. Yet in the same passage Jerome quotes *docilem* according to the 'simplistic Latin translation,' as he calls it. This clearly shows that he quite often cites what he does not approve. Perhaps he considers it better Latin to say *docibilem* rather than *docilem*. As someone who does something with ease is said to be *facilis*, so in those days someone who taught with ease was called *docilis*; just as someone who is inclined to love is called *amabilis*. But[531] proper Latin usage does not accept this.

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524 *Hom in 1 Tim* 4.2 PG 62 522
525 Rom 16:27
526 See Notes 72 and 92 above.
527 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Tim 3:2) Reeve 670–1.
528 *Dialogus contra Pelagianos* 1.21–2 PL 23 (1883) 538A, 539A.
529 Lee fol LXXV, where Lee says none of the manuscripts he has seen contains the reading *docilem*.
530 namely ... does not approve] Added in *1522*
531 But ... accept this.] Added in *1540*

Concerning Note 202

Mulieres similiter pudicas [women likewise chaste]:[532] I had advised readers that γυναῖκας can be translated more properly 'wives,' since the context itself shows that he is speaking of the wives of deacons and bishops. Lee[533] confronts me with Chrysostom,[534] who did not want a mention of wives inserted but interpreted it as a reference to the women whose assistance the apostles used.[535] I know that Chrysostom did not like 'wives,' but why does he refuse to mention wives where children are mentioned, especially if we interpret them as the wives of the assistants, who are called 'deaconesses' in the Eastern church even today, as is shown by the gloss that falsely circulates under Jerome's name?[536] But I do not wish to fight over this matter, and it makes sense that the wives were female assistants, even if Chrysostom admits that most exegetes interpreted it as a reference to all the wives.

Concerning Note 203

Magnum est pietatis sacramentum [great is the mystery of godliness]:[537] Since the manuscripts vary in this place, I showed that there are two readings. I was in doubt which was preferable. Lee cannot criticize this procedure, I believe. Next, since the exegetes were somewhat troubled, I indicated that I considered it simplest if we understood 'mystery' as a reference to the preaching of the gospel, and I suggest how it can be done. This Lee rejects with the magnificent argument that the preaching of the gospel is no mystery and that it is absurd to say of preaching that it was 'taken up into glory.'[538] Ridiculous indeed – as if I had said this! The mystery is contained in the thing, not in the preaching of it. But what was concealed earlier became public through preaching and what was previously hidden was 'taken up into glory.' All things that had been previously promised of Christ and

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532 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Tim 3:11) Reeve 672.
533 Lee fol LXXV recto–verso
534 *Hom in 1 Tim* 11.1 PG 62 553
535 Cf Rom 16:1–15.
536 Probably Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in 1 Tim* PL 30 (1846) 880C / Souter II 487. The Council of Nicaea (325) established rules for deaconesses, who had a predominantly charitable function. In the Western church their role diminished as a result of the rise of monasticism; in the East their role continued.
537 Cf the annotation *quod manifestum est in carne* (on 1 Tim 3:16) Reeve 672–3. Erasmus had commented that instead of the Vulgate reading, 'what is manifest in the flesh,' the Greek codices had 'God is manifested in the flesh.'
538 Lee fols LXXV verso–LXXVI

subsequently realized in Christ were previously mysteries known to few or none. Soon afterwards they were made known to the whole world through the preaching of the apostles. Where does that leave Lee's statement 'How little does this interpretation square with this passage,' etc, when I interpret it as others do? I do not see, furthermore, why I should answer his arguments concerning Lorenzo.[539]

Concerning Note 204

In caritate [in charity]:[540] Here I had annotated nothing. I merely translated what I had found in the Greek texts, which add ἐν πνεύματι, that is, 'in spirit.'[541] Lee[542] indicates that this is not found in Chrysostom.[543] He is right. But does it follow that I must not translate what is in the Greek manuscripts? And lest he call them 'my' Greek manuscripts, the Aldine edition has the same text.[544] Theophylact[545] likewise reads and interprets this phrase.

Concerning Note 205

In laqueum diaboli [into the snare of the devil]:[546] I had noted that 'devil' is not added in the Greek texts or in Ambrose.[547] Lee[548] objects that Chrysostom interprets it.[549] Is it surprising that he interprets what the apostle meant? But it does not follow that the apostle wrote it. I show what he wrote, not what he meant. Theophylact[550] at any rate does not even touch on it in his exposition; he interprets the snares as our entanglement in cares and dangers.

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539 In the annotation Erasmus had criticized Valla *Annotationes* (*Opera* I 882); cf Reeve 672. Lee tried to play Valla off against Erasmus: 'You say that Lorenzo took offence at "taken up into glory" being called a "mystery" ... but he would take even greater offence at your interpretation.'

540 1 Tim 4:12

541 *Novum instrumentum* II 123

542 Lee fol LXXVI

543 *Hom in 1 Tim* 13.1 PG 62 565

544 Aldina fol 423 verso

545 Theophylact ... this phrase.] Added in *1522*. The reference is to *Exp in 1 Tim* PG 125 60A.

546 Cf the annotation *et in laqueum diaboli* (on 1 Tim 6:9) Reeve 680.

547 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 1 Tim* PL 17 (1845) 482B / (1879) 509B

548 Lee fol LXXVI

549 *Hom in 1 Tim* 17.2 PG 62 593

550 Theophylact ... and dangers.] Added in *1522*. The reference is to *Exp in 1 Tim* PG 125 80B–C.

SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY

Concerning Note 206

Gratia et misericordia [grace and mercy]:[551] I show that the conjunction 'and' is lacking in the Greek texts. Lee objects:[552] it is added in Chrysostom.[553] How does Lee know this? And what difference does it make?

Concerning Note 207

Tempora secularia: This is αἰωνίων in Greek, a word that usually denotes eternity.[554] Lee prefers *secularia*,[555] although Chrysostom interprets 'from eternity.'[556] In Latin, however, *seculare* means what comes around every hundred years.

Concerning Note 208

Since the Greeks have εἰς ὅ, I advised readers that one should translate *in quod* [whereunto].[557] Lee confronts me with Chrysostom,[558] who read *in quo* [wherein], but in the Latin translation.[559]

Concerning Note 209

Profana autem inaniloquia [but profane babblings],[560] etc: I had noted here something or other about the vacuous little questions of those who consider themselves theologians.[561] Here Lee found an opportunity for his biting

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551 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 2 Tim 1:2) Reeve 683.
552 Lee fol LXXVI
553 *Hom in 2 Tim* 1.1 PG 62 599, 601.
554 Cf the annotation *ante tempora secularia* (on 2 Tim 1:9) Reeve 684. Erasmus preferred the translation *tempora aeterna* 'eternal times.' In classical Latin the adjective *secularis* cannot mean *eternal*; it usually refers to a centennial event, as Erasmus says.
555 Lee fol LXXVI
556 *Hom in 2 Tim* 2.1 PG 62 608
557 Cf the annotation *in quo* (on 2 Tim 1:11) Reeve 684.
558 Lee fol LXXVI
559 *Hom in 2 Tim* 2.2 PG 62 608
560 Cf the two annotations *prophana autem* and *et vaniloquia* (on 2 Tim 2:16) Reeve 687.
561 Not in his two annotations, but perhaps in a note sent to Lee.

criticism: 'But you should also have noted,' he says, 'that he commands us to avoid the profane. He therefore warned us not to rush into holy things with unwashed feet, not to treat Scripture like the fables of poets. The person who approaches holy things must lead a life of great sanctity, great piety and modesty; and the person who enters the holy shrine must do so even more; it is not for everyone to reveal the mysteries, but only for one whose spirit has been conformed to God.'[562] What is the point of all this, if not his insinuation that I lack all of these qualities, whereas he has them in abundance? How abundantly Lee is endowed anyone can readily see from this book at any rate. Yet I do not claim for myself competence to treat the mysteries, but I deal with the lowliest of subjects,[563] entrusting those grand questions to Lee and those similar to him, for whom they are reserved by fate, who have the right attitude and a mind with which the gods converse at night.

Concerning Note 210

Ne forte det [lest by chance he give]:[564] Because the conjunction is μήποτε in Greek, I suggested that it could have been translated *ne quando* [lest ever]. I affirm that not even this translation was good Latin, for here Greek μή does not denote a negation or a prohibition but is said by someone in doubt. Lee[565] confronts me with Chrysostom,[566] who read *forte*, but in the Latin translation. What could be more foolish at any rate than thinking that he read μὴ ἴσως [lest perhaps]? And yet Chrysostom mentions doubt. True, but he deduced doubt from the word μή, not from ἴσως. Since this is clear from Chrysostom's words, it is strange that Lee did not notice it. For Chrysostom writes in this manner: 'As if it said "perhaps a correction will follow."'[567] If 'perhaps' was in the text, what need was there to say 'as if it said "perhaps"'? These are the notes written by those who alone enter the inner sanctum of the mysteries with washed feet, whose spirit has been conformed to God!

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562 Lee fol LXXVI verso
563 Examining the text from a grammatical or more generally a philological point of view; cf *Apologia* n240 above.
564 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 2 Tim 2:25) Reeve 689.
565 Lee fol LXXVI verso
566 Cf *Hom in 2 Tim* 6.2 PG 62 632, though the Latin version in PG has *nequando*.
567 The apostle had used a construction common in Plato's Greek, μή with a subjunctive verb to indicate a cautious assertion. As Erasmus explains here, Chrysostom used the word ἴσως only to paraphrase the usage.

EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

Concerning Note 211

Lee is indignant that I pointed out the word order,[568] a very small matter indeed – as[569] if I had undertaken a grand matter here.

Concerning Note 212

Quia non potuerunt [that they could not]:[570] I had indicated that in this passage the Greek did not repeat 'into my rest,' but let it be understood. Lee adds that it was not added in his codex either.[571] Good for him! But I have found it added in many manuscripts in circulation. So will he, if he looks for it. But[572] if Lee's codex has no flaw anywhere, we shall all take refuge in that one alone.

Concerning Note 213

Ad expletionem spei [to the fulfilment of hope]:[573] I had pointed out that the surest hope comes from pious works rather than from syllogisms. I did so because of the Greek word πληροφορία, which means 'sure conviction.' Here Lee, who is always itching to get his teeth into me, says: 'You should be aware that works lead to hope in the same manner as premises lead to a syllogism, so that it is presumptuous to draw good hope from evil deeds,'[574] indicating of course that he was in all respects rich in good works, whereas I abounded in evil ones. I do not claim sanctity, but no one is farther removed from it than the person who most decidedly claims it for himself. I[575] prefer to be a tax-collector displeased with myself rather than a Pharisee so pleased with myself that I displease God.

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568 Lee fol LXXVI verso, discussing the annotation *flammam ignis* (on Heb 1:7) Reeve 705. Erasmus preferred the word order *ignis flammam*.
569 as if ... a grand matter here.] Added in *1522*
570 Cf the annotation *quia potuerunt introire* (on Heb 3:19) Reeve 715. In Erasmus' time some Vulgate texts added 'in requiem ipsius' 'into his rest,' echoing 'into my rest' in the preceding verse, Heb 3:18.
571 Lee fol LXXVI verso
572 But ... that one alone.] Added in *1522*
573 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Heb 6:11) Reeve 720.
574 Lee fol LXXVII
575 I ... displease God.] Added in *Basel 1520*. Erasmus is referring to Luke 18:9–14.

Concerning Note 214

De alia tribu [of another tribe]:[576] I translate this (in the annotations only, not in the text)[577] as follows: *Alterius gentis participes fiunt* [they become part of another *gens*]. Here Lee lectures me, relying on the authority of Suidas,[578] that φυλή is an ambiguous word that may refer either to *tribus* [tribe] or *gens* [nation],[579] but it escapes his notice that *gens* is also ambiguous in Latin. For *gentiles*, that is, those joined by family ties, are said to be of one *gens* [clan]. If Lee had known this, he would not have called my interpretation impious. And this is that formidable topic which he cast in my teeth more than once in the annotations above.[580] Such teachers, such censors Erasmus has, and yet he does not thank them, most ungrateful of all living beings that he is!

Concerning Note 215

Sermo autem jurisjurandi [the word of the oath]:[581] Since the Greek phrase was not without ambiguity, I indicated two meanings, neither of which pleases Lee. Introducing a new meaning,[582] he wants us to assume that *sermo* has been put for the thing itself, but there was no need here to resort to a 'Hebrew Bible,' as he calls it, because things are fine as they stand.

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576 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Heb 7:13) Reeve 722.

577 *Novum instrumentum* II 141 has *ad aliam tribum pertinet* 'belongs to another tribe,' which also differs from the Vulgate reading.

578 Cf *Suidae lexicon* ed A. Adler 5 vols (Stuttgart 1935) IV 774. This Greek lexicon was composed about 1000 AD and entitled *Souda* ('Stronghold'). In the centuries that followed the title was misunderstood and the lexicon was considered the work of a person named Suidas. It was printed by Aldo Manuzio in 1514.

579 Lee fol LXXVII

580 That is, the topic of 'tribes'; cf above Note 44.

581 Heb 7:28; cf the annotation *qui post legem est* on that verse, Reeve 722. Erasmus had discussed two possible meanings, 'after the law' and 'above the law.' The Greek preposition μετά allows both translations. Lee's argument depends on his interpretation of the phrase (the cue phrase here) preceding the actual cue phrase of the annotation. See the next note.

582 Lee fol LXXVII says: 'I rather believe that "the word of the oath" stands for the gospel, which succeeded the Law.' In order to confirm his view, he adduces the curious argument that Hebrew idiom (that is, 'the Hebrew Bible') 'uses the term "the word of" instead of the thing itself.'

Concerning Note 216

Si enim primum culpa vacasset [for if the first one had been faultless]:[583] Since the Greek word is ἄμεμπτος, I translate *irreprehensibile*,[584] referring either to something of which there can be no complaint or to something that leaves nothing to be desired. Lee confronts me with Chrysostom,[585] who interprets *si inculpabiles fecisset* [if he had made them faultless].[586] I do not reject this interpretation, but by the same token Lee has no reason to reject mine. For why should we be afraid to call the Law reprehensible, when God himself says 'I have given them laws that are not good'? Nor am I ignorant in what sense this must be taken. But what has this to do with my enterprise? Finally, is *si culpa vacasset* better than *si fuisset irreprehensibilis* [if it had been irreprehensible]? For something can be subject to reprehension even if it is free from fault.

Concerning Note 217

Et sanctum seculare [and a secular sanctuary]:[587] Since the Greek is κοσμικόν, I advised readers that it could have been better translated *sanctum mundanum* [a worldly sanctuary]. But Lee shows,[588] citing Chrysostom,[589] that we must read *seculare* and that the term *seculare* was used because all were allowed to enter, even gentiles. What do I hear? Is that which provides open admission to everyone called *seculare* in Latin?[590] Besides, what is more foolish than to provide an interpretation for a Greek word from a Latin translation? Is Lee not ashamed of such annotations? Does this keen-sighted man not at least see what he himself quotes from Chrysostom: 'For the Jews are not the whole world'? What words could be clearer? Gentiles were not admitted into the temple of the Jews because it was holy to one people. But Christ's temple is open to everyone in the

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583 Cf the annotation *culpa vacasset* (on Heb 8:7) Reeve 723.
584 *Novum instrumentum* II 142
585 Lee fol LXXVII verso
586 Cf *Hom in Heb* 14.2 PG 63 112, though the Latin Lee quotes is different from the Latin version of PG.
587 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Heb 9:1) Reeve 723.
588 Lee fol LXXVII verso
589 Cf *Hom in Heb* 15.1 PG 63 117; again, Lee's Latin version of Chrysostom is not that in PG.
590 For the meaning of the term see Note 207 above.

world. Such shameful mistakes are made everywhere by the man who rages with such censorious arrogance and so mercilessly against the errors of others, and indeed against what was well said by them. What tirades would Lee produce here if I had done something of the kind to him?

Concerning Note 218

Sine sanguinis effusione [without the shedding of blood]:[591] I commented only briefly on what follows, saying that it has something of Origen about it, because Origen somewhere interprets this as a reference to the redemption of the angels.[592] I did not mean to say that the Epistle's author at all smacked of Origen. Here Lee produces the interpretation of Chrysostom, of which I completely approve, although it is somewhat forced if one considers the actual wording.[593] To what twisted meaning this lends itself, I do not know. Origen certainly took his error from this occasion. Although to me it did not smack of Origen, it did so in the opinion of those to whom it provided an occasion of error.

Concerning Note 219

Nam et vinctis [for even on the bound]:[594] I had indicated that the Greek had τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου 'on my bonds,' and this is also the reading of the Aldine text.[595] Lee confronts me with Chrysostom,[596] but in the Latin translation.[597] Yet one can conclude from it that he read 'bonds' rather than 'the bound.'

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591 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Heb 9:7) Reeve 725.
592 Cf *De principiis* 1.6.2 PG 11 166A–168C; see Note 146 above.
593 Erasmus is referring to Chrysostom (cf *Hom in Heb* 16.2–3 PG 63 125–6); Lee's annotation does not mention Chrysostom. He writes: 'These words have no taste of Origen at all, unless you think by chance that the words "purifying the things in heaven" can be taken as a reference to the redemption of demons; but it is clear that this passage concerns the carnal law . . . nor can it be twisted to mean anything else, unless someone deliberately wants to be a follower of Origen' (Lee fols LXXVII verso–LXXVIII).
594 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Heb 10:34) Reeve 727.
595 Cf Aldina fol 428 verso.
596 Lee fol LXXVIII
597 *Hom in Heb* 21.1 PG 63 149. PG also gives the Latin translation of Mutianus Scholasticus (sixth century), printed by Froben in 1517. This passage (PG 63 367–8) has 'the bound' in the biblical text and 'bonds' in the commentary.

Theophylact,[598] writing in Greek, certainly both read and interpreted 'my bonds.'

Concerning Note 220

Fides est substantia [faith is the substance]:[599] Here I had criticized in passing some gloss by the jurists[600] under the title 'About the Holy Trinity and the Catholic faith,' in which they fuss over that definition and, abandoning it as not dialectical enough, introduce another scholastic and, as they say, 'magisterial' definition, although what Paul says here is more a eulogy of faith than a definition – just as if I said 'Cupidity is the root of all evil'[601] has the appearance of a definition; yet it is not a definition, at least not according to the rules of dialectic. But in Lee's opinion[602] it is a definition by topical rules.[603] In that case, let him show the genus and the specific difference, and[604] the rest required by the dialecticians in a definition according to the rules. But if this definition does agree with the rules of dialectic, what came into the minds of those who substituted for this one, which they thought was not dialectical enough, another that they themselves call 'magisterial'? Readers[605] will bear with me, however, for not giving much weight to this gloss if they know that in the same work '*symbolum* is derived from *syn*, meaning "together" and *bolus*, meaning "morsel," because each one of the apostles added his morsel, that is, his part.'[606] It[607] is right, I believe, to disagree occasionally with people who commit such monstrous stuff to paper. But Lee confronts me with Jerome, who calls it a definition somewhere;[608] he confronts me with Augustine.[609] Nor do I inveigh against them but against those who treat this matter in such sophistic terms. But

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598 Theophylact ... 'my bonds.'] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Exp in Heb* PG 125 337C.
599 Heb 11:1 (paraphrased); cf the annotation *sperandarum substantia* (on Heb 11:1) Reeve 727–8, with the modifications of *1519*.
600 Cf for example Hostiensis *Summa* 1 fol 4 §2.
601 1 Tim 6:10
602 Cf Lee fol LXXVIII.
603 That is, in accordance with Aristotle *Topica* 1.4
604 and ... the rules] Added in *Basel 1520*
605 Readers ... his part.] Added in *Basel 1520*
606 Cf Hostiensis *Summa* 1 fol 4 verso §4. The etymology is untenable. Erasmus means to demonstrate the ignorance of the authors of glosses like these.
607 It ... to paper.] Added in *1540*
608 *Comm in Gal* 3 PL 26 (1884) 448C
609 *Tract in Joan* 79.1 PL 35 1837

you deny that it is a definition, he says. I do deny that it is a definition in the sense in which the term is used by those of whom we are speaking.

Concerning Note 221

Sara sterilis [barren Sarah]:[610] I indicate that the Greeks do not add 'barren.' What I say is correct, nor is it in the Aldine text.[611] But Lee[612] confronts me with Chrysostom,[613] who both reads and interprets it. Yet the facts are otherwise. For Chrysostom goes as follows: 'Through faith,' he says, 'did Sarah herself get the power to receive the seed and to retain the seed; she got the power of conceiving though she was already withered and barren.' He adds 'withered and barren' not out of the text but from the actual circumstances.[614] In[615] Theophylact there is no comment in the interpretation, not even a word, about 'barren.' He merely indicates the emphasis on the faith of a woman who puts her trust in God, which men rarely do. Yet his text has στεῖρα οὖσα [being barren].[616]

Concerning Note 222

Placere Deo [to please God]:[617] I indicate that in this place 'God' is not added in Greek but is understood from the preceding words. Is it surprising that Chrysostom interprets what the writer of the Epistle meant?[618] But it does not follow that the writer's probable meaning is to be inserted into the text.

Concerning Note 223

Acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos [women received their dead brought to life again]:[619] Since the writer of the Epistle is speaking of the

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610 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Heb 11:11) Reeve 728. This Note is out of sequence.
611 Aldina fol 429
612 Lee fol LXXVIII
613 Cf *Hom in Heb* 23.2 PG 63 162
614 See the translation of Mutianus Scholasticus PG 63 379–80.
615 In . . . στεῖρα οὖσα.] Added in *1540*
616 *Exp in Heb* PG 125 343C
617 Cf the annotation *sine fide autem impossibile est placere deo* (on Heb 11:6) Reeve 728.
618 *Hom in Heb* 22.2 PG 63 157. Lee cites Chrysostom at fol LXXVIII verso.
619 Heb 11:35; cf the annotation *castra verterunt exterorum* (on Heb 11:34) Reeve 730. The passage under discussion was modified in *1519* and excised in *1527*.

mothers whose sons the prophets recalled to life, I note in a few words the untimely disputation of some modern theologians who ask, on the basis of this passage, whether a wife should be obliged to take back a husband who died but then returned to life, especially if she had married another. It was not Paul's intention to explain the difficulty inherent in this question when he wrote in the Epistle to the Romans, chapter 7, that a wife was freed from the jurisdiction of her husband after his death.[620] He merely used it as a comparison to show that we had no more dealings with the law of Moses after it was repealed and dead, so to speak, once Christ's teaching was made public. The theologians apply this passage to an extremely rare case, whereas Paul applied what was common custom to the proof of the case he was trying to make plausible there. Otherwise was a woman who had been divorced not free of her former husband's jurisdiction? For undoubtedly in that passage Paul took an example from the Mosaic law, since the words 'I speak to those knowledgeable of the Law'[621] precede the remark.

As for Lee's comment here that Paul drew on his own resources and spoke of other, in Lee's opinion humbler, matters[622] – is this relevant to what I say? Does anyone who treats of things in an overly anxious manner deal with 'humble matters'? If I rented you a house for the duration of your life and added in the contract that you had no right to the rented property should you return to life after death, would I not seem overly anxious in drawing up the contract? But nevertheless, Lee says,[623] what would you reply if by chance some such thing befell you? What if the sky were falling? First I would interpret it as sickness, not as death. Then I would seek advice about what the reply should be; I certainly would not twist this passage in Paul to apply to a case of that kind. Even if this passage or the other one in the Epistle to the Corinthians[624] clearly meant what they interpret, why do they call into question what is certain? But, Lee thinks, however disputable this is, what I added[625] was absurd and a mark of exceptional stupidity: 'lest wives be obliged to take back their dead husbands, for fear that that indelible character which originates with the theologians perish.' Here Lee

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620 Rom 7:2–3
621 Rom 7:1
622 Lee fol LXXVIII verso, citing 2 Tim 4:13. Lee writes: 'You believe that Paul was not very anxious about these matters, perhaps because you do not want him to descend to such humble questions.'
623 Paraphrasing Lee fol LXXIX
624 1 Cor 7:39
625 In the passage excised in *1527*; cf Reeve 730.

comes to life: 'First of all (he says), an indelible character is not imprinted in marriage, as you may learn from the much-disdained theologians, who here can bring an action for calumny against you when you cast in their teeth what is completely at odds with their decrees.'

How Lee never passes up an occasion to incite the ranks of the theologians against me! Yet all the while I have thought better of them, and have deserved better of them, than Lee does himself. I would not approve of theologians if they were all like Lee, who never fails to criticize although he cannot teach us anything. What? Have I ever said that an indelible character is imprinted in marriage? No, but I say that this character is a figment of the theologians, certainly of the Thomists,[626] who perhaps took it from Augustine's battle against the Donatists.[627] The Donatists propose [delibility] as the reason why marriage can be repeated, whereas baptism or priestly ordination cannot. If their reasoning is invalid, does not the character that the theologians have devised also become invalid? However, it does not follow from this that an indelible character is imprinted in marriage. If I lose my Lydian rule,[628] with which I want to examine which angle is oblique and which is right, does it mean that there will be no right angle and no curve?

Concerning Note 224

Lee adds this supernumerary annotation to fan the flames of my unpopularity.[629] It is agreed that for a long time this Epistle was not accepted as authentic by the Roman church, or at any rate was not accepted under Paul's name,[630] because there are things in it that on the surface of the wording

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626 Cf Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae* III 63.1–6.

627 Cf Augustine *De baptismo contra Donatistas* PL 43 107–244. The reference was added in *1522*. Previously the sentence read: 'the Thomists, who propose this reason . . .' etc.

628 This unusual expression, which looks like a combination of the common proverbs 'Lydian stone' (a crucible, *Adagia* I v 87) and 'Lesbian rule' (a pliable rule, *Adagia* I v 93), seems to denote a compass or carpenter's rule. It is also used in *Paraclesis* LB VI *3 verso and *Enarratio in primum psalmum* ASD V-2 52:565 / CWE 63:29. In *Enarratio* the text was changed in editions after 1525 to 'Lesbian rule,' but such an emendation would not suit the present context.

629 That is, this Note does not refer to any specific passage, but discusses the canonicity of Hebrews.

630 The Latin Fathers had long disputed the authenticity of Hebrews. In 1546 the Council of Trent affirmed its canonicity but not Paul's authorship. Modern scholars believe that its author was a Jewish Christian, perhaps an associate of Paul. For Erasmus' view see *Paraphrasis in epistolam ad Hebraeos* CWE 44 212 with n3 and *Apologia ad Fabrum* CWE 83 79–86.

appear not to disagree with Origen's teachings. Lee believes that Paul has abstained from all appearance of evil.[631] I do not know whether this is so. He certainly tried. But what if a fault of perception is the reason something appears to be evil – could it not be said that there is some appearance of evil on that account? But what I said elsewhere is harsher:[632] 'This passage clearly takes hope away from the fallen.' In my annotation on the sixth chapter[633] I explain at length the Catholic meaning of that passage. Why did Lee not interpret this passage along like lines? There at any rate he could have seen that it was not my opinion that hope was taken away from the fallen; rather, it was the opinion of others, who interpreted the passage incorrectly. And yet, because I realized that some were offended by these words, I changed them in the second edition. Lee says:[634] 'If he takes away the hope of the fallen, how can you say the Epistle was accepted by the church when the church condemns what is approved in this Epistle?' The church accepts the Epistle; it does not accept an incorrect interpretation. Just so the church accepts Chrysostom but does not accept what Lee interprets somewhere on the basis of Chrysostom.

EPISTLE TO TITUS

Concerning Note 225

Ante tempora secularia [before the times of the world]:[635] Here Lee says: 'Chrysostom reads *secularia*.'[636] True, but in the Latin version.[637] And Jerome reads as I do: *aeterna* [eternal].[638] He also interprets 'eternal,' but I do not wish to examine in detail the meaning of *ante tempora aeterna*. Certainly[639]

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631 Cf Lee fol LXXX.
632 Cf the annotation *quae consumptura est* (on Heb 10:27) Reeve 726, revised in *1519* and *1522*.
633 Cf the annotation *rursum renovari* (on Heb 6:6) Reeve 719–20, with the substantial addition of *1519*.
634 Paraphrasing Lee fol LXXX verso
635 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Titus 1:2) Reeve 693; see also Note 207 above. Lee's Notes on Titus and Philemon are out of sequence, following on the Notes on Hebrews instead of preceding them.
636 Lee fol LXXX verso, responding to Erasmus' explanation that *secularia* in this context means 'eternal'
637 *Hom in Titum* 1.2 PG 62 666
638 *Comm in Titum* PL 26 (1884) 592B
639 Certainly ... eternal things.] Added in *1522*

[Gregory of] Nazianzus[640] in a sermon plainly states that time is called χρόνος when it concerns created things, αἰών when it concerns eternal things.

Concerning Note 226

Secundum imperium [according to the commandment]:[641] I prefer *delegationem* [mandate] rather than *imperium* for ἐπιταγή. 'Chrysostom,' says Lee, 'interprets *imperium*.'[642] True, but in Latin, speaking a foreign tongue.[643] Otherwise[644] his interpretation favours my position.

Concerning Note 227

Gratia et pax [grace and peace]:[645] I pointed out that the Greek manuscripts omit the conjunction 'and.' Lee confronts me with his Chrysostom,[646] speaking in a foreign language.[647] But what Jerome read is uncertain;[648] what the Greeks read is indicated by the facts. Yet how important is it? This[649] is certainly the reading of a very old text of Chrysostom and also of Theophylact.[650]

Concerning Note 228

Reliqui te Cretae [I left you at Crete]:[651] Since Crete is an island, I point out that it is no better Latin to say *reliqui te Cretae* than it is to say *reliqui Hispaniae* [left at Spain] for what should be *in Hispania* [in Spain]. But Lee says:

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640 *Oratio* 38.8 PG 36 320A–B
641 Cf the annotation *secundum praeceptum* (on Titus 1:3) Reeve 694. See also Note 196 above. *Imperium* in the cue phrase here may have mistakenly arisen from 1 Tim 1:1 or from Erasmus' words in this reply to Lee.
642 Lee fol LXXX verso
643 *Hom in Titum* 1.2 PG 62 666
644 Otherwise ... my position.] Added in *1522*
645 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Titus 1:4) Reeve 694.
646 Lee fol LXXX verso
647 Cf *Hom in Titum* 1.2 PG 62 667, though the PG text has 'and.'
648 *Comm in Titum*, also cited by Lee; the text printed at PL 26 595B includes 'and.'
649 This ... Theophylact.] Added in *1522*
650 *Exp in Titum* PG 125 148B; for Erasmus' use of various texts of Chrysostom see Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 63–4.
651 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Titus 1:5) Reeve 694. Erasmus argues that the Translator should have said *in Creta*, according to the rule from classical Latin that a preposition is used with names of countries and large islands, but not with cities, towns, and small islands.

'Jerome reads thus.'[652] He does, but following the Vulgate translation.[653] Will I not be entitled for that reason to speak good Latin in private, especially when it is 'in Crete,' not 'at Crete' in Greek?

Concerning Note 229

Per civitates [through the cities], κατὰ πόλιν:[654] I pointed out that the literal translation is *per civitatem* [through the city]. Not that I would want to have it translated thus, for I add, 'that is, in individual cities.' And in the text I use the translation *oppidatim* [city by city].[655] What, then, is the point of Lee's annotation,[656] except that he wanted to plump up the number of his annotations?

Concerning Note 230

Subditos esse [to be submissive]:[657] I suggested that the punctuation in this passage is different from what Jerome indicates was in the manuscripts of his time.[658] Here Lee acts as if he had found a lethal weapon. He expresses surprise that we trust in Greek manuscripts on account of a comma placed differently now than it was placed formerly in Jerome's manuscripts.[659] O serious annotations!

Concerning Note 231

Salvatoris [Saviour]:[660] I pointed out that in Greek it was not σωτῆρος ['Saviour' in the genitive case] but σωτήριος, that is, 'salutary' or 'bringing salvation' [in the nominative case]. And so we certainly read in the Aldine edition.[661] Here again Lee cries out that the Greek manuscripts have been corrupted and that our manuscripts are more correct, in this place at

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652 Lee fol LXXX verso
653 *Comm in Titum* PL 26 595D
654 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Titus 1:5) Reeve 694.
655 *Novum instrumentum* II 133
656 Lee fol LXXX verso
657 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Titus 2:9) Reeve 698.
658 Jerome *Comm in Titum* PL 26 (1884) 620B–C
659 Lee fol LXX[XI]
660 Cf the annotation *dei et salvatoris* (on Titus 2:11) Reeve 698; in the 1516 edition the cue phrase was *salvatoris et salutaris*.
661 Cf Aldina fol 425 verso.

least.[662] Let him assume that this is so – what does it matter? And yet what he asserts is not certain. Finally, since the meaning remains the same, how important is it which reading we adopt? If he says, furthermore, that Chrysostom reads as we do, the old Greek manuscripts argue against him.[663] In[664] these manuscripts Chrysostom not only reads σωτήριος but also interprets it, if one reads the passage more attentively. Theophylact[665] certainly reads thus, and even adds the article: ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις [the grace of God, that brings salvation to all men].[666]

Concerning Note 232

Et humanitas [and humanity]:[667] Because the Greek word φιλανθρωπία [kindness] does not permit us to interpret the phrase as referring to the human nature of Christ, I warned the reader not to make the same mistake as some modern theologians. I add that the reference is to the Father of Jesus. Lee wants it to refer to the whole Trinity.[668] But if you do not apply it to the Father, how will it connect to what follows, 'through our Lord Jesus Christ'[669] – unless[670] this construction will be satisfactory: 'Jesus the Saviour poured the Spirit on us in abundance through Jesus Christ.' Ambrose certainly interprets it as a reference to the Father,[671] and[672] he is a writer of somewhat greater authority, I think, than Lee. Nor is he the only one who interprets it as a reference to the Father, although Ambrose by himself should be sufficient protection for me against slander of this sort. Jerome likewise, in his interpretation, indicates that the whole Trinity is meant here. But it will be better, I believe, to quote Jerome's own words: 'Let us attend more diligently and we shall find in the present chapter the Trinity most manifest. The kindness, indeed, and the clemency of our God and Saviour, who is no other than the Father, "by the washing of regeneration and renewal by the

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662 Lee fol LXX[XI]
663 *Hom in Titum* 5.1 PG 62 687–8.
664 In ... more attentively.] Added in *Basel 1520*
665 Theophylact ... ἀνθρώποις.] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Exp in Titum* PG 125 161A.
666 The article in Greek emphasizes that σωτήριος is an adjective modifying 'grace.'
667 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Titus 3:4) Reeve 700.
668 Lee fol LXX[XI]
669 Titus 3:6
670 unless ... through Christ] Added in *1522*
671 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Titum* PL 17 (1845) 502D–503A / (1879) 530C–D
672 and ... our Saviour"'] Added in *1522*

Holy Spirit, which he poured over us in abundance through Jesus Christ our Saviour.'"[673]

Yet I did not affirm what Lee adduces,[674] but modestly added the words: 'As for his calling God "Saviour," it appears that it should be referred to the Father rather than the Son.' Yet Lee lists this among the notes which I did not change,[675] stubborn and unteachable man that I am. Who[676] would not wonder at Lee's exceptional impudence, who without consulting such important exegetes, jumps up immediately to slander what he does not understand? And this is the wonderful annotator who bragged in his letters to friends that there would be nothing left in my work which even Momus[677] could criticize if I had only followed his annotations.

Again he adds something about the article: 'And if he is speaking of the Father,' he says, 'where is that article of yours, when the Greek here is without article: τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ'[678] – as if the article did not precede the phrase here, or as if it could not be omitted for some reason, or as if whenever it is added one must necessarily understand it as a reference to the person of the Father. Lee asks where the article is; I might ask him with more justice where his mind was when he wrote this.

Concerning Note 233

The mere fact that these notes are out of place[679] is proof that they were supplied to Lee by others after he had prepared his work for publication. Since in common language *haereticus* unquestionably means a person who does not hold the right views on articles of faith, I thought it advisable to point out that Paul there was not speaking specifically about this kind of person, but generally about contentious and factious people.[680] Moreover, since I wrote, 'he calls *haereticus* someone who is factious, not someone who differs from the conclusions of university professors,' Lee, immediately seizing

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673 *Comm in Titum* PL 26 (1884) 629A
674 Lee quoted Erasmus accurately. The point of Erasmus' complaint is presumably that Lee did not quote him more fully.
675 Lee fol CVI verso
676 Who ... when he wrote this.] Added in *1522*
677 Cf *Adagia* I v 74. Momus was a Greek god who produced nothing of his own but relentlessly criticized all other gods.
678 Lee fol LXX[XI]
679 See n635 above.
680 Cf the annotation *et genealogias* (on Titus 3:9) Reeve 701, with the modifications of *1519*; the discussion concerns 3:10.

the opportunity, attempts to incite the professional theologians against me. He declaims with remarkable eloquence that certainly a heretic is anyone who differs from their doctrines, provided they are properly fulfilling their function with respect to faith and morals, for there is no one else to pronounce about matters of faith. If their power to decide what is pious and what is heretical were taken away, there will be no one left to whom this task could be entrusted, for the popes make no pronouncements without the theologians. Indeed the church does not approve or reprove anything without judgment. This judgment is reserved for university professors alone.[681] 'The popes,' he says, 'make decisions by virtue of their authority, the professors by virtue of their judgment. If judgment does not precede authority, the authority is clearly deficient and useless.'[682]

While out of hatred for me Lee is immensely flattering to the theologians in this speech, he insults pontiffs, that is, bishops, to whom he attributes authority in a way that deprives them of judgment. Do bishops, even if they are not university professors, have no judgment in the business of faith? He says their authority is deficient unless it is preceded by the judgment of theology professors, as if they habitually judge wrongly about matters of faith and piety, or as if theology professors can never judge wrongly! However, who is depriving the theologians of their power to judge? Or who is disagreeing with them when they fulfil their function properly? But who will decide whether they fulfil their function properly? After all, Lee here implies that sometimes they do not fulfil their function properly, and he will agree, I believe, that what we experience to our great detriment with physicians also happens with some theologians. Learned and trusted physicians are owed great respect. But what are those owed (and they are in the majority) who kill people everywhere for the sake of money and glory? Some even do so out of ignorance. Yet none are more intent on being esteemed as physicians than those who are furthest from it. I have no doubt that Lee thinks he is an excellent theologian, or else he would not knock me about with such arrogance or pronounce on heresies with such authority. Yet the facts themselves show that he is hardly qualified to present himself as a candidate in theology. What cheek, then, for Lee to make pronouncements everywhere, although he has neither authority (for he is no bishop) nor judgment (for he is no theologian)?

Yet I was not speaking of each and every conclusion produced by theologians – Lee, who is never more ingenious than when it comes to slander and sedition, turns 'conclusions' into 'doctrines' – I was speaking in general,

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681 Lee fol LXX[XI] recto–verso
682 Lee fol LXX[XI] verso

meaning that one is not necessarily a heretic if one disagrees with the decisions of some theologians, since not even they themselves agree with each other on many subjects. And there are some conclusions, as they call them, which do not pertain to the business of the Catholic faith. Finally, the task of the theologians is to teach rather than to make decisions. Otherwise, since in practically all things human the larger part overcomes the better part, once the theologians are permitted merely to impose and not also to teach, we run the risk of being forced to follow the worst instead of the best. If the teaching of Christ were merely forced on us and did not also include something that agrees with natural common sense, that has about it the convincing force of genuine truth, we would perhaps not believe even in Christ, in whom we now believe completely. I give more weight to learned, respected, sober, and pious theologians than Lee himself does. I would even dare to affirm this on my sacred oath, and I respect the modern theologians; otherwise I would not consult them as diligently as I do in my New Testament. Nor am I unfair to them because I am not as good as they in the arena in which they are practised – not that I would have been completely lacking in talent, but because the force of destiny has carried me elsewhere. Yet I have had the sort of experience of some people's talent, character, judgment, and erudition that would make me glad to be a 'heretic' in their eyes, though I try, according to Paul's advice, to please everyone if possible.[683] And although the integrity of our faith must be defended tooth and claw in every way, it would perhaps be better not to drag every decision of the theologians or scholastics into the cause of faith in this hateful way. Rather, those things which mould our life to the rule of Christ should be closest to our hearts. Now, however, we are somehow most emphatic about things that are conducive to profit and tyranny. I am speaking of some theologians, not the whole profession. For I know that every sane man among them disapproves very much of the stupid and seditious tumults caused by some. For just as criminals want war because they do not fare well when human affairs are at peace, so these men want to disturb the tranquillity of the Christian commonwealth because it is more profitable for them.

But to conclude, Lee rejects what I said, that Paul here calls the factious man a 'heretic.' 'Someone may be factious,' he says, 'yet not be a heretic.' This is correct in Latin, but in Greek 'faction' and 'heresy' are denoted by the same word, except that the Greek word for 'heresy' has a more positive ring. Is a heretic not factious when he is an adversary of the truth? Yet someone can be 'factious' who causes upheaval by contending about matters that do

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683 Cf 1 Cor 9:22.

not concern faith, as did those who taught Jewish fables and genealogies instead of evangelical doctrine, for it is these with whom Paul is concerned.[684] Or if someone today should cause a tumult by contending that the head of Anna displayed at Düren[685] is not that of the mother of the Virgin Mary but of some other woman. Paul would not want storms and disturbances raised over such things. Finally, what I said here in good faith and in general terms I explain in the second edition, so as to avoid giving offence to anyone.

EPISTLE TO PHILEMON

Concerning Note 234

Donari me vobis [that I am being given to you]:[686] Although the meaning was the same, I noted nevertheless that the Greek is χαρισθήσομαι, that is, 'I shall be given.' This is what the Aldine edition has,[687] this[688] is what Theophylact reads, and Ambrose reads it in the same way.[689] What if Chrysostom[690] or Jerome[691] reads χαρισθήσεσθαι ['to be given,' future tense infinitive]? Yet it is uncertain what they in fact read.

EPISTLE OF JAMES

Concerning Note 235

I suspect that this annotation too was written by another. Let this be a fantasy of mine if you think differently, dear reader. The proof, in my opinion, is that although he does not have a bad case at all, he does not

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684 Cf Titus 1:14, 3:9.

685 In the German Rhineland. Several European shrines claimed to have the authentic relic; cf *Bibliotheca sanctorum* I 1271.

686 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Philem 1:22) Reeve 704; the cue phrase in *1516* and *1519* read *donavi* rather than *donari*. Erasmus here is defending his implication in the annotation that the Latin verb should have reflected the future tense of the Greek.

687 Cf Aldina fol 426.

688 this ... Theophylact reads] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Exp in Philem* PG 125 181C

689 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Philem* PL 17 (1845) 506C / (1879) 534D

690 *Hom in Philem* 3.1 PG 62 715, cited (in Latin) by Lee fol LXX[XI] verso

691 *Comm in Philem* PL 26 (1884) 652D, cited (in Latin) by Lee ibidem.

thunder abuse as he usually does even in a very weak case. I show that the Greek manuscripts have 'by works' where we read 'show your faith without works.' I point out that our reading does not make good sense.[692] But not to be too long-winded, let me explain the matter in a few words. Lee points out that a character is created to answer back.[693] James himself indicates this when he says: 'But someone will say.' But I arrange the dialogue somewhat differently from Lee. For if we attribute the speech 'You have faith' to a person answering James, how does it make sense for a person to lay claim to works who believes that faith without works is sufficient? Or how does it make sense that the apostle who teaches that there is no faith without works wants us to demonstrate faith without works? In my opinion the meaning is this: There were people who thought one or the other was sufficient; James wanted to combine the two. Therefore with the second person he makes one character saying to another: 'You have faith; let that be enough for you. I have works, and this is enough for me without faith.' This conversation is interrupted by James: 'No, neither has what suffices for salvation. Rather, you who boast of your faith, let your actions themselves prove that you have faith, which certainly is not an idle thing. And I shall declare by my own actions that I lack neither.' But, Lee says, the Latin reading does not lend itself to this interpretation. Correct. And that is the reason why I pointed out the Greek reading. You see, dear reader, that Lee's wordy disputation has no relevance to the subject;[694] indeed he did not understand my purpose.

Concerning Note 236

Si Dominus voluerit [if the Lord wills it]:[695] After I had indicated that the Greek text differed from ours, I added: 'But I do not know whether the Greek text is corrupt in this place.' Lee adds: 'You could have often said the same thing before.'[696] What if I had said it, as indeed I have? Lee's

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692 Cf the annotation *sine operibus* (on James 2:18) Reeve 740. Erasmus' reply to Lee's Note 235 lacks a cue phrase.

693 Lee fol LXXX[II]. James 2:18 runs: 'But someone will say: you have faith, and I have works. Show me your faith without [or 'from'] works, and I will show you my faith from my works.' Lee attributed the whole conversation to a person answering James. Erasmus, reading 'from,' attributes the second sentence to James himself. Cf the critical apparatus to the Greek text of this verse in Nestle-Aland.

694 Lee acknowledges his failure to give a satisfactory interpretation at fol LXXX[II] verso.

695 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on James 4:15) Reeve 743.

696 Lee fol LXXX[II] verso

conclusion is that we must not trust the Greek manuscripts. My conclusion, in turn, will be that we must not trust the Latin ones either, for we must make the same observation frequently about them. But what was I to do when the manuscripts were in agreement and when even the Aldine edition read thus?[697] However, there will be no problem if we omit one conjunction and read: ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ καὶ ζήσωμεν ποιήσομεν τοῦτο, that is, 'if the Lord wills it, and we live, we shall do this.'[698]

FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER

Concerning Note 237

In quem desiderant [on whom they desire]:[699] Since the text reads consistently ἅ [which things], I indicate that the reading *in quem* [on whom], found in our books instead of 'on which,' appears to be corrupt. For Peter is thinking of the magnificent promises that were once put forth by the prophet and later displayed to the world through the light of the gospel, being in every way such that they provide a wonderful and glad sight even to the angels themselves. Whoever changed *quae* to *quem* appears to have referred the previously mentioned words to the Spirit. I say that it is no marvel if the angels gladly look upon the Holy Spirit. Rather, in these words Peter praises the majesty of the gospel, which was venerated even by the angels, who congratulated humankind on the wonderful plan of their redemption. For this reason they sing 'Glory to God in the highest.'[700] What is there in these words, dear reader, that deserves reprehension? But observe how much Lee finds reprehensible here. 'First,' he says, 'it could be that here too the Greek manuscripts have been corrupted.'[701] It could be, but it is not likely in view of the complete agreement among them and especially when the meaning is quite suitable, even though Lee is of a different opinion, if only to disagree with me. 'Secondly,' he says, 'Peter does not depict it as

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697 Cf Aldina fol 430 verso.

698 Erasmus' point was that in Greek there was an 'and' after each of the first two verbs, with no formal distinction in the mood of all three verbs (which were all read as subjunctive) to guide the division of the sentence into conditional and conclusion clauses. He omits the second 'and' and also reads the last verb as indicative, thus making it alone the conclusion and the first two verbs conditional (if A and B . . .).

699 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Pet 1:12) Reeve 746.

700 Luke 2:14

701 Paraphrasing Lee fol LXXX[II] verso

a marvel that the angels want to look on.' If he adduces this to aggrandize the majesty of the gospel, does he not depict it as a marvel? 'You could say the same thing,' Lee says, 'if it were a reference to Christ, for the angels have always looked upon him. The angels had long wanted to see the mystery of the incarnation, the cross, the resurrection, and the redemption of humankind, and it was then that they eagerly discerned it. And if the reference is to Christ's birth, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and the sending of the Spirit, it was plainly a marvel.'[702] This is exactly what I adduce, and it does not differ from what Bede adduces out of the old commentaries.[703] The problem concerns the point of reference, as I explain.

Lee goes on: 'What if it were not marvellous? Will it be any less true? In this fashion you could declare many things in Scripture false.' What response does Lee's impudence here merit? Did I say that it was not true that the angels are eager to look upon the Holy Spirit? Is it not true if I show that Peter said something different in this place? Does one speak of falsehood in Sacred Scriptures if he indicates, on the basis of a correct reading, a meaning that does not have Lee's approval? Not content with this, he sinks his fangs into my translation of εὐαγγελισάμενον ὑμᾶς, which for clarity I rendered as *qui vobis praedicaverunt euangelium* [who preached the gospel to you].[704] There was no need for circumlocution, he says. What do I hear? Not even when it is recommended by its usefulness? 'But it disturbs the word order,' he says. In Lee's view, but not in the view of others. For *in quae* refers to the preceding passage, 'which have now been declared to you' and the rest of the clauses that follow.[705] You see how ingenious and diligent Lee is when it comes to slander.

Concerning Note 238

Honorem impartientes [giving honour]:[706] I had shown, on the authority of St Jerome,[707] that Peter is speaking here of occasionally refraining from marital intercourse to allow more opportunities for sacred prayers, and I reject

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702 Paraphrasing Lee fol LXXXIII

703 and ... commentaries] Added in *1540*. The reference is to *Exp in 1 Petri* PL 93 45A–D

704 *Novum instrumentum* II 163. Lee complained that 'to you' precedes the verb in Erasmus' translation, whereas in the Greek text it follows the verbal form.

705 In the same verse, 1 Pet 1:12

706 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Pet 3:7) Reeve 751. The discussion concerns the nature of the honour which husbands, according to Peter, owed their wives as the 'weaker vessels.'

707 Actually Bede *Exp in 1 Petri* PL 93 55C

(perhaps more harshly than is fair) the comment made by Lyra, who interprets this passage as if Peter had advised husbands to take care to provide their wives with decent food and clothing, according to their means and social standing.[708] If Lyra had interpreted it as a general comment on support to be provided to wives, I would not have been so displeased with his comment. But as it is, he touches only on the least important thing. What husband habitually leaves his wife starving and naked? Here Lee first of all takes the liberty of rejecting Jerome's interpretation because Jerome is in the habit of twisting the Sacred Scriptures into an argument against heretics elsewhere too.[709] In the meantime, it seems, Lee has forgotten the harsh reception he gave me in another place,[710] when I said that the orthodox exegetes sometimes do what he states here is done frequently by Jerome, surely the most orthodox writer. What will the heretics say when they hear this? How grateful to Lee will Jovinian be, and Helvidius, Vigilantius and Pelagius?[711]

However this may be, I could not read what follows without laughing, however fierce his accusations. For Lee believes that I was interpreting Peter's words 'the weaker vessel' as a reference to the female sexual organ. Who would not laugh at this? But observe the critical reception I am given by my censor: 'I do not know what could be more inept,' he says, 'than to consider this phrase a reference to a woman's sexual "vessel."'[712] But how did this fantastic idea enter Lee's mind? Can anything like this be concluded from my words? Because I mention intercourse? Although intercourse cannot take place without that organ, speaking of intercourse does not necessarily involve naming the organ. Then he lectures me with great authority that 'weak vessel' here denotes the woman herself, not the sexual organ. 'Do you not know that Paul calls us "vessels of clay"?'[713] And a little further on: 'Therefore you must interpret "weaker vessel" as the opposite of "stronger vessel."' How kind of Lee to tell us this! But even more absurd is what he adds: 'For you will not say,' he says,[714] 'that Peter prohibits all physical contact between spouses. For in that case Paul will contradict you, saying

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708 *Postilla* IV fol yy ii verso #b. In *1527* Erasmus toned down his annotation's criticism of Lyra; cf Reeve 751.

709 Lee fol LXXXIII recto–verso, but Lee does not give this out as his own opinion; he cites Erasmus.

710 Cf *Responsio 3* Note 20 393–4, Note 25 404–5 below.

711 Heterodox leaders of the early church, attacked by Jerome; see *Apologia* n187 and *Responsio 1* n14 and Note 47 n485 above.

712 Lee fol LXXXIII verso

713 2 Cor 4:7; cf 2 Tim 2:20.

714 Lee fol LXXXIIII

"come together again."'[715] Who would ascribe this to Peter? 'This follows from your interpretation: the female vessel is tainted even by the most sacred intercourse. The sexual "vessel," I say, and I add, her whole body.' Why does Lee call this interpretation mine rather than Jerome's? Why does he not quarrel with him rather than with me? And whose words is he quoting when he says that the wife's whole body is tainted, even by the most sacred intercourse? Mine? I have never said such a thing. His own? Where does that leave the argument he maintains elsewhere, that there is nothing shameful in either the sexual organ or in intercourse itself?

But my teacher continues, showing from the very context that Jerome's interpretation is completely insane. 'In what sense shall we say "giving honour to the female sexual organs, so that they are not tainted by lust, for they are the joint heirs of divine grace"?'[716] Thus Lee. What those who read this stuff will say I do not know. My guess is that many will say the writer was not free from fever. But Lee continues to treat the passage in the spirit in which he began. 'What interpretation can be more shameful and more boorish? Is the female sexual organ a joint heir of divine grace?' Thus Lee. What if someone reading Paul's reference to us as joint heirs of Christ[717] thought the pronoun 'us' referred to pumpkins, would that make pumpkins the joint heirs of Christ? What commotion this man causes on account of his own ignorance! And it was not enough for him to spout such stuff (I almost said such insane stuff) once only. No, he says it emphatically over and over again. If he wanted to reason in this manner, why does he not quibble also that Peter ought to have said ἐνοικοῦντες [dwelling in] rather than συνοικοῦντες [dwelling together], since he was, according to Lee, speaking of the sexual organ?

The remaining arguments that he heaps up here do not have much to do with me. But not to leave Jerome completely undefended, listen, dear reader, how this passage makes sense. Peter had taught that wives also should obey their husbands as their lords. He admonishes husbands in turn to yield to their wives, who are the weaker vessels, that is, more inclined to carnal things and more subject to caprices, but to yield to them wisely, that is, with discretion, and not to oblige all their whims as Adam did. They should not allow them to be immoderately subservient to physical desire, but should accustom them instead to pursue spiritual yearnings and make time for more honourable and sacred occupations. They should not think that women have no other role than sexual gratification, for they are joint

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715 1 Cor 7:5
716 The words 'as joint heirs of divine grace' follow at 1 Pet 3:7.
717 Rom 8:17

heirs of a life of grace. And since they are called to receive the same prize, it is fair that they should show equal zeal and compete with their husbands in matters that concern piety. Offering pure prayers to God is the Christian form of sacrifice. This sacrifice must be offered to Christ frequently and in a state of purity, vigilance, and chastity. Furthermore, one must often, or if possible completely, abstain from intercourse. For physical indulgence impedes holy prayers. Here it is: I have arranged for you the whole passage according to Jerome's interpretation. Nor have I passed over any of Lee's objections. What is absurd here? What boorish? What shameful? Where is the rest of Lee's thunder that struck us recently? As for my opinion of Jerome's interpretation of this passage – I need not give it. It is enough that I have refuted Lee's invective, although it is more an attack on Jerome than on me. Indeed Jerome is such a great authority that one who follows him, even in error, should not be subjected to insults.

Concerning Note 239

Mortificatos quidem carne [put to death in the flesh indeed]:[718] I had shown that scribes corrupted [Christ] *mortificatus* and *vivificatus*, changing it to [us] *mortificatos* and *vivificatos*. The Greek manuscripts support this conjecture, and the context itself suggests this reading; Jerome quotes it thus in Isaiah, chapter 44,[719] and so does Augustine, Epistle 90, to Evodius.[720] In Sermon 14 on the words of the apostle,[721] he likewise clearly interprets this as a reference to Christ's death and return to life. There can be no doubt therefore that our books are flawed. Nor will Lee deny it, I believe, although he has some doubt about whether 'my' manuscript is free of error,[722] as if the reading would be found nowhere but in 'my' manuscript. So I am supposed to check whether the Greek manuscripts vary. Let Lee check this himself; I am satisfied that many arguments point to the same conclusion. And it should have satisfied Lee, if he were not so eager to disagree with me that he prefers being wrong to being right in my company.

But the man is upset because I had added: 'How relevant is it to recount here the interpretations of this sentence, dreamed up by those who know no Greek and merely follow not what Peter wrote but what a scribe

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718 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 Pet 3:18) Reeve 752.
719 *Commentarii in Isaiam* 15 PL 24 (1865) 540B
720 Now numbered Ep 164.6 PL 33 716
721 Augustine, now numbered *Sermo* 294.16 PL 38 1345
722 Lee fol LXXXV

corrupted? I could examine each point and inveigh against the unbearable arrogance and ignorance of those who, in matters that cannot even be read correctly without language skills, announce with the authority of an oracle whatever they have dreamed up.' Here Lee first of all accuses me of remarkable inconsistency. 'I wonder,' he says, 'how you can be so inconsistent, failing to keep to one position and changing around, leaving nothing undone in your effort to criticize certain exegetes.' Lee, by contrast is very consistent, always true to form, leaving nothing undone to slander Erasmus! But listen to my novel inconsistency, dear reader. In the first Epistle to Timothy, chapter 3, I disagree with Valla,[723] who was offended that the assumption [of Christ] was called a mystery; I wonder why he is not more offended by Christ's being called 'justified,' since superficially and at first glance the latter is more absurd. For we generally call someone 'justified' who is changed from an unrighteous into a righteous man. 'There,' Lee says, 'you barely tolerate God's being called "justified," here you practically insist that he should be called so.' I do not 'barely tolerate' it there; I refute Valla, confronting him with a similar expression, since at first glance the expression had offended him. Nor do I insist here that we must do the same. Is it the same to say 'Christ is dead and has come to life' and 'Christ has been justified'? Did Christ not die? Did he not return to life? But Christ never lacked righteousness, not even according to his human nature. Here you have the pretty beginning of Lee's quarrel: 'You lash out at the wretched interpreters,' he says, 'as you do everywhere.' Can there be a plainer lie? How many times do I cite them with expressions of respect, even the more recent ones, St Thomas and Lyra, with whom I may sometimes disagree but whom I more often indulge?

Lee says Jerome and Augustine, whom I appear to emulate, acted differently. No wonder! They did not lay eyes on such glosses as we read today or they might have spoken more sharply if men like these had treated Sacred Scriptures in their time. But even so Lee's statement is wrong. Does not Jerome treat Rufinus with more hatred than I treat anyone of the modern interpreters?[724] Is it not known what he said of the commentaries of Ambrose?[725] Or about the talent and learning of Augustine?[726] Does he not openly criticize Hilary for showing off Greek flourishes even though he

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723 See Note 203 n539 above.

724 Cf *Contra Rufinum* PL 23 (1883) 415–518.

725 Perhaps Erasmus had in mind passages in which Jerome refers to Ambrose as a former Marcionite, for example *De viris illustribus* 56 PL 23 (1883) 703B.

726 Perhaps a reference to their dispute on Gal 2:11–14; see *Apologia* n309 above.

has a tenuous grasp of Greek?[727] Not to mention men like Jovinianus, Vigilantius, and Helvidius.[728] Yet I do not criticize any interpreter by name here but only touch in general on some who, like Lee, rely on Scripture as they encounter it, and do not consult the interpreters of old or the Greek manuscripts but want their dreams to be taken as certainties and oracular pronouncements. And yet none make more claims for themselves, none cling to their views more tenaciously, than men of no judgment. Is not everything full of glosses of this kind? Do they not err everywhere because they do not know even the Latin language? Is it any wonder that this has happened to others when it happens so many times to Lee in this little book? But Lee says it is no crime if the interpreter is deceived by a corrupt reading and interprets it in a way other than it ought to be, as long as there is no damage to Catholic truth. But if we forgive the mistakes of the Translator wholesale, do we think that there is no damage to Catholic truth? And what does he call 'crime'? A deed that warrants capital punishment? I nowhere call it a crime but a remarkable and embarrassing mistake. After that Lee produces trivialities, defending those who, ignorant of the Greek language, have dealt with Sacred Scripture for some years. He defends them by saying[729] that those must be praised who brought to the treasury what they could, according to their slender means.[730] He obviously has a worse opinion of St Thomas, Bonaventure, and Lyra than I have.

But to pass over many things so as not to burden you, dear reader, it is worthwhile to hear what weapon he uses to put pressure on me. 'If you consider it a crime,' he says, 'that they dare to expound the text without knowing Greek, how will you escape censure when you expound in Latin the Gospel of Matthew, which has been translated from Hebrew into Greek, and likewise the Epistle to the Hebrews, although you know no Hebrew?'[731] Let us grant that these were written in Hebrew, although I suspect that it is otherwise; I shall escape censure through the same crack that

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727 Cf Jerome Ep 58.10 PL 22 535. Erasmus' text in LB omits a sentence found in earlier editions: 'Does he not criticize him twice in the dialogue he wrote against the Luciferians, and quite harshly: once concerning his view on the second baptism of Arians, and again because he was inconsistent?' Cf ASD IX-4 275. The references are to *Dialogus contra Luciferianos* 21, 26–7 PL 23 (1883) 184B, 189B–190B.

728 See n711 above.

729 Lee fol LXXXV verso

730 Cf Luke 21:1–4.

731 Lee fol LXXXVI

Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerome do.[732] For why should necessity not excuse us? No one has seen the Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew or of the Epistle to the Hebrews. What is left but to draw from the closest pond when we do not have access to the source itself, and[733] there is not even a hope of gaining access? In any case, since what the other evangelists reported in Greek was spoken by Christ in Hebrew,[734] there are perhaps some things that are not completely understood from the Greek language. Yet I am not interpreting the Gospel of Matthew as does Hugh of St Cher or others who write commentaries. Finally[735] Lee will forgive me, I believe, for he is guilty himself. He was not afraid to interpret the Gospel of Matthew in the house of the Franciscans,[736] and to teach what he had never learned. Furthermore, what Lee recites here about the admirable simplicity of the interpreters, about their sanctity, their zeal, their usefulness, their candour, the fact that they never disagree with one another, never criticize anyone, never leave the path of true faith – who does not see how far he is from the truth? How great is the disagreement between Thomists and Scotists, between Nominalists and Realists! Has Thomas nowhere been criticized, or Scotus, or Occam? How fortunate these exegetes are to happen upon such a man to broadcast their glory!

Lee does not finish the discussion without a final jab. 'Let me add,' he says, 'that their ignorance of Greek perhaps did not harm the church, whereas I see that some men, glorying in their knowledge of the Greek language, make great claims for themselves to the detriment rather than the nourishment of faith.'[737] I make very little claim for myself, whereas Lee, who is inexperienced in Greek, makes such great claims for himself in the Greek language – of course to the great advantage of the church! But he adds a little honey to the poison. 'Nevertheless,' he says, 'I do not

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732 For Matthew cf *Responsio 1* Note 2 86–7 with n83; for escaping through a crack cf *Adagia* III ii 75.

733 and ... gaining access] Added in *1522*

734 In the preface to the *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* Erasmus likewise implies that Jesus spoke Hebrew; see Ep 373:187–8 = Reeve [fol a5]. In *1535* he added 'or Syriac' (that is, Aramaic).

735 Finally ... had never learned.] Added in *Basel 1520*

736 The houses and *studia* of the mendicant orders at Louvain were incorporated in the university. Lee, however, appears not to have been a member of the theological faculty though he may have taught in the house informally. Cf H. De Jongh *L'ancienne faculté de théologie à Louvain au premier siècle de son existence (1432–1540)* (Louvain 1911) 47–9, 144–5.

737 Lee fol LXXXVI verso

discourage anyone from consulting the Greek manuscripts, if only he does it devoutly and soberly and his interpreting is governed by respect for the faith.' What? Would no one have dared to consult the Greek manuscripts if Lee had discouraged it? What[738] danger is there in doing what so many excellent Fathers did themselves and recommended us to do?

EPISTLE OF JUDE

Concerning Note 240

Since Lee thought he had fought fairly and squarely with respect to *soli sapienti Deo* [God alone wise], he renews his triumph here,[739] although there he did not understand what I had said. 'I have laid this sufficiently to rest before,' he says, 'but it will be done even more thoroughly in this passage.' What will he put to rest more thoroughly here? My claim that σοφῷ [wise] has been added in Greek? The texts prove this, whereas our manuscripts have *soli Deo*. But he says it has not been added to argue against the Arians. I do not assert this; I only put forth a conjecture of mine.

APOCALYPSE

Concerning Note 241

Mittens per angelum [sending by an angel]:[740] I point out elsewhere as well[741] that the verb ἀποστέλλεσθαι means 'being sent' in the sense of a legate being sent with instructions. For example, Herod sent men to cut off John's head.[742] Secondly, I point out to the reader that when he says 'sending by an angel' we must supply that an instruction was being sent with the angel. Lee does not deny this, interpreting it to mean 'a revelation having been sent.'[743] What then should my annotation contain in his opinion? For I am

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738 What . . . to do?] Added in *1522*
739 Lee fol LXXXVI verso, discussing the annotation *soli deo* (on Jude 1:25) Reeve 776. See also Note 199.
740 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rev 1:1) Reeve 776.
741 See Note 77 above.
742 Cf Matt 14:10.
743 Lee fol LXXXVII

praised by him for not changing anything in the text. He implies of course that doing so would have constituted a huge risk.

Concerning Note 242

Ego sum alpha et Ω [I am the alpha and the omega]:[744] Since the Greek has *τὸ α καὶ τὸ ω*, Lee reasons that the Son here is called the beginning in the absolute sense,[745] speculating far too freely concerning the Greek article, about which he understands nothing. For who does not know that the article is added in Greek when the letter itself is meant? This is also the case when the word itself, not the thing, is denoted; for example, if you say that Greek *ὄνος* [donkey] is derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀναίομαι* [from 'bray'].[746] But here Lee makes a detour, turning to the Arians. They concluded from the added article, he says, that only the Father was truly God; for it was not added to the Son. Not so. The Arians never dreamed of this – it was dreamed up by Lee himself. And I have shown that what he said before[747] is nothing but stuff and nonsense.[748]

Concerning Note 243

Because the book of the Apocalypse never found much favour with the Greeks, it is rare among them. Hence, since I did not want anything to be missing from our edition, I extracted with some difficulty a very old codex containing commentaries on this work from the famous scholar Johann Reuchlin. From it I had the words of the text copied out. But at the end these words had been omitted by the carelessness of the scribes: 'And if anyone shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the book of life and from the holy city and from the things which are written in this book.'[749]

I realized what had caused the scribe to make a mistake. Since the words 'in this book' are repeated,[750] his eyes skipped to the second phrase,

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744 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Rev 1:8) Reeve 777.
745 Lee fol LXXXVII
746 *ὀναίομαι* appears to be an Erasmian neologism, used to underline the silliness of Lee's argument. The meaning 'bray' is the English translator's suggestion.
747 See Note 70 above.
748 Literally 'towns like Trica and Apina,' that is, insignificant; cf *Adagia* I ii 43.
749 Rev 22:19; cf the annotation *etiam venio cito* on this verse, Reeve 782. See also *Apologia* n218 above.
750 They appear at the end of Rev 22:18 and again at the end of Rev 22:19.

omitting what was in between. Indeed, no stumbling block more frequently trips up scribes. There was no doubt that the words had been omitted, and they were only a few. To avoid leaving a lacuna in my text, I supplied the Greek out of our Latin version. I did not want to conceal this from the reader, however, and admitted in the annotations what I had done.[751] My thought was that the reader, if he had access to a manuscript, could correct anything in our words that differed from those put by the author of this work. You can see that Lee is making a tragedy out of an insignificant matter. And yet I would not have dared to do in the Gospels or even in the apostolic Epistles what I have done here. The language of this book is very simple, and the content has mostly a historical sense, not to mention that the authorship was once uncertain. Finally, this passage is merely the conclusion of the work.

But Lee thinks he has found excellent grounds, and he discourses at length, declaiming as if I had restored the Greek out of the Latin everywhere and immediately erased what was in our [Vulgate] in conformity with what I found in the Greek, and as if my giving, in some places, a variant translation based on the Greek cast aspersions on our reading. I, however, have translated the Greek with the intention of leaving the final judgment up to the reader. Indeed in some cases I express my own preference for our [Vulgate] version. Nor do I want the Greek manuscripts to be trusted unless the matter is evident by itself, or supported by old Latin manuscripts, or shored up by approved exegetes of both languages. Although I said this emphatically so many times, Lee closes his ears to it and sings his own song,[752] putting pressure on me with ridiculous alternatives: 'If the Greek text is good,' he says, 'why emend it? If it is bad, why are you so eager to change our text, to reject, and condemn it, relying on theirs?'[753] Impudent words! Where do I correct a good Greek text? Or where do I reject our text merely on the basis of the Greek reading without additional arguments? Because I have in one case added a few words which were certainly missing, do I correct the Greek manuscripts? He adds another set of alternatives which is no less charming: 'If the Latin manuscripts provide a good text, why emend them according to the Greek original? If they provide a corrupt text, why do you rely on them and add it to the Greek?'[754] Both syllogisms rely on the assumption that the Latin and Greek manuscripts

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751 The admission was deleted in *1519*; cf Reeve 782.
752 *Adagia* II v 76
753 Lee fol LXXXVII
754 Lee fol LXXXVII recto–verso

are not corrupt unless they are corrupt everywhere; that they are not correct if a single mistake is left in them. Where do I emend our Latin if it is sound? Or what prevents us from trusting in a book that is free of mistakes in one place, though it is not completely flawless elsewhere? Should a painter not use a beautiful body as a model because it has a wart or a mole somewhere? What if I conclude from the same dilemma that we must not emend any book, or even read it? If it is good, why emend it? If it is bad, why read it, why trust it? If the Greek manuscripts need the help of the Latin, he says, and the Latin the Greek, they will both be in the same position. Let the Greeks keep their reading, and we shall keep ours.[755] What? Do we not keep our reading, including even the mistakes, dust and all, as they say? Does it follow that we are deprived of our reading because in my translation I clarify the Greek reading for those who are ignorant of the Greek language? And how much sense is there in what Lee adds: 'Unless you alone venture to make the two versions agree, something Origen – or perhaps it was Jerome – never ventured to do, as he said of himself in the homilies of Origen.'[756] When I state so many times that I do not criticize the reading of the church, that I do not take on the task of pointing out where the Greek text should be trusted and where not, but that I reserve all of this for the Roman pontiff,[757] what was the point of spouting such groundless, indeed such virulent, abuse? Of the same stripe is what follows: 'By restoring one text out of the other and vice versa, you cast doubt on both, and the more so since certainly not everyone will subscribe to your judgment.' If both are in doubt because neither is completely free of mistakes, no book at all will be free of doubt, for no book is completely free of mistakes. And why should everyone subscribe to my judgment when I myself declare that I do not wish anyone to trust my judgment? This authority is reserved for Lee, who in every case discerns the truth, who never goes wrong.

But listen to Lee's poisonous words: 'What danger there is in the revised books I shall not say at present, but I am very much afraid that we shall learn the danger once we are in the midst of it.' These are Lee's words. I, in turn, believe that all the danger we must fear lies in the mad brains of certain rabble-rousers, who would rather see the whole Christian common-

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755 Paraphrasing Lee fol LXXXVII verso

756 Cf *Hom in Luc* 1 PG 13 1802A–1803B. Lee wavers between assigning the statement to Origen or his translator Jerome.

757 Erasmus repeatedly expressed his deference to the judgment of the church, but rarely, if ever, to papal authority in particular. Cf Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 28–31.

wealth in turmoil than risk not being appreciated themselves. I do not know what danger there is in my research. It is certain that men of the highest authority and supreme scholarship, who live a holy life and command the foremost respect, openly say that they have learned much from my works that they had not noticed before. Many say that they were roused to the study of divine letters, and some of them are so gifted that Lee in my view hardly appears worthy to look after their kitchens. I say this not because I feel such complete disdain for Lee but because they excel him so far in their singular talents.

But listen to poison that is even more virulent: 'Even if our ancient text does not everywhere quite match the Greek,' he says, 'it has never given us heresy, never kindled a schism, never given a handle for slander to heretics, has always showed the Catholic meaning, for the exegetes worked diligently to make the meaning compatible with our faith, even if it did not agree with the Greek reading.' I do not believe that Lee is stupid enough not to realize that scholars will consider this completely lacking in sense, for his words are spoken with great hatred. But relying on the foolishness of some people, he dared to write this kind of stuff in his mad hatred for good letters. And here he has a stream of words, if it please the gods! You would think he was made for invective. But what is Lee saying? Before the appearance of my revision of the New Testament, there were no heresies, no schisms? Whence did Pelagius derive his error? Whence emperor Julian his blasphemy?[758] Whence the Bohemians,[759] whence John Wycliffe,[760] and innumerable others besides them? They certainly were ignorant of Greek, nor did they know any version other than the traditional one. But whence did the heresies of the Greeks arise?[761] From variants in the text? Not at all, but rather from a different interpretation. Nothing precludes a different interpretation based on the same text. I do not – let me repeat this often – I do not disturb the reading of the church. Let Lee point out even one passage in which what I note disagrees with our text and has given rise to a heresy

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758 For Pelagius see *Responsio 1* n14. The Roman emperor Julian the Apostate (332–63) grew up as a Christian but later opposed Christianity in his writings as well as in government.

759 Probably Hussites, followers of Jan Hus (1372/3–1415), who was condemned by the Council of Constance (1414–18) and burned at the stake. For Erasmus' attitude to various heterodox movements in Bohemia cf Ep 1039.

760 John Wycliffe (1320/24–1384), English philosopher and theologian. His position at court protected him against papal censures. He was posthumously condemned by the Council of Constance in 1415.

761 Cf Ep 304: 125–7.

or a schism, or has offered heretics a handle to slander the Catholic faith.[762] Let Lee assume that I somewhere put into my annotations what diverges from the truth – must we hold textual variants responsible for an occasional mistake of mine? Jerome errs sometimes, even in matters that pertain to the Catholic faith. Must we impute this to a textual variant introduced by him? Of what heresies, of what schisms is Lee speaking? Are these critical words aimed at Reuchlin? But elsewhere, if I am not mistaken, he calls him the parent of all virtue.[763] At Luther? Then why does he not aim his eloquent darts at him? Whether Luther erred somewhere is neither for Lee nor for me to judge. In my opinion he is a man richly endowed with talents. May[764] he use them for Christ's glory. And yet, if Luther errs, he does not do so on account of a variant reading. Or does Lee mean Lefèvre? This man commands such respect from everyone, either because of his age or because of the sanctity of his life or because of the sleepless nights he has expended for the benefit of the public, that no one before now has accused him of heresy.[765] Only Erasmus is left, at whom these darts appear to have been aimed. Indeed, in the whole book Lee concentrates all his energy on the attempt to turn everything, even if it is well said, into heresy; but he has had no success so far. On the contrary, while trying to make me out as the author of heretical doctrine, he reveals his own nature. I shall not say what his nature is; the reader understands my meaning without words. Does Lee think it is schism if a few demagogues have been roused to anger, even though so many excellent leaders of the church embrace with great enthusiasm the work I have expended on revision of the New Testament? They are angry because they do not want to appear ignorant of anything, or because they are of a stolid cast of mind and consider heretical anything they themselves do not know, or because they hate good letters and therefore condemn everything out of hatred for the author – even what is correct. If there is any tumult here, let the agitators be held responsible who loudly declare before uneducated people that a man has appeared who corrects the Our Father,

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762 Cf *Adagia* I iv 4: *Ansam quaerere* 'To look for a handle.'

763 Cf Ep 1061:228–38.

764 May ... for Christ's glory.] Added in *1522*

765 Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples came under attack from the Sorbonne in the following year, 1521. He withdrew from Paris and settled in Meaux, where he enjoyed the patronage of Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet, who was sympathetic to reformation ideas. To escape further harassment Lefèvre left for the imperial city Strasbourg in 1525, but was recalled by Francis I, who appointed him head of the royal library and tutor of his children. In later years he was protected by the King's sister, Marguérite of Navarre.

who corrects the Magnificat, who corrects the Gospel of St John, who subverts the authority of Sacred Scripture.[766] These agitators everywhere mix up the business of good letters with heresies and Antichrists, and go on about this at banquets, in coaches, in ships, in council meetings, whispering it at secret confessions;[767] and they blather such stupidities that they are ridiculed even by laymen and women who are endowed with a little more intelligence than they. These are the men who as far as in them lies create schisms. Men who write books like this one of Lee's are the authors of sedition, not I, who share what I have to offer and leave judgment to the church.

But the quarrel is not yet over. He is surprised that I have not been deterred even by this present passage from daring what I have dared to do.[768] Ridiculous! I would like Lee to answer me this question: If he had found that a typesetter or scribe had omitted something in the manuscript he submitted or had copied, would he have been deterred by this prohibition from adding what had been omitted? If he did not have access to a Latin manuscript and knew the passage had to be added, would he be too afraid to add it on the basis of the Greek, at least until he could obtain a Latin manuscript? And why should this law deter me from adding anything or taking it away? To restore what is lacking is not 'adding.' On the contrary, I would have diminished the text if I had not added what was clearly lacking. You see, dear reader, that Lee has made a horrible tragedy out of a matter of no importance.

I believe I have now responded to Lee's first book, as far as time allowed. Now I am preparing to tackle the second book, in which he brought together twenty-five new annotations, to make us believe that he had put nothing from my second edition into the first set, although he occasionally betrays himself. But why was it necessary to separate these sections when Lee's work was published almost half a year after the second edition had appeared? Unless he calls 'new notes' those that came to him from elsewhere, which I do not doubt is the case in many of them. Since he saw that they were very few in number, he tacked on three indexes to form the beginning of that volume:[769] a head suited to the body.

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766 Cf *Apologia* nn181, 182, 183 above; Rummel *Catholic Critics* I 140–3. Erasmus may have been thinking specifically of Baechem, who attacked these changes in his sermons.

767 Cf Ep 1053:426–35.

768 Lee fol LXXXVII verso

769 See Erasmus' preface to *Responsio 1* 70 and n3 above.

RESPONSE TO EDWARD LEE'S NEW ANNOTATIONS AGAINST ERASMUS

[MATTHEW]

Concerning Note 1

Et tu Bethlehem [and you, Bethlehem]:[1] Because St Jerome twists and turns here,[2] I had proposed two ways in which this difficult question could somehow be settled, but I proposed it without affirming anything, stating that I was merely providing the reader with food for thought and comment. One solution is to understand the expression *nequaquam es minima in millibus Juda* [you are by no means the least among the thousands of Judah][3] as hyperbole, that is, meaning 'you are not even among the number.' In this way the meaning will be the same in the evangelist, who denies that Bethlehem is the least, and the prophet, who says it is. Lee does not criticize this explanation; he criticizes the alternative.[4] The alternative explanation is that we must understand that the evangelist cites the words of the prophet with a modification of his own in the middle, adjusting to his subject and his own time the words of the prophet, who said with regard to his own time 'you are insignificant among the thousands of Judah.' For in his day it was still a small village, obscure and neglected. The evangelist said with regard to his own time 'now you are by no means the least among the princes of Judah' for you have been ennobled by such an offspring. Here Lee is offended because this interpretation does not connect well with what follows: 'for a ruler shall come forth from you.' If the whole expression had been coherent, why would I have said that the evangelist suddenly changed his point of reference in the middle of it? When he said 'you are by no means the least,' he said so looking back; when he added 'for from you shall come forth,' he returned to the vantage point of the prophet. I am not demanding that

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1 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Matt 2:6) Reeve 13–15, with the long addition of *1519*. The problem tackled by Erasmus is the apparent discrepancy between this verse and Mic 5:2, quoted by Matthew here.

2 *Comm in Matt* 1 PL 26 (1884) 26C; cf *Commentarii in Michaeam* 2 PL 25 (1884) 1196D–1198B.

3 Matt 2:6, with *millibus* 'thousands' from Mic 5:2 in place of Matthew's *principibus* 'princes.'

4 Lee fol CVIII recto–verso

much weight be given to my conjecture; I merely wanted to refute Lee's objections. Lee adds a third explanation by which this knotty question can be resolved.[5] It is not my intention at present either to refute or to approve his suggestion.

Concerning Note 2

Ad duriciem [with respect to your hardness]:[6] Among other things I offer there, I include these words: 'Furthermore, since they generally say today in universities that marriage is contracted by consent alone, I say: if only this view were as long-standing in observation as it is in tradition!' Lee does not see what else could be wanted to legitimize a marriage, as long as words of the present tense are applied;[7] and he adds a charming bit of mockery: 'unless he wants the oracles consulted as well.'[8] What then was the additional point required for so many centuries by Greeks, by Romans, and by Jews? The consent of parents or guardians, of course! And perhaps it would be better to have this observed today as well; then we would not have so many ill-assorted marriages contracted by youngsters under the influence of wine or on the instigation of pimps and madams. But who among the exegetes of old mentions words in the present tense? Who said that a marriage contract drawn up with words in the future is changed to words in the present tense once intercourse has taken place? Who among the writers of old distinguished between contracted and consummated marriage? Who said that a marriage contracted but not consummated is dissolved by 'entry into religion' – if[9] I may use their terminology? Is not all of this the terminology of jurists, and of modern jurists at that? It is to these considerations that I refer in my annotation when I wish that the point were as well observed as it is traditional.

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5 Lee fol CVIII verso, suggesting that Mic 5:2 means 'it is of no significance that you are among the thousands of Judah' rather than 'you are of no significance' etc.

6 Matt 19:8; cf the *1519* annotation *quacunque ex causa* (on Matt 19:3) Reeve 78. For an extended discussion of questions of marriage and divorce see Note 17 below.

7 And not of the future tense ('I will marry you').

8 Lee fol CVIII verso

9 if I may use their terminology] Added in *1522*. In *Ecclesiastes* III Erasmus criticized the technical use of 'religion' to mean 'religious life' in a monastic order; cf ASD V-5 190:790–823 / LB V 1022C–1023A.

[MARK]

Concerning Note 3

Tabitha cumi:[10] I had pointed out that *tabitha* did not simply mean 'look' but 'lift up your eyes,' since the Hebrew word has both meanings. Lee does not deny this, though he interprets *facias respicere* or *fac respicias* [see to it that you look].[11] Yet what I added there about the Hebrew word I added on the advice of Johannes Oecolampadius, who must be given more credit in these matters, I believe, than several Lees.

[LUKE]

Concerning Note 4

Adaperiens vulvam [opening the womb]:[12] Lee was not content to talk nonsense about male seed just once. He repeats the same story, saying: 'It does not sound right to me to say that the Holy Spirit slipped into the womb of the Virgin like male seed, for there was neither male seed nor anything that resembled it.'[13] But in the second book[14] I have shown that what does not sound right to Lee's ears sounds right to the ears of the church. For the church sings: 'not of a man's seed, but from a mystical breath.'[15] Since the same thing happened in the belly of the Virgin as usually happens in other pregnant women, what produced this effect? The Holy Spirit, of course,

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10 Cf the annotation *Tabita cumi* (on Mark 5:41) Reeve 125. Erasmus' 'Tabit(h)a' instead of the familiar 'Talitha' here and in the annotation is also found in the Froben-Petri Vulgate cited *Responsio* 2 Note 171 n348 above, and in the Vulgate in his 1527 *Novum Testamentum*; by then he had changed his own translation to 'Talitha.'

11 Lee fol CIX. Erasmus' interpretation was also criticized by the Spanish philologist and biblical scholar Antonio Nebrija (1441/4–1522), who was involved in the preparation of the Complutensian Polyglot; see Rummel *Catholic Critics* I 154–5. Erasmus removed the interpretation in *1527*.

12 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 2:23) Reeve 165.

13 Lee fol CIX

14 That is, the first book of the 1520 Froben edition (which did not include the *Apologia*); cf *Apologia* n312 above, and see *Responsio 1* Note 32 134–5 above.

15 Ambrose *Hymnus* 4 PL 16 (1845) 1410 / (1880) 1473–4; see *Responsio 1* Note 32 n374 above.

who effected this conception. But [one may say] there was no male seed there. Yet there was something which had the same effect as is produced in other women by the power of male seed. Lee says that what I say cannot be concluded from the words of Origen. One may indeed conclude this, for he writes in this manner: 'I daresay the words that are written, "The Holy Spirit shall come upon you and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you,"[16] indicate the beginning of the seed and the conception, and a new foetus grew in her belly without an unlocking of her womb.'[17] Since he says that her womb was not opened, and since he says that the Holy Spirit came upon her, does he not clearly state that the Holy Spirit was in some way the agent and shaper of that conception and foetus?

Concerning Note 5

Qui vos spernit, me spernit [he who despises you, despises me]:[18] I had warned readers that we twist this passage to support our tyranny and that we must each remember our respective functions: the people, that it owes obedience, the priests, that they must teach what is worthy of Christ. Lee dins into my ears: 'They have sat on the throne of Moses. Do what they say.'[19] But Christ says of the same men elsewhere, addressing his disciples: 'Leave them be; they are the blind leading the blind.'[20] I frequently advise elsewhere also that we must obey even evil princes as long as they command what is honourable, or indeed as long as they command what may be unjust but does not make us impious, though it may make us suffer.[21] However, if a bishop teaches what goes against the teaching of Christ, do you want me to obey him? Those who teach what Moses taught 'sit on the throne of Moses.' He meant that those must be obeyed who teach honourable things, although they lead an evil life themselves. I teach the same thing. I call it 'tyranny' if someone teaches his own doctrine, not that of Christ, and forces people to obey when he cannot persuade them. O weighty annotation! If only there were not so many people of this kind that my counsel seems in vain.

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16 Luke 1:35
17 *Hom in Luc* 14 PG 13 1837A
18 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 10:16) Reeve 187–8.
19 Lee fol CIX verso, citing Matt 23:2
20 Matt 15:14
21 Cf the annotation *quae autem sunt a deo* (on Rom 13:1) Reeve 417 and CWE 56 347: 'the godly must sometimes bear even bad rulers'; Epp 1039:123–4, 1218:38–40.

Concerning Note 6

Quod superest [what is left over]:[22] I point out that, although mention has been made of robbery,[23] under the heading of remedies no mention is made of restitution. Lee interprets this to mean that I am indicating that restitution is not required.[24] I am very much in favour of restitution, so much so that I want to see restitution enjoined on those whose evil tongue harms the reputation of their neighbour! As it is, the same people who urge restitution of property a thousand different ways blithely forgive themselves on this point. The reason is that in the one case there is certainly a gain to be made, in the other there is no compensation. Yet I do not completely approve of this view in what follows. Lee claims credit for this, saying: 'Furthermore, to speak my mind, without however affirming anything, it seems to me that this passage smacks of irony, as if the meaning were: You believe that once you have given alms, all sins are abolished. Take satisfaction in this opinion – as if to hint that they were far from right.'[25] Thus Lee's words. Consider now, dear reader, whether I have not written the same thing first. My words are: 'It is undecided whether δότε means "give!" or "you give." According to the first reading the meaning will be: you think that by giving alms you are freed from all blame for robbery, as long as you give a little of it to the poor. The meaning of the second reading is evident.'[26] Yet it is a little awkward to connect this exhortation with the words that precede and follow it, which have an element of reproach rather than counsel. Otherwise how does it make sense that he suddenly makes them out to be completely purified after giving alms, when just before he depicted them as so wicked? Disregarding this, Lee brings in the comment as if it were his own, hunting after a bit of false glory. I wonder, however, why he preferred to say τὴν εἰρωνείαν rather than

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22 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 11:41) Reeve 191.

23 At Luke 11:39. ἁρπαγή, translated by *rapina* ('rapine,' 'robbery') in the Vulgate, can be rendered as 'extortion,' 'avarice,' 'greed' etc; see also the *1535* additions to the annotation *quod superest* (on Luke 11:41), where the application of *rapina* is discussed, and to the annotation *intus est vestrum* (on Luke 11:39) Reeve 191.

24 Lee fol CIX verso

25 Lee fols CIX verso–CX; in speaking of 'irony,' Lee uses a Greek phrase, τὴν εἰρωνείαν. Below Erasmus makes fun of Lee's use of the article in this expression.

26 Cf the annotation *date eleemosynam* (on Luke 11:41) Reeve 191; its cue phrase was *verum tamen date eleemosynam* from *1516* to *1527*.

εἰρωνείαν, whereas elsewhere he is not all that favourably disposed towards articles.[27]

Concerning Note 7

Sed nunc qui habet sacculum [but now he who has a satchel]:[28] Although I demonstrate with so many arguments and on the authority of so many writers that this passage about the swords must be considered allegorical, and although I explain this matter at length, Lee picks out a few words to find fault with.[29] 'You criticize Augustine,' he says. But I do so while prefacing my disagreement with a long declaration of respect.[30] Anyone who wishes may read the passage and will find that it is so. In any case Lee does not refute my words but merely explains Augustine's interpretation. He adds that Bernard was of the same opinion,[31] as if I did not know that everything is full of comments of this kind. For I believe that Peter here represented a type not of the Roman pontiff but of the whole Christian church. It does not follow that Christ forbade warfare because he freed the minds of his disciples from a desire to take revenge. Nor does it follow that Christians are not permitted to wage a just war because Christ did not teach this in the gospel, for he did not teach us either that we should extort money from our debtors through the courts.

[JOHN]

Concerning Note 8

Out of a great heap of words, Lee picks something to criticize.[32] It is: 'Whenever that true and only God is denoted, the article is always added.'[33] Lee states that these most dangerous words are found also in the first edition, although he made no note on them, sparing me, I suppose. But it would have

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27 Cf *Responsio 1* Note 70 above.
28 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Luke 22:36) Reeve 209–13. The discussion concerns the swords mentioned in verses 36 and 38; cf Reeve 212.
29 Lee fol CX verso
30 His words begin: 'How much weight this has, I leave others to ponder, lest I seem to speak rather harshly about so great a Doctor of the church'; cf Reeve 212.
31 Bernard of Clairvaux (1090/91–1153) Ep 256.1 PL 182 464A
32 Lee fol CX verso
33 Cf the annotation *erat verbum* (on John 1:1) Reeve 220.

been better if he had omitted mentioning the matter here as well. He would have taken better care of his reputation, and his ravings in previous notes on the subject of articles,[34] of which he understands nothing, were more than sufficient. I take 'God' here to mean the godhead, the term which includes the three Persons. Here, however, he is not compared with the three Persons, but with false gods, who are nevertheless called 'gods.' 'Furthermore,' Lee says, 'if you mean by "only and true God" the Father, then neither the Son nor the Holy Spirit will be the "only true God"; if you mean the divine nature, since you will not deny that the Word and the Holy Spirit too are that one and true God, it would not have been absurd to say ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος [the Word was the God]. However, you do not admit this. For you say that if the article is added the Father is meant.'

Stop! How many times do I have to listen to the same thing? What am I to do with a man who is unwilling to learn and incapable of teaching? How many times am I to explain that, if the article added there denotes the Father, it does not follow that it denotes the Father whenever it is added? This can be seen from what follows shortly thereafter: 'and the Word was God.' In this case the article is not added to 'God', although it denotes the true nature of God. And here I explain why it cannot be added in that passage.[35] It is absent not because the Son is not truly God but because the divine nature is attributed to the Son, and it could not be attributed to him if the article were added, as I already have demonstrated earlier at length. Although I explained this in detail in the second edition, Lee still cannot see that to say ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος is absurd and impious, at least in this place. Or does he think he would not be ridiculous enough in the eyes of scholars unless he declared this emphatically and many times over?

Concerning Note 9

Quadraginta sex annis [forty-six years]:[36] I do not criticize Augustine,[37] as Lee says in his usual fashion;[38] I express surprise that he found the number

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34 See *Responsio 1* Notes 70, 75, 78 above.

35 Cf the annotation *et deus erat verbum* (on John 1:1) Reeve 221; see also *Responsio 1* Note 70 above.

36 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 2:20) Reeve 233.

37 *Tract in Joan* 10.12 PL 35 1473. Augustine argues that the number forty-six is contained in the Greek letters of Adam's name (the Greeks used the letters of their alphabet as numerals in their number system). Following Jerome, Erasmus rejects this argument because the Old Testament, and thus Adam's name, was written in Hebrew, not in Greek.

38 Lee fols CX verso–CXI

forty contained in the letters of the Hebrew word, although this does not make sense, I believe, except in Greek. Lee says it means the same thing in Hebrew. If this is true, it does not argue against me. For I did not deny that it was contained in Hebrew when I said 'perhaps he would have a point, if this number were signified also in the corresponding letters in Hebrew.' Yet I suspect that the Hebrew – if it contains this – was borrowed from the Greek. Even so, Augustine has drawn his conclusion about the numbers from the Greek, not the Hebrew.

Concerning Note 10

Non enim ad mensuram dat Deus Spiritum [for God does not give the Spirit according to measure]:[39] Although the meaning is 'he does not give the Spirit *to the Son* according to measure,' the Evangelist nevertheless omitted a pronoun, and, following him, our Translator did likewise. To make the phrase more lucid, I added it on my own account, but only in the translation,[40] not in the Greek. Here Lee once more strikes me down with my own weapon:[41] 'In the next chapter you wonder how the words "the middle of" slipped into the text when the old Latin and Greek manuscripts had nothing but "through Samaria."[42] Here the reader will equally wonder how the pronoun "him" slipped in, which you have added.' Thus Lee. But the cases are not similar. For there the meaning and the wording were unproblematic, if we accept the reading of the correct manuscripts; here there was a stumbling block, and it appeared that something was lacking in the meaning. Nor is there any danger of anyone wondering how the pronoun slipped in, for I myself state that I added it and I explain why I added it. Finally, the Translator often does elsewhere what I do in this case.

Concerning Note 11

Principium qui et loquor vobis [the beginning, I who also speak to you]:[43] Here Lee criticizes me for changing the reading of the church[44] and, by translating *in primis quod et loquor vobis* [in the first place, that I am even speaking

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39 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 3:34) Reeve 235.
40 Erasmus added *huic* 'him' in *Novum Testamentum* (1519) 1 195.
41 Cf *Adagia* I i 51; Lee's comment is at fol CXI.
42 Cf the annotation *per mediam Samariam* (on John 4:4) Reeve 235.
43 Cf the annotation *principium qui et loquor* (on John 8:25) Reeve 246–8.
44 Lee fol CXI

to you], for giving it a completely different meaning.[45] He makes this criticism even though I demonstrated that our manuscripts were not free of error here; I demonstrated that I did not approve of the meaning introduced here by some people; I showed that there were slight variants even in the Greek; I followed the meaning which attracted me more than the others, the meaning that I see was approved by Chrysostom.[46] If τὴν ἀρχήν means 'first' or 'entirely,' and if you read ὅτι λαλῶ ὑμῖν, how else could it be rendered but *in primis quod et loquor vobis*? The meaning is therefore: among other things, this especially will add to your impiety, that I am telling you this; if I were not doing so, you would be less to blame.

Concerning Note 12

Te solum verum Deum [you, the only true God]:[47] I had added in this place: 'This more than any passage gave the Arians occasion to err and say that only the Father was truly and properly God – perhaps they meant that he alone was the source of divinity, which our theologians do not deny.' Here Lee, who is elsewhere so hard on the Arians, appears to aid them for some reason or other, no doubt out of hatred for me. Next, I believe, it will come to pass that if I write more harshly hereafter against the Arians, Lee will become their champion. He says[48] that the Arians agree with us that Christ was true and perfect God, notwithstanding the term 'alone.' Nor, he says, did this passage occasion their error; that was clear from the disputation between Augustine and the Arian bishop Maximinus, whose statement he adduces from Augustine's book.[49] But in the words quoted by Lee I read that the Son was true, that he was perfect, that he was wise, that he was powerful, but I do not read that he was truly and properly God. It could be that not all Arians hold the same beliefs, just as the Stoics do not agree on everything among themselves (for some do not accept the concept of ἀπάθεια [freedom from emotion]) and not all Academics[50] hold the same views. It could be that Maximinus concealed some aspect of his opinion. But[51] he

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45 *Novum Testamentum* (1519) I 210; *in primis* means 'principally' or 'in the first place.' Lee suggested that *principium* was a noun, 'the beginning.' Cf *Responsio 1* Note 93 above.

46 Cf *Hom in Joan* 53 (52).1 PG 59 293.

47 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on John 17:3) Reeve 262.

48 Lee fol CXI verso

49 *Contra Maximinum* 2.15.3 PL 42 779

50 Followers of Plato at the Academy of Athens, dissolved 529 AD

51 But ... said no such thing] Added in *1522*

does not conceal it very effectively, for in the tenth article he speaks of the Father in this manner: 'But because [in Maximinus' opinion] he alone is the one perfect God, who, as you yourself [Augustine] explained, received his life from no one and who, after his own example, granted the Son possession of life in himself.'[52] I am surprised that Lee did not notice this, although he reads Augustine day and night!

But let him assume that Maximinus said no such thing; it is sufficient for me that Hilary in *De Trinitate*, book 4, cites this passage among others that provided the Arians with a seedbed of error. Hilary says among other things: 'The Arians, however, believe that only the Father is the true God, only he is just, only he is wise, and according to them the Son is separated from participation in these qualities. These specific properties, as they say, are not shared by the other. If they are thought to be found in the Father alone and not in the Son, it is necessary to believe that the Son is a false and foolish God.'[53] He[54] repeats this in many places in the books he wrote concerning the Trinity. Furthermore, in the epistle he wrote against Auxentius of Milan he states even more clearly what Lee says is not the case. 'If the Arians truly say he is God,' he says, 'they have genuinely professed Christ, but if they call him God though not true God, they give him the name but deprive him of true divinity.' And again a little later: 'While we had agreed to write that Christ is true God [*Deum verum esse Christum*],' he says, 'and that he is of one divinity and one substance with the Father, Auxentius, like the devil most cunning, has set forth a view which says that Christ was born before all time, God, true Son [*Deum verum Filium*], with *verum* referring to the Son, not to God, according to the Arians. And to show far more clearly the difference in this interpretation, there follows that in the expression *vero Deo Patre*, the Father is truly God, whereas concerning Christ it is written only that he is the true Son.'[55]

Where does this leave Lee's authoritative teaching concerning the Arians? Does Lee know better than Hilary what they meant? Unless perhaps Lee will say that Hilary slandered the Arians in writing this. If[56] he distrusts Hilary, let him read Auxentius' confession, which immediately follows that

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52 *Contra Maximinum* 1.1.13 PL 42 718

53 Cf *De Trinitate* 4.9 PL 10 102B–C; the text Erasmus quotes differs in some details from that in PL.

54 He ... what they meant?] Added in *Basel 1520*

55 *Contra Auxentium* PL 10 614C–615A. In the phrase *Deum verum Filium*, literally 'God true Son,' 'true' can be taken to modify either 'God' or 'Son.'

56 If ... made up anything.] Added in *1522*

passage,[57] and he will realize that Hilary has not made up anything. Indeed, when Chrysostom expounds this passage,[58] he likewise rejects the interpretation of the Arians, because they wished the Father alone to be true God in a sense that denied that this quality belonged to the Son or the Holy Spirit. What other heretics can Lee name who said that the Son of God was God but denied that he was true God? Some denied that he was a man; others denied that he was God, and this was the fabrication of the Arians, as Jerome attests in the dialogue against the Luciferians. 'Arius,' he says, 'believed in nothing other than the Father, the only true God, and in his creature Jesus Christ the Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the servant of both.'[59] Again in the same work: 'or taught by the Arians that the Father was the one true God, he believed that the Son and Holy Spirit were his creatures.'[60] Here[61] then is the second piece of evidence, but I believe Lee does not touch these authors, being completely attached to Augustine's books. I could add more on the subject, but this seems to be sufficient to refute Lee's charges that I slander the Arians; an assertion he makes elsewhere as well. Even[62] if there are people in the Arian faction who say that the Son of God is God or God the Great, what I have adduced is true, unless by chance Lee believes it is a lie if someone says that the French like bacon although there are some among them who do not.

Concerning Note 13

I had added in passing in my annotation: 'I do not consider it impious if anyone says that the Father is the only true God, that is, the only source of the whole godhead.'[63] Lee admits that this is not impious, but nevertheless affirms that it would be inept to interpret it in this manner. 'For who would call Adam the only man,' he says, 'because he alone is the source of

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57 Cf Auxentius' letter to the emperors Valentian and Valens, PL 10 617–18.

58 *Hom in Joan* 80 (79).2 PG 59 435

59 *Dialogus contra Luciferianos* 9 PL 23 (1883) 172C. The quotation was extended in *Basel 1520*.

60 Ibidem 12 PL 23 (1883) 175B

61 Here ... on this subject, but] Added in *Basel 1520*

62 Even ... who do not.] Added in *1540*

63 This Note continues the discussion of the annotation *te solum verum deum* (on John 17:3) Reeve 262. Erasmus' statement is cited in this form at Lee fol CXII. In the annotation he had written: 'I do not know whether they meant that he is the only beginning of the deity (something our theologians do not deny).' He deleted the statement in *1527*.

the human race?' What Lee assumes here, I have granted him before,[64] but only for the sake of discussion, nor shall I attempt now to retract what I granted. But Lee need not think that I have no answer. I shall say what St Hilary does,[65] attributing to each Person its proper quality. 'Eternity,' he says, 'is found in the Father, appearance in the image, use in the gift,' meaning that the term 'eternal' is properly applied only to the Father. Lest anyone doubt what I say, I shall add the words of Augustine, who explains this passage in *De Trinitate*, book 5, chapter 10. 'Someone,' he says, 'wanting to indicate in brief the properties of the Persons in the Trinity says: Eternity is found in the Father, appearance in the image, use in the gift. And since the author has considerable authority in expounding Scripture and in establishing faith (for it is Hilary who said this in his books), I shall scrutinize to the best of my ability the hidden meaning of these words. I believe that Hilary used the term "eternity" for no other reason than that the Father does not have a father from whom he originates, whereas the Son derives from the Father his existence and the fact that he shares eternity with him.'[66] Thus far Augustine. This is Hilary's view, expressed in somewhat different terms in book 2: 'Infinity,' he says, 'in the eternal, appearance in the image, use in the gift.'[67] Eternity is an absolute term, yet Augustine, following Hilary, attributes it to the Father properly, for no other reason but that the Father can be understood to be eternal in a particular and proper sense in which the Son is not.

Similarly I have shown before on the authority of Ambrose and Chrysostom that only the Father is called immortal, invisible, and wise, because he alone did not derive from anyone the qualities of being immortal, invisible, and wise, but was the source of these things in others.[68] If we accept this, what would prevent us from calling the Father the only true God as well, because the term 'God' applies to him in a particular sense in which it does not apply to the Son or the Holy Spirit. For he is God in the sense that he is the source and author of all divinity. Furthermore, if Lee objects that it is inept to call Adam alone man because he alone is the source of humankind, there is no great similarity here, even if we grant it for the sake of discussion. There is no similarity, first of all, because Adam

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64 Cf *Responsio 1* Note 92 above.
65 As cited by Augustine; see next note.
66 *De Trinitate* 6.10 (not 5.10, an error introduced in the editions after the first) PL 42 931
67 Hilary *De Trinitate* 2.1 PL 10 51A
68 See *Responsio 2* Notes 199 and 200 above.

is not the source of humankind, in being the first created among human beings, in the same sense as the Father is the source of divinity for the other Persons. Secondly, the term 'God' does not lack all relativity because it is a term of excellence. Hence we commonly call excellent men 'gods.' And we add designations: God 'of the Jews,' God 'of all,'[69] as if to say 'first among all.' St Hilary certainly does not scruple to attribute pre-eminence to the Father, for he says that the Father has greater authority than the Son, but in such a way that the Son is not inferior, for the Father grants him equality.[70]

Concerning Note 14

I had noted in a few words that some priests and bishops have not acted rightly in selecting among Christ's words those that support pride and tyranny, leaving out the part in which they are reminded of their duty.[71] We forever have on our lips 'whose sins you remit,' but there is no mention of the preceding 'receive the Holy Spirit.'[72] Lee agrees with this but says: 'Yet if I am to believe, as some heretics did, that this power is void in the case of wicked priests, the church execrates and condemns that view.'[73] But why should Lee have conceived such a suspicion, which cannot possibly be deduced from my words? Yet Gratian in Part 2, causa 1, question 1, cites a great deal out of orthodox writers that, unless it is twisted to mean something else, sounds exactly like the view some heretics held.[74] I find Augustine's simile attractive; he says that seed cast on the ground by an ignoble and dirty hand brings forth shoots nevertheless, and water carried through an irrigation ditch fertilizes the garden, although the ditch itself is all befouled.[75] Nor have I ever given any indication that I am of a different

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69 Rom 3:29, Ecclus 36:1

70 Cf Hilary *De Trinitate* 9.54 PL 10 324B–325B.

71 Cf the annotation *dixit ergo eis iterum, pax vobis* (on John 20:21) Reeve 267.

72 John 20:23, 22

73 Lee fol CXII verso

74 Gratian *Decretum* C 1 q 1. The *Decretum Gratiani* or *Concordia discordantium canonum*, a collection of biblical, patristic, and early medieval authoritative texts, was assembled c 1140 by Gratian (d c 1150), the 'father of canon law.' A private scholarly work designed to resolve contradictions in the sources, it functioned in practice as a source of law (cf *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* 1.13 CWE 71 41). Together with the Decretals of Gregory IX (see n93 below), the *Liber sextus* of Boniface VIII (see n193 below), and three later collections of decretals it formed the *Corpus iuris canonici*.

75 Augustine *Tract in Joan* 5.15 PL 35 1422; Erasmus, however, thinks of a dug ditch rather than Augustine's stone channel that carries clean water.

opinion. However, the more we detest the opinion of heretics, the more we must take care lest our life provide them with an occasion for error.

ACTS

Concerning Note 15

Confitentes et annuntiantes actus suos [confessing and declaring their deeds]:[76] I had noted some things concerning this passage: 'From this passage at any rate it can be deduced that there was even in ancient times a kind of confession that one had led a wicked life, but an open confession, I think, and a general one, and even about this we do not read that it was required of anyone, except[77] in serious and manifest sins. The secret auricular confession practised now, however, appears to have developed out of private consultations usually sought with bishops when someone's mind was tormented by scruples.' Lee opines that it seems to him 'both truer and safer to say that we are commanded by the authority of God to confess thus.'[78] I have no objection to saying that it is safer, as Lee puts it. Whether it is truer is not quite apparent to me yet, especially since he adds 'confess thus.' For it cannot be denied that some aspects of confession have been instituted by human beings; for example, the right time to confess, the suitability or lack of suitability of the priest, reserved or unreserved cases,[79] the form of absolution. For all these things are included in the adverb 'thus.' Secondly, is what the church institutes on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit not instituted by God? For whereas I do not wish to attack the scholastics' doctrine which states that no sacrament can be instituted by the church,[80] I still do not see that it matters whether Christ himself instituted all the sacraments or the church instituted some of them, but on the authority of the Spirit of Christ. We do not read that Christ instituted secret confession, and yet they believe what they have not read; and I believe what the church has instituted, what is approved by public consensus, that it has been given to us by the Spirit of Christ and through him by Christ himself. This, I believe, must be observed no less than if Christ himself had handed it down to us. But

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76 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Acts 19:18) Reeve 315.
77 except ... sins] Added in *1522*
78 Lee fol CXIII
79 That is, cases reserved for the bishop's or the pope's decision
80 See for example Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae* III 64.2 ad 3.

since we are dealing with a matter of faith, I wonder why Lee would want to separate what is safe from what is true, as if what is most true ought not at the same time be also very safe. The Stoics certainly do not separate the useful from the honourable. Secondly, what did Lee mean when he said that this was 'truer'? Can anything be truer than the truth? If it is true that this confession was instituted by human beings, how can it be truer that it was handed down by Christ? Or can something be truer that is not true? For both statements cannot be true. The statement that it was instituted not by Christ but by human beings is diametrically opposed, as they say,[81] to the statement that it was instituted by God. Perhaps Lee meant by *verius* 'more like the truth.'

As for the rest of the arguments Lee brings against me, I have no intention at present of responding to them with matching thoroughness, for I would rather appear insufficiently ingenious than learned and sharp-witted at the cost of endangering myself or providing a stumbling block to others. I shall merely say that we need not fear much at all that this practice of confession will be abolished, be it divine or human law. And if the church, on the authority of the Holy Spirit, abolishes or changes something that has been instituted on the same authority, what danger would there be? After all, the prohibition against eating blood or strangled animals was abolished, although it was instituted by the leader of the apostles in a synod and at the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[82] Someone will say: that was a temporary institution. So I interpret it, and correctly, I think. But what prevents us from applying a similar interpretation here? For Lee heaps up a great mountain of difficulties if we do not say that confession was instituted by Christ.[83] 'If secret confession has no other force,' he says, 'than that of a human decree, it could be abolished by disuse like other positive laws, as they are called. The pontiff on his own authority could even abolish the law governing this mode of confession. And so the apostolic authority to bind and to loose, at least as far as hidden sins are concerned, would be rendered void as a result, for if no one confesses his sins to a priest, how will he be absolved? Who can make himself judge over things that he does not know? And how can a priest know secret sins unless they are confessed by the sinner? I consider it both truer and safer to say that we were commanded by the authority of God to confess thus. Otherwise where does this leave the precept: "Go and show yourselves to the

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81 *Adagia* I x 45
82 Cf Acts 15:20 and 29; 21:25.
83 Lee fols CXII verso–CXIII

priests"?[84] And where does it leave the authority given to the Mosaic priests to distinguish between leprosy and leprosy, between cause and cause, between blood and blood?[85] And how will the good shepherd recognize the look of his flock,[86] or how will he make whole what is broken[87] if he does not know that it is broken? This charge is entrusted to priests by the law of God. The law of God commands him to recognize the look of his flock. Therefore the law of God commands the sheep to put away their mask, that their face may be recognized. They must show themselves to the priest if they want their leprosy to be recognized. And when the leprosy is inside, they must open their innermost heart, which is infected by leprosy. If anyone conceals even the least spot of leprosy, since the priest does not discern it, the sufferer from leprosy is not yet freed of it. Being unclean, he must therefore remain outside the camp, as the Law commands.[88] And the Apostle warns that these actions have figurative importance for us.'[89]

I have quoted Lee's disputation to this point so that you may understand, dear reader, that this is the man who alone combines Scotist acumen with Attic eloquence.[90] And he acts here as if what is decreed by the authority of the church and approved by public consensus and tradition has very little weight, although Augustine states that he attributes his belief in the gospel to the authority of the church.[91] If Lee is speaking of the confession practised today – the method of confession practised today, including its attending circumstances – what would stand in the way of its being abolished if it has developed out of a tradition in Christian religion? If it is correct that secret confession is simply positive law, as men of exceptional authority appear to have thought before I said it,[92] what is so monstrous about saying that the law concerning confession can be abolished by the Roman pontiff? Even those who greatly desire that confession be seen as a divine law admit that we are not obliged to confess except once in our lifetime. This was tightened to annual confession by papal authority in

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84 Luke 17:14
85 Deut 17:8
86 John 10:14; cf Ezek 34:16.
87 Ezek 34:1–16
88 Lev 13:46
89 1 Cor 10:6
90 *Adagia* I ii 57, alluding to the proverbial eloquence of the Athenians
91 *Contra epistolam Manichaei* 1.5 PL 42 176
92 Cf 374–7 below.

the chapter *Omnis utriusque sexus*.[93] If the pope tightened the law in this way, can he not also relax it and restore the original status? If this happens, how small a part will be left of the burden of confession, I ask? For I shall not adduce here that some people have taught that under certain circumstances the pontiff can make dispensations from what has been handed down to us in the New Testament, including the Gospels.[94] If this is correct, it would not be absurd if the pontiff for legitimate causes and suitable reasons abrogated the law concerning confession, even if it was instituted by Christ. And I say this not on the basis of my own view but following the opinion of those who wrote such things yet are read as orthodox writers to the present day. Now, I do not greatly favour their opinion, for this reason at any rate, that there is enormous danger in entrusting so much power to one person. However, if it should happen that the obligation to confess is abolished, it will not therefore follow that the apostolic power to loose and bind is invalidated. For there will still be the authority to excommunicate and to absolve, which Paul used in the case of the man who had married his father's wife.[95] There will still be the power to absolve those who frankly confess that they are sinners, the kind of absolution which in Italy is given during mass, and in our country after the public sermon.[96] Finally there will still be the kind of confession that was practised by the ancients, who sometimes prevented people who had made a general confession from taking communion and later readmitted them. They imposed on them a penance and either raised or reduced it as they considered best.

But Lee says that a sinner cannot be absolved unless he has confessed his sins. If this is true in every case, how can sins be remitted through baptism although they have not been confessed? And by the laying on of hands after baptism? How do they even now absolve people from sins that they

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93 X 5.38.12 (Innocent III). The *Decretales Gregorii IX* or *Extravagantes* (commonly abbreviated as X) is a collection of papal decretals of more recent date than the *Decretum* (cf n74 above). It was compiled by Raymond of Peñafort (1175/80–1275) under Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) and officially promulgated by the latter in 1234.

94 See 391 below.

95 Cf 1 Cor 5:1–2.

96 On the history and formulae of the penitential rite and non-sacramental absolution at the beginning of the mass and after the sermon cf J.A. Jungmann *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origin and Development* (New York 1950) I 300–11, 490–4.

forgot to confess? If only the sins that are confessed to the priest by name can be remitted, all the sins that escape our memory will remain with us. Can a creditor not forgive a debt unless the debtor enumerates the individual items of the sum he owes? For I shall not bring up here the story of St Aegidius, who remitted, on the information of an angel, a sin that Charles was unwilling to confess.[97] Nor is Lee's added comment to the point: 'Who sets himself up as judge over things he does not know?' For it is one thing to be a priest, another to be a judge. What can a judge decide unless he knows the nature of the case? Nor can a priest give appropriate counsel unless he knows the matter. But it is one thing to absolve, another to counsel. By the authority given him the priest forgives even those sins on which he passes no judgment, as long as the penitent understands what he is saying. What is the difference between one who does not know that a sin has been committed and one who does not understand the nature of the sin committed? Yet[98] the theologians say that the person is absolved by the power of the keys. If leprosy means sin and scabies venial sin and if only what is distinctly understood is remitted, how many cases are there in which not even theologians can make a distinction between the two?

It is ridiculous, however, that Lee adds 'Go and show yourselves to the priests.' Does he believe that the law concerning confession was instituted by these words? What theologian of any standing has ever taught this? Is 'show yourselves to the priests' the same as 'confess to the priests'? It is well known for what reason Christ commanded them to go to the priests, namely to confirm faith in the miracles before everyone. They had been judged lepers by the priests. The disease was, then as now, considered incurable. He sends them back there so that the same judges by whom they were judged lepers might confirm that they were cured. If anyone twists this into an allegory, first of all he is doing so in a forced manner that is contrary to the example of the exegetes of old; secondly an allegory does not carry enough weight to validate a sacrament of the church. Otherwise any disease of which Christ relieved sufferers, indeed the fact that he cured the possessed and raised the dead, would have to be considered an allegory of confession. But Durandus, book 4, distinction 16, question 8,[99] does not mention leprosy when he lists

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97 Cf the anonymous tenth-century life of St Giles (d 720/5) *Vita S. Aegidii* 3.21 in *Acta Sanctorum* 69 vols (Paris-Rome 1863–1940) XLI 302–3; cf also *Bibliotheca sanctorum* IV 958. 'Charles' is Charles Martel, majordomo of the Frankish kingdom 714–41.

98 Yet ... between the two.] Added in *1540*

99 Actually *Commentaria* IV 17.8, fol 342 recto–verso

the figures and images representing our confession in the Old Testament; he mentions the burnt offerings that were offered to expiate sins.

But what follows is even more absurd: 'Where does that leave the authority that was entrusted to the priest, to decide between leprosy and leprosy, etc.' What? Lee takes it badly that the priesthood of the Mosaic law has disappeared? By the same token, why does he not ask why we do not sacrifice animals, why we do not keep sabbaths, why the dietary laws are not observed, why we do not permit priests to take wives? He will be told: because Christ is after all the end of the Law. If the priesthood is transformed, a transformation of the Law must come to pass as well. Here again Lee takes refuge in figurative speech. But I say that figurative speech does not carry enough weight in so momentous a question, especially when the ancient exegetes, and among them Augustine, interpret leprosy as heresy, not just any spiritual flaw.[100] Add to this that the figure does not square with the business at hand. Assume that leprosy is any kind of sin, that the Mosaic priest represents a Christian priest. They merely established that there was leprosy; they did not cure the person. They pronounced him a miserable wretch, they did not free him from his misery. They kept him outside the camp, we bring them back into the bosom of the church. Lee says: 'If he conceals even the least spot of leprosy, the sufferer from leprosy will not yet be free of it, since the priest does not discern it.' If this is correct and if we interpret leprosy to represent any sin, we will be obliged to confess to the priest any faults, however venial, which no theologian asserts. But what is Lee's view? Does he believe that the leper was freed from the disease after the priest had established its presence? For so it appears from his words. And where does he read that a priest distinguishes between leprosy and leprosy? Our texts, at any rate, have at Deuteronomy 17 'between leprosy and not leprosy.'[101] And if anyone has confessed to a priest a sin that he cannot with certainty declare venial or mortal, what will Lee answer? Does he absolve him or not? If what the biblical passage calls 'discern' corresponds to 'remit' in our practice, he who does not discern does not remit.

Secondly, if 'being kept out of the camp' means being separated from the community of Christian people, even those who have confessed are not kept out now. Finally, if no one is freed from leprosy who does not show himself to the priest, the men [in the Luke passage] were already purified before they showed themselves. You see in how many ways the figure

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100 *Quaestiones evangeliorum* 2.40 PL 35 1354–5

101 Deut 17:8, also cited 364 above. Both readings are found in the manuscripts by modern scholars; cf Weber's apparatus on this verse.

differs from our confession and is more in agreement with the views of those who believe that confession was once a consultation.

What does Lee call 'broken' then? Does it apply only to those who are subject to sin? But they too who are weighed down by poverty, overwhelmed by the tyranny of the powerful, tormented by grief are 'broken.' The good shepherd must come to their aid as well, although I do not deny that this can be done also by the priest who admonishes and reforms sinners, gives them hope of pardon, and teaches them the way to better things. To know what evil weighs each one down is 'to know one's flock.' Can this not be done unless we reveal all the secrets of our heart, even what we dream at night? Does not the vigilant shepherd know his flock by their deeds, their words, their gestures, the very look on their face, and their reputation? If a shepherd must know the look of his flock and cannot do so except by secret confession, and when today the monks commonly called mendicants have the power to absolve, how will a shepherd know the look of his sheep? What if the penitent makes up things, how will the shepherd know him? But he is obliged to know him! You will say: as far as possible. But that would apply even if we did not have confession in the present form. Finally, if the shepherd is told to know his sheep in order to help them because they have no brain and no hands and do not know how to help themselves, it seems that those are not obliged to confess who know their own illness and know the remedies to cure their illness, namely by imposing on themselves the fasting, alms, and prayers that a priest would impose on them. Finally, what is said in the prophet to shepherds applies not only to bishops but also to princes. For Augustine in his exegesis of this passage, or whoever it is Lee is following, does not explain it in the manner suggested by Lee.[102]

My remarks so far are not meant to disturb in any way the custom of the church, but to show that what Lee adduces is not effective proof that this method of confession is prescribed by divine law. I am in favour of confession, as I am obliged to be, and nothing will ever be found in my writings to the contrary. Yet I would hope that we not twist to a different purpose what was introduced to relieve the minds of simple people and to promote Christian piety. Nowadays we see very many [priests] who feed their curiosity on confessions of this kind, others who under this pretext commit unmentionable deeds, others who are weak and whose life is infected, as it were, by contagion, especially from the recital of kinds of libidinous desires,

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102 Augustine *Sermo* 46 PL 38 270–95, expounding Ezek 34:1–16. On Lee's possible collaborators, see *Apologia* n106, and *Responsio* 2 Note 161 n311 above.

whereas[103] it is the better part of innocence not to know evil. Furthermore, with this weapon others fortify their tyranny over the people to whom they should be as fathers; and for many confession is nothing but a net to draw in profit, a desire that has infected every part of Christian life. They are not satisfied if we confess once a year according to the instruction of the Roman pontiff;[104] they are grieved that confession is not made daily. They are the ones who ensnare the minds of simple people with so many scruples because it is to their advantage that no one have a peaceful and serene conscience. Yet[105] the church does not prescribe these snares; some textbook writer makes them up out of his own head and exaggerates them.

These people are not satisfied that we obediently embrace confession as handed down to us by the church on the authority of the Spirit of Christ. For they fear that if this yoke is lifted from the necks of us Christians, they will be reduced to starvation and left out in the cold, whereas now they rule supreme and unrestrained. If only there were a law that nothing should pass into the hands of a confessor, no ill-gotten gain, nothing from legacies, no donations, no profit whatsoever should accrue to a priest from a confession! On the contrary, let the priests pay a fee to the penitent, to attract them to a thing that is itself unpleasant, as money was once paid to theatregoers;[106] and may I be struck dead if those who now contend with all their might that this confession is imposed by divine law would not join the other side and keenly defend as orthodox what they now loudly declare to be heretical two and three times over! It is their fault that the people can hardly bear this burden aggravated in so many ways, and that they often complain, asking why so harsh a yoke was imposed on free Christians. Someone may say: what is the purpose of this speech? My purpose is to show that I do not disapprove of the laws and traditions of the church, but rather of the morals of those who badly abuse what was well conceived. I accept confession and practise it as the church practises it; I merely call into question whether this form of confession was instituted by Christ. Nor do I assert anything here, stating twice that I offer theories, not doctrine, first when I say 'as I think' and afterwards when I say 'it appears to have developed.' And I am surprised that Lee did not add here what was added in the margin, something that he does diligently elsewhere whenever it can be twisted against me. Here he omits the marginal note because it is in

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103 whereas ... to know evil] Added in *Basel 1520*

104 See n93 above.

105 Yet ... exaggerates them.] Added in *1522*

106 This phrase was attacked by another critic; cf *Manifesta mendacia* CWE 71 125.

my favour. For this is what was added: 'There was once some sort of confession, although not altogether such as is practised now.' Does this added remark not clearly show that I am speaking not of confession but of the method of confessing? If Lee dares to assert that the small number of disciples that existed then heard what priests hear now, I shall marvel at the man's boldness.

If anyone should ask me what I think of the method of confessing in which even the most hidden sins, including the most shameful thoughts, including our dreams, are enumerated – sins that priests today hear sometimes not without risk to their chastity – in which the circumstances are explained, especially if they have a bearing on the species of sin; if anyone should ask whether I think that this method was instituted by Christ, I shall answer frankly that according to my understanding it does not appear to be the case. However, I shall gladly submit this opinion to the verdict of the church as soon as I hear her voice – even if it goes against the grain. Now I only hear people wanting to introduce new forms of confession, so far are they from wanting it abolished. I believe that we need not equate every opinion of the theologians with articles of faith or the canonical Scriptures, especially when they often do not agree among themselves. And I am not yet certain what the church has decreed concerning this matter. Once I am certain, I will make whatever the church decrees my own opinion. If Christ has instituted whatever the church institutes in the Spirit of Christ, I admit that this confession was instituted by Christ, but in such a way that it can be abandoned for the salvation of the people by the verdict of the same Spirit, and that it was not necessary before it was instituted.

And I am led to this supposition not only by arguments but also by authorities. The evidence is that there are many, many Greek books, many, many Latin commentaries, in which no subject is left untreated, yet nothing can be found in them to give definite proof that our method of confessing existed long ago, whereas now no number of books suffices to explain the business. Nor is there any other aspect of Christian faith that causes more anguish to the mind of both penitents and confessors – so much so that none are more averse from hearing confessions than those who excel in learning, prudence, and piety. It is remarkable, however, that there is not even one casual mention of confession in these numerous books. My authorities are first of all, Chrysostom,[107] whom the church numbers among her

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107 Chrysostom . . . but Gratian's authority shall serve for the many' (to 374 below) was added in *Basel 1520*. In the first edition, the text runs: 'first of all, Gratian, since he discusses the subject at length . . .' etc.

saints, not just among orthodox exegetes. In explaining Psalm 50 Chrysostom says much about the washing away of sins through tears, alms, and recalling one's fault, yet makes no mention whatsoever of our kind of confession; rather he indicates that it is not necessary, using these words:[108] 'Tell your sins that he may abolish them. If you are ashamed to tell your sins to anyone, tell them every day in your heart. I am not saying that you should confess your sins to your fellow-slave that he may reproach you; tell them to God, who cures them. For if you do not tell them, God is ignorant of them.'[109] And somewhat further on: 'And remembering your sins, shed tears, and you can wipe them out even while lying in your bed. Ask your God, and in this manner let your soul find peace after you have confessed your sins. Draw up an account for yourself and beg for God's mercy, and you will find peace,' and the rest that follows in the same tenor. What he says in Homily 41, 'On penitence,' agrees with this. He calls it 'confession of sins' when we genuinely acknowledge our misdeeds and confess them in our heart. He teaches that Peter was forgiven his sin because of his tears, and that one must not deny one's guilt when God demands a confession. And after discussing much in the same vein, he adds these words: 'I am not saying to you, show yourself or accuse yourself before another, but obey the prophet who says "reveal your ways to the Lord"[110] and confess before God, confess your sins before the judge and express remorse, if not with your lips at least in recalling them.'[111] He speaks of the same things in almost the same words on chapter 12 of the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'I am not telling you to reveal yourself in public,' he says, 'or to accuse yourself before others, but to obey the prophet who says "Reveal your ways to the Lord." Confess your sins before God, therefore, declare your misdeeds in prayer before the true judge, not with your lips but in the memory of your conscience, and then at last hope that you can obtain mercy.'[112] Although Chrysostom was Greek, he was an orthodox writer, and a bishop of the

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108 Pseudo-Chrysostom *In psalmum 50 homilia* 2 5 PG 55 581–2.

109 These words appear in LB and in the lifetime editions. But ASD IX-4 301:481n[2] points out that the Latin *haec enim* is a mistranslation of Chrysostom's Greek for *neque enim*. Also missing in LB from Erasmus' Latin sentence is the *non* 'not' before 'tell.' Chrysostom's Greek sentence actually means 'For if you do not tell them, God is not ignorant of them.'

110 Ps 36:5

111 These words do not appear in the various (partly spurious) works entitled *De poenitentia* in PG 49, 59, 60, and 63, but in *Hom in Heb* 31.3 PG 63 215, 216.

112 Again *Hom in Heb* 31.3, but now Erasmus' Latin accords with the translation of Mutianus Scholasticus given at PG 63 435–6.

orthodox church. If Christ instituted our form of confession, Chrysostom either was ignorant of such an important matter or disdained it. Neither, however, is probable; it therefore remains to conclude that confession was instituted by human beings.

Origen was criticized for having deviated from the teaching of the Catholic faith in some of his opinions,[113] but he was never reprehended by anyone for not holding the correct view on penitence. Yet in Homily 2 on the second chapter of Leviticus, where he recounts the seven ways in which sins are washed away, he mentions in the eighth place confession, in which we are not embarrassed to reveal our sins to a priest. But he does not subordinate the rest to it as members are subordinated to a head, but lists it as one way among and distinct from others. He puts baptism first, martyrdom second, alms third, mutual forgiveness (through which we forgive those who harmed us) fourth, a service by which we convert a sinner to right thinking fifth, great love for God and our neighbour (which covers a multitude of sins) sixth, tears seventh, fasting and other works of penance eighth (that is, as an aspect of the seventh), when one is not ashamed to confess one's sins to a priest.[114] It is from this passage primarily that Cassian appears to have taken the sermon that he attributes to the abbot Pynufius, in the book *De fine poenitentiae*, chapter 8. For he lists the diverse remedies by which sin is abolished in such a manner that he makes confession just one of many.[115] I do not know, however, whether he is speaking of the confession in which we acknowledge our fault before God. He himself certainly declares that he is not speaking of that type of confession in which individual sins are enumerated. For what then follows is no doubt taken from Chrysostom, whom I have just cited. For after he has inquired into the easier and more pleasant ways in which weak people are helped, he asks in the end:[116] 'Who cannot say in a suppliant manner: "I have made my sin known to you, and I have not hidden my injustice," so that after this confession he may confidently add also "and you have forgiven the impiety of my heart."'[117] But if you are embarrassed and shame keeps you from revealing them before the people, do not cease to confess your sins in frequent prayer to him from whom they cannot remain hidden, and say: "I know my iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. Before you alone have I sinned

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113 Cf CWE 56 244 and 250.
114 Origen *In Leviticum homiliae* 2.4 PG 12 417C–419C
115 John Cassian *Collationes* 20 *De poenitentiae fine* 8 PL 49 1159–65
116 Ibidem 1163B–1164A
117 Ps 31:5

and have done evil in your sight;"[118] for he regularly heals sins without public expression of shame and without reproach. In addition to this ready and assured help, there is another, even easier, one which God in his consideration has bestowed on us, leaving the means of remedying our sins to our judgment, that we may obtain forgiveness of our sins according to our inclination, saying to him: "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us."'[119] Thus far I have quoted the words of Cassian.

Ambrose, although he was a Latin exegete, appears to think like Chrysostom. He speaks about this in the sermon 'On the penitence of Peter,' number 46, the style of which, however, is such that one could doubt whether it is Ambrose's. Among many other things, he says this: 'So Peter broke out in tears, asking for nothing in words. For I discover that he wept, I do not discover what he said. I read of his tears, I do not read of his giving satisfaction. Peter was plainly right to weep and keep silent, because what is deplorable usually cannot be justified. And what is indefensible can be washed away. For tears wash away the crime one is ashamed to confess. Tears therefore are well advised for both our embarrassment and our salvation. They do not blush in seeking forgiveness, and they obtain what they ask in the act of asking.'[120] This and the rest that follows there in the same sense give sufficient proof that in those days the oral confession of a hidden sin was not usually obligatory, but that silent tears were sufficient for absolution. Nor does this disagree with what Ambrose writes on Luke, in book 7, chapter 66, expounding the passage in the Gospel 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you.'[121] 'This,' he says, 'is the first confession before the creator of nature, dispenser of mercy, and judge of guilt. But even if God knows everything, he waits to hear the words of your confession. Oral confession is salutary, for he who burdens himself lightens the burden of his error, and he who anticipates the accuser through confession avoids the shame of being accused. For the just man is his own accuser at the beginning of his speech.' And to preclude anyone's evasive claim that Ambrose is speaking here about the oral confession in which we reveal our secrets to a priest, he immediately adds: 'In vain would you keep secrets from him who is deceived in nothing, and there is no risk in revealing what you know is already known. Confess rather so that Christ may

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118 Ps 50:5–6
119 Matt 6:14
120 Spurious, as indicated at PL 17 (1845) 593 / (1879) 613. The text appears in Erasmus' edition of Ambrose *Omnia opera* 4 vols (Basel 1527) III 345.
121 Luke 15:18

intercede on your behalf, whom we have as our advocate with the Father. The church would ask on your behalf and the people would shed tears.'[122] Thus Ambrose. In my opinion one cannot conclude anything from this but that the sinner ought to confess to God and remove himself voluntarily from communion with the church if he has a bad conscience on account of a mortal sin.

Meanwhile I need not cite Basil and other writers of old who so often speak of fasting, penitence, tears, and prayers but never mention our type of confession, or who state that it is not necessary. Indeed Bede, a more recent writer, also writes about this in the homily in which he expounds the gospel passage about the ten lepers.[123] There he hands down a tradition very different from that which university theologians teach today. The passage is omitted in some printed books but is extant in manuscripts. Bede adduces many witnesses, but Gratian's authority shall serve for the many, since he discusses the subject at length in *De poenitentia*, distinction 1.[124] Adducing the views of the old theologians on both sides, among whom the greater number, however, refer to the formal confession that once was made publicly in the church, he appears to leave undecided whether anyone is obliged to confess or not. Indeed he concludes the lengthy discussion with these words: 'I have briefly laid before you on what authorities and on what corroborative proof each view is based, but which of them should be adopted is left to the judgment of the reader, for each view has wise and pious men as its supporters.' Nor can one adduce anything more certain out of the glosses. You see that those whom we would call heretics 'three and four times over'[125] are in this passage called 'wise and pious men.' I am therefore rather surprised that Durandus in book 4, distinction 16, question 8,[126] is so indignant at the author of the gloss[127] of the fifth distinction of his first title because he states that we are obliged to confess only by human law, and for that reason the Greeks were never obliged, because this law was never accepted by them. For what Gratian says is quite a bit more awkward. The gloss says that we are obliged to confess, but only

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122 Ambrose *Exp in Luc* 7.225 PL 15 (1845) 1760A / (1882) 1850A–B

123 Perhaps *Exp in Luc* 5.17 PL 92 542B–C = *Homiliae subditae* 13 PL 94 296B–C

124 Gratian *De poen* D 1; for the quotation see C 89.

125 A Virgilian expression; cf for example *Aeneid* 1.94.

126 Actually *Commentaria* IV 17.8 §9, fol 342 verso

127 Something is muddled in Erasmus' reference, but he clearly means the gloss on Gratian *De poen* D 5 (at *In poenitentia*). The *Glossa ordinaria* to the *Decretum* was added 1210–17 by Joannes Teutonicus (d 1245). There is no standard edition. Most old editions of the *Decretum* have the glosses in the margins.

because of the law and tradition of the church; Gratian leaves the reader free to decide whether or not he thinks that confession is obligatory. To do so would have been completely insane if this confession had its origin in Christ, or if a law concerning confession had been passed and accepted in Gratian's time. In addition, the abbot Panormitanus[128] expresses the opinion that confession is commanded by human law in his commentary on the chapter *Omnis utriusque sexus* of the section *De poenis et remissionibus*. Nor is Felinus[129] averse from this, and other old jurists whom no one has called heretics on account of this opinion. What about the history called 'Tripartite,' put together out of three authors, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, which Epiphanius translated into Latin?[130] Book 9, chapter 35, relates that at the time when the Novatians[131] had separated from the Catholic church, a priest of proven faith and established discretion was put in charge of penitents. After hearing their public confession of what they had done, he would impose on them a set amount of penance. Sozomen adds that this custom was maintained by the Roman pontiffs until his own time. But it was abolished in Constantinople by Bishop Nectarius after it became known that a married woman of noble descent had been raped in a holy place on the pretext of penance.[132] This is how shocked people were in those days by one crime. Nowadays it would not be good for the number of crimes committed everywhere to be known. Finally, the chapter ends in this manner: 'The ancient custom was discontinued.' The reason was, I believe, that greater sins were committed because of the embarrassment associated with confession and the rigour of the examiners. We see that confession is called here an 'ancient custom,' we see that this custom was abandoned in the city that rivalled Rome. However, I believe that this comment concerns manifest sins,

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128 Panormitanus (Nicolaus de Tudeschis, archbishop of Palermo, 1386–1445) *Lectura in decretales* VI fol 111 verso §18 (on X 5.38.12)

129 Passage unidentified. Sandeus Felinus (1444–1503) was the author of *Lectura in varios titulos ... Decretalium* (Venice 1497).

130 Epiphanius Scholasticus translated the works on ecclesiastical history by Theodoret (c 393–c 458), Socrates Scholasticus (c 380–c 450), and Sozomen (c 400–c 450). Cassiodorus (c 490–c 585) composed the *Historia tripartita* on the basis of these translations. The passage in question is Cassiodorus *Historia tripartita* 9.35 PL 69 1151A–1152A.

131 Followers of Novatian, who caused a schism at Rome in 251 AD. The movement survived until the seventh century.

132 Bishop of Constantinople 381–97 AD. In the *Historia tripartita* (PL 69 1151D) it is said that the priest asked the woman to come to church and do good works in penance for her sins, but he used these meetings to seduce her.

or certainly enormous sins, which yet are too shameful to be usefully declared before the people, or at any rate are of a kind that it is not safe to confess publicly because of the civil law. If anyone contends that this comment concerns our kind of confession, it is even more in my favour, for[133] he admits that it was abandoned in the orthodox church. More recent theologians who try to create a solid basis for this confession in Sacred Scripture certainly labour over it, and yet cannot agree among themselves. Durandus, furthermore, although he rejects the gloss on the fifth distinction of the section '*De poenitentia*' in the *Decretum*, does not adduce any argument to confirm that our confession, which he calls 'sacramental,' is divine law other than saying that no purely human law could command it;[134] he[135] merely surmises that this confession was instituted by Christ after his resurrection, when he said to his disciples 'Whose sins you remit,' etc.[136] In the history entitled *Fasciculus temporum*, there is mention, among other decrees of Gregory I, of one to the effect that a priest must not under any circumstances betray the crimes of the penitent. The words are: 'He himself instituted many things, as is evident from the *Registrum*; he added to the canon *Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas*; he said that we must call on God's help before the canonical prayers are said. He decreed that the confessor must not reveal the content of a confession by either a nod or a sign or a word.'[137] This author is lowly in some people's eyes, but he is not lowly in the eyes of those with whom we are dealing now. And even if we take all authority away from the author, the constitution of Gregory is cited in the *Decretum*, chapter *Sacerdos*, section *De poenitentia*, distinction 6, in these words: 'Let the priest beware above all else, concerning those who confess their sins to him, not to repeat to anyone what they have confessed, for they have confessed them neither to close relatives nor to strangers.'[138] It is apparent from these words that this method of confessing did not exist prior to Gregory's constitution. For[139] if this method of confessing existed in the time of the apostles – a confession which no doubt must always have been coupled with assurance of secrecy – what need was there for the Gregorian

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133 for ... in the orthodox church.] Added in *1522*
134 *Commentaria* IV 17.8 §7, fol 342 recto–verso
135 He ... prolongs an older constitution] Added in *Basel 1520*
136 John 20:23; see n126 above.
137 Werner Rolevinck (1425–1502) *Fasciculus temporum* (Cologne: Ter Hoerne 1474) fol 41. *Registrum* is the name of the collection of Gregory's letters. For his opinion on confessors see the following sentences and note.
138 Gratian *De poen* D 6 c 2 (Gregory I)
139 For ... the Gregorian constitution?] Added in *1522*

constitution? If anyone argues that Gregory was not the original author of this constitution, but merely revived an earlier one, the fact remains that he prolongs an older constitution.

I could bring together more evidence, but this is enough to avoid giving the impression that I indicated my suppositions rashly and without much evidence. However, I did not want to build my case more carefully at the cost of offence to simple souls, or insist on it more contentiously to my own peril. If the church issues a firm decree that this confession is divine law, if it believes that it was instituted by Christ himself, if it believes that it cannot be abolished, I do not go against the verdict of the church, but adjust my interpretation to its oracular pronouncement, even if it goes against the grain. If only we all would live in such a way that the remedy of confession would not be necessary, or if only we would confess in such a way that we need not confess again and again!

[FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS]

Concerning Note 16

I have specifically replied to this in the previous book,[140] and have omitted nothing that I thought needed saying.

Concerning Note 17

Liberata est a lege viri [she is freed from the law of her husband]:[141] Since I was about to contribute a great deal on the subject of the right of divorce being completely taken away from Christians, I carefully restated what I had also said at the beginning of my work,[142] that on no point did I want to be the author of a new doctrine but merely to offer comment to students out of a desire to be helpful, always leaving unchallenged the verdict of the holy church and of those who had received from Christ a more abundant

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140 See *Responsio* 2 Note 160 above.

141 This wording is a conflation of Rom 7:2 (*soluta est a lege viri*) and 1 Cor 7:39 (*liberata est a lege*). The Note concerns Erasmus' annotation *liberata est a lege; cui autem vult, nubat* (on 1 Cor 7:39) Reeve 467–81. The bulk of the annotation was written in 1519, but sections from the apology against Lee and additional proof-texts were added in subsequent editions.

142 Reeve 467 (at *Quanquam ut semel*); cf *Apologia in Novum Testamentum* LB VI **2.

gift of erudition and wisdom. That is how I begin. I close my discussion moreover with these words: 'I wanted to gather these ideas together in a few words, to provide to zealous students more copious food for thought. Nor do I in any way attempt to override the judgment of our forefathers, much less that of the Catholic church.'[143]

Because in the first edition I had given hints of my wishes in this matter,[144] which, prudent or not, were certainly pious, I thought I must explain the motives behind such proposals (if they could be realized with church authorization), to prevent anyone from putting a wrong construction on what I had written. Lee says that it was the opinion of certain theologians of weighty authority that such protestations had no place except in doubtful matters; they were not appropriate if someone wanted to disagree knowingly and wittingly in matters which had been defined by the authority of the church.[145] First of all it does not escape my notice what theologian Lee means[146] (since[147] I heard something like this said in a public lecture), though out of one man of not very weighty authority he is making many men of the gravest importance. But for heaven's sake, what is the new decree announced by this magnificent theologian? What is more accepted than the articles of faith? What is more accepted than the seven sacraments? And do theologians not bitterly dispute about them, even without protesting them? Does not Gratian discuss the pros and cons of even the most accepted articles? Let us grant that it has been definitely decided by the church that a marriage once contracted cannot be dissolved in any way except by death. Has it also been decided that the church cannot make a different decision concerning this matter or give it a different interpretation or remit the law? For I do not disturb church law, I merely inquire, as I said, whether the church can somehow make provisions for those who are unhappily united – and the Christian world is full of such marriages. Since I state, moreover, that I do not wish to disagree with the judgment of the church, why does Lee accuse me of doing just that, saying 'if anyone wishes to disagree knowingly and wittingly'? And he adds a serious reason, saying: 'It is not beside the point, lest the heretics use this handle, whenever

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143 Cf Reeve 480 (at *haec tamen paucis delibare*).

144 That is, on divorce; cf for example the *1516* version of the annotation *ad duriciem cordis* (on Matt 19:8) Reeve 78.

145 Lee fol CXIIII

146 Presumably Latomus, who expressed similar views in the treatise *De quaestionum generibus* in *Opera . . . quae conscripsit* (Louvain 1579) 86–7.

147 (since . . . public lecture)] Added in *1522*

they want to create new heresies or revive old ones, to protest that they are not acting against the church, especially when the very actions of the person protesting clearly contradict his protestation.' What a grave speech Lee is making here! There will be just as much danger in the disputations of the scholastics, in which nothing is not called into question, in which serious arguments are brought to bear in defence of the statement that fornication is not a sin. And perhaps anyone who deals[148] with this in the scholastic manner and abuses his skills may reinforce one side with numerous and efficacious arguments, and deliver the other side into the hands of the enemy by offering vain and weak solutions. Well! Do my actions clearly contradict my protestation? Have I ever dissolved a marriage or urged that it be dissolved? How then do the facts contradict my words? Because I argue in favour of the other side? So does St Thomas,[149] who is a Catholic Doctor. But Lee even adds a neat conclusion, saying: 'Therefore in my opinion one cannot disagree with church doctrine without disparaging it.' Does anyone who discusses a point disagree, especially when he prefaces his discussion with expressions of respect for the church? And what is the point of those tragic words Lee heaps up, about contention, about insurgency against the decrees of the church, about opening one's mouth against heaven?[150] About the great Jerome, who asks that the confession of his faith be approved by Damasus,[151] about the chapter *Ad abolendam*, which declares a heretic anyone who holds an opinion concerning the sacraments of the church other than what the church has decreed?[152] That is true, but the chapter does not say 'anyone who discusses the sacraments of the church.'

Next, Lee concedes that I do not diverge from the opinion of the church, and that what I do does not diverge from what I declare I am doing. 'Yet you should have remembered,' he says,[153] 'how contentious any new doctrine is, how eagerly it is received, especially when it is presented with such great skill and commended in such a seductive way. Augustine's warning in the book *De utilitate credendi* often comes true: those who adopt a new doctrine for the sake of glory and leadership become heretics.'[154]

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148 deals with this in the scholastic manner and] Added in *Basel 1520*
149 For Thomas' use of scholastic method see n188 below.
150 Cf Ps 72:9.
151 Cf for example, Jerome Ep 15 PL 22 355–8 / CWE 61 194–200. Damasus was pope from 366 to 384.
152 X 5.7.9 (Lucius III)
153 Lee fol CXIIII verso
154 *De utilitate credendi* 1.1 PL 42 65

What a weighty dogmatic tone there is in Lee's speech, whereas my discussion is far from being a dogmatic pronouncement! And not content with this, he adds: 'And if anyone adopted this Erasmian verdict (unless it is a discussion rather than a verdict) more readily than he ought, he would certainly both be a heretic and be held to be one.' Who would not be surprised at the authority assumed by this young man, who has not yet obtained any degree that would allow him to teach theology,[155] and is nothing but a teacher of the seven liberal arts, although he has long ago said goodbye to them (as he himself admits) – at the same time, I think, that he said hello. For there is no vestige of liberal arts in his writings. If my discussion is nothing but a discussion, and a discussion that does not pre-empt anyone's decision, what is the point of his emphatic statement about 'verdict,' 'doctrine,' 'pronouncement,' 'contention'? If he wishes to appear learned, let him be learned within the confines of his case. But now he proceeds to touch on certain points in my discussion, as he himself calls it, primarily those, as I myself think, that seemed to him easier to attack, and leaving alone those that supported the other side. For this reason I ask you over and over again, dear reader, not to pass judgment on this little conflict of ours unless you have first read the arguments I have brought together on this subject in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 7. Then you will realize that it makes a great difference how you say something. Nor will I make the requisite effort in responding here unless he who is the true author of this play[156] puts his name to it. First, what I said (but in a form different from that quoted by Lee here), that 'laws, like medication, must be adjusted according to the time and to people's diseases,'[157] he says does not apply to God's commandments. I grant that this is true in the general sense, but one is certainly allowed in some cases to doubt whether the import of God's commandments is as some people interpret it. If someone should answer that the present passage is too clear to admit any doubt, what shall we do with Ambrose, who holds a different opinion?[158] What about the jurists of great fame who hold a different opinion? I must note in passing that I wrote 'the laws must be adjusted,' which he cites as 'must be changed' to make the matter more hateful. When the supreme pontiff gives an interpre-

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155 See Introduction xii and *Apologia* n194 above.

156 See n146 above.

157 Cf the annotation early in the *1519* addition, at *leges ceu pharmaca* Reeve 467, cited at Lee fol CXIIII verso, but inaccurately, as Erasmus explains below.

158 Cf Ambrosiaster *Comm in 1 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 218B–C / (1879) 230A–B (on 1 Cor 7:10–12), cited in the annotation at *quin et divus Ambrosius* (Reeve 469).

tation, makes an addition, or relaxes a law, he adjusts the law of Christ, but he does not necessarily change it. When Lee adds that Paul here does not prohibit divorce in his own name but states that it is a commandment of the Lord,[159] one could reply that Paul calls it a commandment of the Lord because it contributes to perfection, but in the meantime the Apostle reserves for himself the right to grant an indulgence, to help weaker souls if the situation requires.[160] It does not follow that he goes against the gospel if the rigour of the gospel is in some respect relaxed.

I had adduced some authorities who were of the opinion which Lee thinks is heretical: that one has a right to remarry after divorce. Since I show that Ambrose expresses this opinion in more than one place – Ambrose, who was a bishop and, as is plausible, practised in his community what he teaches, and who was not ignorant of the custom at Rome since he lived close by[161] and sometimes stayed there – Lee replies: 'I wonder whether Ambrose did hold this opinion; perhaps he was amusing himself with it in a disputation, as was the ancient custom.' A weighty response, and worthy of the man who would pass judgment on heresy! What need was there to say 'I wonder whether he held this opinion,' when I quote the very words of Ambrose and point out the passage? Secondly, if it was a custom of the ancients to amuse themselves in disputation, and if it was the custom of such learned and respected bishops, why am I not allowed to raise a question in disputation? Concerning Pollentius, Lee replies that I am right but Pollentius recanted after having been thoroughly defeated by Augustine.[162] We would discover how thoroughly he was defeated if we were free to discuss it and threats were held in abeyance, for threats have no other effect than to make hypocrites out of Christians when they are forced to believe what they cannot be taught to believe. Lee passes over in silence the fact that Augustine disputes with Pollentius without mentioning heresy, although Pollentius maintains his view in published books.

As for what I wrote, that Origen did not totally condemn the action of bishops who permitted a second marriage after divorce, Lee asserts that this was not so,[163] because Origen admits that they acted against the teaching

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159 Cf 1 Cor 7:10. Lee does not name Paul.

160 Cf 1 Cor 7:6–9, 35–40.

161 In Milan

162 Cf *De coniugiis adulterinis ad Pollentium* PL 40 451–86, quoted in the annotation at *eiusdem opinionis fuit Pollentius* (Reeve 469). Pollentius is known only from Augustine's attack on him.

163 Lee fol CXV

of the apostles.[164] Certainly anyone attempting to justify a deed does not completely condemn it – and that is what Origen does there. I am pleased to hear that Lee here calls Origen a 'holy man.' But Lee cunningly omitted any mention of Origen's comparison. In this very passage Origen compares the action of bishops who permitted husbands to remarry after having repudiated their first wife with Paul's permitting remarriage to widows and those who could not control their desire;[165] and Origen makes the comparison in such a way that he means it to seem harder to permit remarriage for a widow who wants a second husband not for the sake of progeny but for sexual desire than to permit a man who has divorced an adulterous wife to marry a woman more worthy of him. Lee also misrepresents the fact that Origen (as I said) does not appear to doubt there that a man whom the gospel permits to repudiate his wife for adultery also is permitted to marry another wife after the repudiation. Here Lee depicts me as a complete liar on the grounds that Origen teaches something very different there. 'First,' he says, 'he speaks of a Jew when he expresses the opinion that a man has permission to contract a new marriage after having repudiated his wife for adultery.'[166] No, Origen there means by 'Jew' an obstinate man who wants to repudiate his wife for any reason whatsoever, arguing that Moses permitted us to repudiate a wife for any shameful act and mentioned adultery as an example; it will therefore be permitted to repudiate a wife for other shameful things as well. Origen rejects this reasoning, saying that Moses did not mean adultery when he spoke of a shameful thing, for in the case of adultery a wife is not repudiated but stoned to death;[167] Moses calls shameful anything pertaining to character or to physical defects that offend the husband. That this is Origen's meaning is clear from what follows shortly afterwards: 'Thereafter, however, the Lord does not permit us to dismiss a wife for any other wrongdoing except for fornication alone.'[168] In this context Origen raises another question, 'whether it is permitted to repudiate a wife for parricide, poisoning, or theft, as well as for adultery.' And he pauses here and is perplexed, seeing that it would be impious to go against God's commandment, yet unfair and unreasonable for a husband to be forced to bear with these sins, which are more

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164 Origen *Hom in Matt* 7 PG 13 1243–6 under *Vetus interpretatio*, cited in the annotation at *Siquidem Origenes homilia in Matthaeum* (Reeve 467–8). Origen quotes 1 Cor 7:39 and Rom 7:3. Erasmus extended the argumentation further in *1522*.

165 Cf 1 Cor 7:8–9.

166 Lee fol CXV verso

167 Cf Deut 24:1–4 and 22:20–4, John 8:5.

168 Origen *Hom in Matt* 7 PG 13 1245–8 under *Vetus interpretatio*; cf Matt 19:8–9.

serious than adultery. Seeking a way out of this quandary, Origen says: 'It is my contention, therefore, that it was a recommendation, not a command, when he told us that no one should dismiss his wife except in the case of fornication, and he said by way of exposition: "Anyone who dismisses his wife, except for fornication, makes her an adulteress." '[169] What Origen's words here mean, I leave to your consideration, dear reader. But a little earlier Origen had adduced the simile of Christ repudiating the synagogue for slaying her husband, and taking the church as his new bride. Origen's words are: 'One must say that Christ did not dismiss his first wife, that is, the first synagogue (thus keeping, in their spiritual sense, the words "What God has joined, let not man put asunder"), except when that adulterous wife was corrupted by an adulterous enemy, on whose counsel she set a trap for her husband,' etc.[170] And a little later: 'And for the church Christ her husband left his Father, with whom he was when he was in the form of God. He even left his mother,' etc. You observe a divorce and a new bride after the divorce. From these words it is sufficiently clear what Origen meant. When he says, however, that the bishops acted against what is written in the Gospel by permitting remarriage after repudiation,[171] Origen is thinking of those who repudiated their wives for other reasons, after the example of the Jews. And yet they had permitted them to contract a new marriage, preferring, together with Augustine, an adulterous marriage to fornication.[172]

Now Lee does not understand the words he brings up against me from Origen. They are: 'For by the reasoning that makes a woman an adulteress when she marries during her husband's lifetime, although her action appears to be legitimate, by the same reasoning, although a man appears to act legitimately when he takes a wife dismissed by another, he has not taken her legitimately in the eyes of Christ but is an adulterer, just as if he had taken another man's wife.'[173] Origen is thinking of those who take a wife dismissed for other reasons, or who dismiss their wife even for serious defects, which Christ nevertheless does not admit as grounds [for divorce].[174] Anyone who had acted in this manner, however, was not punished by human laws in those days. Indeed the marriage was considered

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169 Matt 19:9, 5:32
170 Origen *Hom in Matt* 7 PG 13 1231–2 under *Vetus interpretatio*, citing Matt 19:6
171 See nn168–70, and cf n164 above.
172 *De bono coniugali* 8.8 PL 40 379
173 Origen *Hom in Matt* 7 PG 13 1249–50 under *Vetus interpretatio*, cited Lee fol CXV verso
174 Cf Matt 5:31–2, 19:3–9.

legitimate. But Origen doubts that it was legitimate in the eyes of Christ, especially in cases of horrendous crimes, such as poisoning or attempted homicide. For he says: 'Your concern shall be whether he has a just cause before God.'[175] Yet he admits that anyone who dismisses a wife in this manner provides an occasion for adultery, but perhaps before God it is to be imputed to the wife, not the husband. Anyone who reads the passage with greater attention will clearly understand that this is Origen's meaning.

As for what Lee mentions in passing as an absurdity, that Origen had believed evils must be permitted to avoid worse things[176] – why should Origen not hold an opinion that no theological school today disapproves? [The moderns] rely on the authority of Augustine, whose words I shall quote from *Adversus Pollentium*, book 2, chapter 15: 'If a man must do what is not allowed, let him commit adultery and not murder.'[177] You see that Augustine not only permits adultery to avoid murder, but even urges the commission of adultery lest matters progress to murder. When I reason from natural law, moreover, saying that a man should not be forced to live without family and alone if he cannot refrain from sexual relations on account of his physical disposition and has done nothing for which he can be faulted, Lee confronts me with the status of monks and virgins consecrated to God, who rightly bear what they have voluntarily undertaken.[178] Here I could perhaps respond: 'A useless example, trying to explain one puzzle by another.'[179] Jurists, after all, concede that the pontiff can make a layman out of a monk[180] and by the same logic a laywoman out of a nun. For though I see that the argument we adduce concerning formal and non-formal vows, one of which can be dissolved whereas the other cannot, is consistently affirmed, it has not yet been proved by sufficient and efficacious reasons. For if it were sufficient to say that they voluntarily agreed to observe the vow in perpetuity, all contracts made among willing partners ought to be in every sense valid in perpetuity, and yet they are often rescinded today on grounds of equity when new circumstances arise.[181] Just as in contracts there are tacit exceptions that for reasons of equity dissolve good-faith contracts, so perhaps in the case of vows it is tacitly understood that an exception will

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175 Origen *Hom in Matt* 7 PG 13 1247–8 under *Vetus interpretatio*
176 Lee fol CXV recto–verso; cf Origen *Hom in Matt* 7 PG 13 1245–6 under *Vetus interpretatio*.
177 *De coniugiis adulterinis ad Pollentium* 2.15 PL 40 482
178 Lee fol CXV verso
179 Horace *Satires* 2.3.103
180 For example Hostiensis *Summa* IV fol 205 §5
181 Erasmus added this argument to his annotation in *1522*, at *nam quod obiciunt* (Reeve 471).

be made in the interest of saving a soul or for other similar reasons. But Lee apparently distrusts these reasons and adds the sacramental nature of marriage, on which point I shall say something a little later.[182]

Meanwhile Lee refutes my statement, which is based on the opinion of Origen,[183] that Christ repudiated the synagogue as the murderess of her husband and made the church his bride so that this mystery could be used as a parallel in the case of someone repudiating a poisoner or an adulteress and marrying another woman worthy of him. Lee turns the synagogue from the wife into the mother of Christ.[184] If Origen did not say what I adduce, Lee may accuse me of speaking empty words. If Origen did say it, let him dispute against him. And I have shown a little earlier that Origen did say so. I had written, moreover, that 'it was unfair to punish what was fortune's doing.'[185] Lee does not accept the word 'fortune,' attributing everything to providence, provident man that he is. Why then does Lee too, I suppose, like everyone else, call those who are wealthy or well born 'fortunate' and those who are not, 'unfortunate'? The cases he adduces, moreover, about touching corpses, about lepers, and the rest have, first of all, no specific relevance to our subject, because they belong to Mosaic law.[186] Secondly, there are serious reasons why lepers are kept from contact with others, which is why we even keep them from living with others, but those reasons do not seem to exist in divorce. Finally, when I conclude from this that 'it clearly seems to go against natural law if an innocent person is kept from marrying', Lee accuses me of openly opposing my own protestation. 'For what room is there for church law,' he says, 'if it openly goes against natural law?'[187] To respond briefly: Do not fasting and sleepless nights go against natural law? What room is there for the sacrament of the Eucharist if Thomas concludes from the arguments he has adduced that the Eucharist is not a sacrament?[188] Are we not allowed to say, for an argument's sake,

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182 See 389 below.

183 See 383 above.

184 Cf Lee fol CXVI.

185 In the annotation at *aut quis umquam audivit* (Reeve 471)

186 Lee fol CXVI recto–verso argues that there are indeed laws governing inculpable wrongs, quoting Lev 11:27–8 (about touching corpses), 12:2–4 (about women giving birth to sons), 13:46 (about lepers).

187 Lee fol CXVI verso

188 Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae* III 73.1 begins the treatment of the question 'whether the Eucharist is a sacrament' by stating 'it seems that the Eucharist is not a sacrament' and giving arguments in favour of that statement, but only in order to refute them afterwards. In typically scholastic fashion, Thomas argues on both sides of the question; his 'doubt' is purely methodological. Cf

'it seems'? We have already shown, moreover, that confession is regarded as divine law for the very reason that it is not derived from natural law, just as fasting and martyrdom are not.

It is a nice touch that here Lee calls the prohibition of divorce a law of the church when elsewhere he wants it to be regarded as Christ's precept. He does well to give a suitable interpretation of James' and Peter's decision about blood and strangled animals,[189] but the question under discussion is whether a similar interpretation can help us in this situation, especially when the case is more urgent, at least in my judgment. And here I wonder what came into Lee's mind when, not content with the probable interpretation of the doctors, which I at any rate accept, he wished to add something of his own to it: 'James could not pass a law that they had to abstain completely from such things, because it would clearly be against Christ's own law and against evangelical liberty. Earlier Christ taught: "Not everything that enters through the mouth defiles a person"[190] and for this reason Peter was warned: "What God has purified, you must not call common."[191] "For the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof,"[192] exclaims Paul.' If Peter and James could not forbid the eating of certain foods, what effrontery is it to forbid the eating of all meat during a good part of the year, and often also milk products? What effrontery is it to prohibit food completely? What effrontery is it that Dominicans and Carthusians deprive the members of their orders of the right to eat meat for their whole life merely on the strength of human law? Is it against the liberty of the church to prohibit the eating of blood and strangled animals, but not against liberty to prohibit the eating of meat? Do those quotations, 'What enters through the mouth does not defile a person' and 'The earth is the Lord's,' not apply?

Moreover, when I cite Joannes Andreae, who says 'It is the Roman pontiff's right to dissolve a marriage that has not been consummated,'[193]

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Hyperaspistes 1 CWE 76 245: 'Thomas asks whether the Eucharist is a sacrament of the church, and he gives arguments on both sides. Does that mean that he has doubts on the matter he is arguing about?'

189 Lee fols CXVI verso–CXVII, citing Acts 15:20 and explaining: 'But when he saw that the Jews who were still weak in spirit were offended by this pagan rite, James, like a good shepherd, avoided giving offence.'

190 Matt 15:11

191 Acts 10:15

192 1 Cor 10:26

193 Joannes Andreae (c 1270–1348) *In titulum de regulis iuris novella commentaria* (Venice 1581; facs Turin 1963) fol 4, cited in the annotation (Reeve 472). See also the addition of *1522* at *iam si recentiorum* (Reeve 469). Joannes is commenting on *De regulis iuris* in the *Liber sextus*, a collection of decretals postdating

Lee does not deny that I am correct. If he grants this much, I have the concession I want: a contracted marriage – even if legitimately contracted – can be dissolved, although its force is derived from divine law. The gospel prohibits the dissolution of marriage, and the pontiff dissolves it. Does he not interpret the gospel differently from the way we interpret it? If the pontiff dissolves a marriage without adultery as the reason, how much more readily can it be dissolved if there is a reason that the gospel accepts? 'But the same Johannes Andreae,' says Lee, 'teaches that a marriage once consummated cannot be dissolved.'[194] But I have not yet heard a cogent reason for this distinction. I am satisfied that a marriage contracted in the proper form is a true and legitimate marriage even before marital intercourse has taken place, and that it draws its force from divine law; for the reasons adduced by Hostiensis,[195] Augustine,[196] and Pope Leo,[197] aside from being human comments, do not change the fact that marriages are dissolved and there is a right of remarriage after divorce, contrary to Christ's and Paul's teaching.

Whether Christ could make another bride his wife, I leave up to him, for I do not wish to set laws for him as Hostiensis does. Nor do I quite understand what Hostiensis means by 'for any reason whatsoever.'[198] If he means 'any frivolous reason,' he is right; if he means 'for no reason,' why does entering an order dissolve a marriage that has indeed been contracted but not consummated?[199] Why does lapsing into heresy dissolve even a consummated marriage?[200] If it is permitted to dissolve a consummated marriage[201] because the basis for the sacrament is fuller in a consummated marriage, it will also be permitted to dissolve a consummated marriage because the basis is fuller in a fertile than in a barren union, in a first marriage than in a second or third. But this business is judged not by degrees but by classification. Yet Joannes Andreae is not completely opposed to the assertion that consummated marriage can be dissolved for grave reason, for he dis-

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the Decretals of Gregory IX and published by Boniface VIII in 1298.

194 Paraphrasing Lee fol CXVII

195 *In decretalium libros commentaria* III fol 118A = 118 verso §16 (on X 3.32.7), paraphrased Lee fol CXVII. Cf *Summa* I fols 40 verso–42 §5, III fols 174 verso–175 §§1–7, IV fols 197 verso–198 §§28–32 especially §§31–2.

196 Gratian C 27 q 2 c 16 (Augustine), cited by Lee fol CXVII

197 Gratian C 27 q 2 c 17 (Leo I), cited by Lee fol CXVII

198 This is Lee's wording (fol CXVII).

199 Cf X 3.32.2 (Alexander III).

200 Cf X 4.19.6 (Urban III), 7 (Innocent III).

201 Erasmus' argument is unclear. 'A consummated marriage' in this phrase is the reading of LB and the 1540 *Opera omnia*. In the first three editions the reading was 'an unconsummated marriage.' Cf ASD IX-4 311:780 apparatus criticus.

cusses this argument in the rule concerning legitimate acts in the *Liber sextus*, *De regulis juris*, cited by Panormitanus in his commentary on the chapter *Ex publico* of the section *De conversione conjugatorum*.[202] This is the case he proposes: Can the pontiff provide dispensation so that a monk who is the only son of a king may marry and remain married until he has produced a male offspring? After adducing arguments on both sides of the question, he decides in favour of neither, leaving it to others to judge the case. Panormitanus, in turn, concludes the discussion: 'I would think that the pope cannot in any circumstances dissolve a marriage consummated between believers. I would therefore choose the negative answer.' Even he makes no assertion here, but proffers the argument as something that is debatable, though he himself thinks one answer more plausible than the other. On the chapter *Quanto*, *De divortiis* the same author writes, among many other things, 'And this text provides an excellent argument; on its strength alone an argument could be made that even the church cannot dissolve a marriage.'[203] Here again he does not affirm that the church cannot dissolve a consummated marriage. Rather, he is hinting that it can, although he says that an argument to the contrary can be made from this chapter.

Nor is something conclusively defeated because it can be countered in argument. Indeed, Hostiensis appears elsewhere to favour the other opinion. In his commentary on the second chapter *Ex parte* under *De conversione conjugatorum*[204] he poses the question: 'In a case where one of a pair of married believers has lapsed into heresy, can the church today decide that the other may pass on to other vows?' He concludes that the church can do so, on the strength of this argument: 'Just as the church has decided whether true marriage exists in the case of unbelievers (in the chapter *De infidelibus, De consanguinibus et affinitatibus*),[205] likewise it seems that it could decide

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202 *Lectura in decretales* v fol 158 verso §15 (on x 3.32.7); cf n193 above.

203 Panormitanus *Lectura in decretales* VI fol 45 verso §4 (on x 4.19.7)

204 Erasmus cites from Panormitanus *Lectura in decretales* v fol 160 verso §7 (on x 3.32.14), who paraphrases the comments of Hostiensis on the same text in his *In Decretalium libros commentaria* (Venice 1581; facs Turin 1965) III fol 120 §3.

205 Panormitanus and Hostiensis are referring to the chapter *De infidelibus* from the section *De consanguinibus et affinitatibus*, that is, x 4.14.4. Here Innocent III declared that unbelievers who before their conversion to Christianity were lawfully married according to the rules of their earlier allegiance but whose marriage fell within the degrees forbidden by canon law were not to suffer invalidation of their marriage by reason of their baptism as Christians.
The translation of Panormitanus' quotation of Hostiensis follows the text of the first edition of Erasmus' *Responsio* in reading *infideles* 'unbelievers' rather than *fideles* 'believers' (so all later editions) in the clause beginning 'Just as the church.' Cf ASD IX-4 313:802 apparatus criticus. Apart from the inherent illogic

in the case of believers. For the ratification of marriage between believers arises out of the sacrament of baptism (see the aforementioned chapter *Quanto*),[206] that is, on the disposition of the church. The church can therefore also make a decision to the contrary.' Does Hostiensis not clearly pronounce here that when one of the spouses lapses into heresy, the church may decide to dissolve a ratified and consummated marriage so that the other, being without fault, may pass on to subsequent vows, that is, can enter into a new marriage? He says, however, that this cannot be done unless the church so decides. It follows that the authority of the church can dissolve an entirely indissoluble marriage and can do so in such a way that a new one can be contracted.

Finally Lee's discussion comes to the part where he forbids me to seek any other cause than the sacramental nature of marriage. 'Where there is divorce,' he says, 'there is no sacrament.'[207] Yet this argument is adduced among the old theologians only by Augustine as far as I know,[208] and it is not the only argument he adduces. And if I am not mistaken, here Augustine took marriage to be a sacrament not as being one of the seven, which I believe I have demonstrated sufficiently in my *Annotations*,[209] but as being the type and image of a holy thing, namely, the union of Christ and the church. However, it diverges from its prototype not only here but in other respects also, as I have amply shown in the annotations.[210] Yet what Augustine says is true if it is correctly understood: 'If there is a divorce, there is no sacrament.' For at this point it ceases to agree with the prototype. Where there is strife, there is no sacrament. Where there is jealousy, there is no sacrament. Where there is a fraudulent purpose, there is no sacrament. Yet we find these conditions everywhere in legitimate marriages, although they do not correspond in these respects to the term 'sacrament.' Nor shall we be too pressed by the words 'What God has joined, let not man put asunder,'[211] provided we give it the interpretation I propose – an interpretation that is not contemptible, I believe. Finally, why would they want these words to have no weight in the case of a marriage dissolved through entry into an order, yet want it to be valid in other cases?

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of the later reading, the correctness of the earlier 'unbelievers' is made more plausible by the citation of Innocent III's decretal.

206 X 4.19.7 (Innocent III), mentioned in n203 above.

207 Loosely citing Lee fol CXVII verso

208 See n196 above.

209 In the annotation at *neque enim hic Augustinus*; cf Reeve 476–7.

210 Ibidem

211 Matt 19:6

Since I had shown with many arguments that this new kind of divorce goes against the prototype of the sacrament – for we now allow divorce for many reasons, whereas Christ is not separated from his bride in any way, not even by death – Lee shows that this divorce, though unknown to the Jews, was nevertheless introduced by Christ and Paul. For when a woman is told to remain unmarried after leaving her husband, and is not permitted to leave except for adultery, the kind of divorce now practised in the church is clearly indicated. I do not deny that Augustine interprets this forcefully, but beyond that I hear nothing that obliges me to accept this sense. He does not show persuasively enough that according to the Gospel the right of divorce is the same for both. For we do not read there that 'a woman who has repudiated her husband and marries another commits adultery,' but 'a man who marries a woman who has been repudiated commits adultery.' Nor is there any doubt that what Mark and Luke wrote must be taken in this sense.[212] Indeed, even a woman who is repudiated and leaves her husband dismisses the husband.

But let there be an end to this discussion. I believe that it answers at the same time Lee's annotation that was number 12 among his old ones.[213] I am in no mind now (nor was I then) to be contentious about such matters. I merely explored in my discussion the possibility of finding a way to help those who are locked into a bad marriage. I saw that men of demonstrated learning and sanctity long ago were not deterred from granting a divorce by the words of the gospel and of Paul. I saw that some things can be explained differently from the way they have been explained so far. I saw that even today marriage is dissolved for an error in person, for entry into an order, and for other reasons if the marriage has not been consummated, although it derives its validity from divine law, and Scripture says of it: 'What God has joined, let not man put asunder' and 'For this reason a man shall leave father and mother.'[214] Finally the concept of sacrament applies to it. I saw that some jurists – famous men at that – were of the opinion that any marriage could be dissolved by the authority of the Roman pontiff if grave reasons existed. I saw that persons were declared legally incompetent by the pontiff, so that the marriage was no longer valid and remarriage with another party was permitted; and the reasons given were degree of relationship or religious vows. I saw that the pontiff might simi-

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212 Mark 10:12, Luke 16:18. Erasmus' next sentence explains how Mark's reference to the 'woman who dismisses her husband' does not mean that the woman has initiated the divorce.

213 See *Responsio 1* Note 12 above.

214 Matt 19:5

larly declare legally incompetent those who entered marriage rashly when drunk, through the agency of panderers and without the authorization of their parents. I thought that the church had the Spirit of her bridegroom, and could not but make the right decisions when deciding about the salvation of human beings on his authority. I pitied those who were perishing, and wanted to come to their help. If help is not possible, there can be no blame for a pious wish that springs from Christian charity. Charity desires even what cannot be. Nor does a wish lose its merit because it cannot be realized, especially when I state in so many words that I have no motive other than to inquire into a question through discussing both sides.

If Abbot Panormitanus is taken as an orthodox writer (see the third paragraph of his commentary on the chapter *Deus* of the section *De divortiis*) when he says that the pope can for good reason give a dispensation from New Testament law,[215] why should I not be allowed to inquire whether the pope can do so in this case, when Panormitanus says that he can do so in general and contrary to the New Testament? If by almost universal consensus the pontiff can for suitable reasons, indeed without reason, by the power they call absolute, dissolve an unconsummated marriage, which, as has often been noted, comes under divine law, why is it not right to inquire whether he can do so also in other matters that come under divine law? If we must allow what Vincentius wrote (cited by Panormitanus in his commentary on the chapter *Proposuit* of the section *De concessione praebendae*)[216] – that the Roman pontiff can give dispensations in any matter except in articles of faith, as long as he does so for a suitable reason – I do not believe it is an article of faith to inquire how one may interpret a passage in Paul saying that marriage must not be dissolved. Furthermore, if divine law commands us to have two witnesses in judging any case,[217] and yet imperial and pontifical laws prohibit it in some cases, what prevents us from inquiring whether what Christ put in strict terms can be given a broader meaning?

But I dwell too long on a matter that is not my field. Generally speaking, I do not take pleasure in dwelling on writers of this sort, who take us in every direction by offering us a variety of human views without a very solid base, but I decided to draw on their support just enough to show that I too have a right to inquire, in a pious spirit and without being contentious, whether a marriage, even a consummated one, may be dissolved. There are many reasons, however, to believe that Lee was aided by others in this dis-

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215 Panormitanus *Lectura in decretales* VI fol 46 verso §3 (on X 4.19.9)

216 A Vincentius – perhaps the canonist Vincentius Hispanus (thirteenth century) – is cited ibidem V fol 53 §20 (on X 3.8.4).

217 Deut 19:15; cf Matt 18:16.

pute, in particular the fact that he notes with approval my good translation of the passage – to express approval of anything in my work is certainly a new feature in Lee.[218] Yet I do not blame him for having received help. If only he had been helped thus in all his other notes! For in that case they would demonstrate a little more learning and much less contentiousness and virulence. I beg you over and over again, dear reader, if you are missing anything here, where I was not at leisure to repeat everything, to look for it in my annotation in the second edition.

[SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS]

Concerning Note 18

Sed esto, ego vos gravavi [but granted I have offended you]:[219] I show that on the basis of the Greek texts and of Ambrose, as well as of the better Latin manuscripts, one must read 'but granted I have not offended you.' And the Greek author Theophylact interprets it in this sense,[220] as does the Latin writer Ambrose.[221] Because Lee says he has not seen the reading 'I have offended you' he tells me to erase the marginal note saying that there is a manifest mistake in our texts.[222] If I were as lucky as Lee with his codex, there would be no need to undertake this labour. There is no reason to do battle over a marginal note.

[EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS]

Concerning Note 19

Quoniam reprehensibilis erat [because he was reprehensible]:[223] I had added in my annotation that in my opinion James and the others who were with him held the belief that the ceremonies of the Mosaic law still had to be observed although the gospel had been given them. Lee says that they wanted to

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218 Lee fol CXX; cf *Apologia* 23 and n106 above.
219 Cf the annotation *sed ego vos gravavi* (on 2 Cor 12:16) Reeve 563, with the marginal note. In *1516* and *1519* the cue phrase read as in the *Responsio* here.
220 *Exp in 2 Cor* PG 124 940B
221 Ambrosiaster *Comm in 2 Cor* PL 17 (1845) 333B / (1879) 352B
222 Lee fol CXX verso
223 Cf the annotation *quia reprehensibilis erat* (on Gal 2:11) Reeve 574.

have the ceremonies observed so as not to give offence to the weak.[224] Nor did I mean anything different. For I do not think that the apostles were foolish enough to suppose that the grace of Christ did not suffice without the support of the Law. Paul, however, believed that it was now time, if it could be done, to disregard the superstition of certain people and to preach evangelical liberty openly.[225]

EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS

Concerning Note 20

Esse se aequalem Deo [to be equal to God]:[226] I stated that I was not unaware how this passage was interpreted by many of the old writers, namely that Christ was by nature divine, that he was equal to the Father, and that he assumed the form of a servant in assuming his humanity. Lee refutes this at length and explains to me what I proved that I know already,[227] for I clearly stated in a lengthy argument that I was following Ambrose's interpretation,[228] which interprets the form as the image and example of one who manifests himself as God in miracles. Ambrose says that the 'form of the servant'[229] did not refer to the assumed human nature, but to the image of the sinner in which he was scourged and crucified. He explains that 'thought it not robbery'[230] means that he did not claim divine nature for himself but everywhere professed his humanity, and as if he were concealing his divinity, embraced the other image to show us the true path to glory. If this interpretation does not please Lee, his business is with Ambrose, not with me. For I do not reject the alternative interpretation, whereas Ambrose does.

I had added: 'The whole passage, moreover, is in my opinion rather forcibly twisted to refer to Christ's nature, whereas Paul is speaking here of the image displayed to us.'[231] Here Lee deals with me as if I meant that the form of the servant in Christ referred to his human nature, ignoring the

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224 Lee fol CXX verso
225 Cf Galatians 2.
226 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Phil 2:6) Reeve 622–4.
227 Lee fols CXXI–CXXII verso
228 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Phil* PL 17 (1845) 408B–409D / (1879) 431B–432C. Ambrosiaster is defining the *forma* 'form' of Phil 2:6–7 in terms of *imago* 'image' and *exemplum* 'example.' Cf also *Responsio* 2 Note 118 249–50 above.
229 Phil 2:6
230 Ibidem
231 In *1519*; cf Reeve 623.

fact that I follow a different interpretation. Once this premise is removed, Lee's discussion no longer argues against me. What I say of Christ's nature, moreover, he interprets as a reference to his divine nature; he should be aware that I am speaking of either. For if the first part, 'who was in the form of God,'[232] does not (according to Ambrose) refer to his divine nature but merely to the image displayed, 'the form of a servant' does not pertain to the human nature he assumed, but to the image he assumed of a sinner. But Lee does not like my statement: 'I do not see how this passage is an argument against the Arians.'[233] If we accept Ambrose's interpretation, it certainly is not a convincing argument. But what bothers Lee most of all is my added comment that I realized that on no occasion was more violence done to Scripture than in arguments against heretics, when we twist everything to gain a victory. Lee adds that he thinks I have said similar things elsewhere too that favour Pelagians and Arians.[234] On the contrary, whatever I said in this vein was said in favour of our religion and out of hatred for heretics. For I give this very warning in my *Methodus*:[235] we must not do violence to Scripture in our battle against the heretics, lest we become laughing-stocks to them. And I show that this was sometimes done by Ambrose, Jerome, and even Augustine. It does not mean that their authority as exegetes is invalidated if they twisted one or the other passage, as Jerome confesses he has done.[236] Lee does not deny this, nor is he afraid to attribute to Paul a similar artifice, hinting that it is allowed in a battle, when the adversary must be bound and captured by any means, and does not yet deserve to be taught.

There was no reason, moreover, for Lee to raise a tragic fuss here, saying: 'This is working with smoke and mirrors and putting on a lying face, waging war not for Christ but for the devil, who is a liar and the father of lies. This will offer welcome support to all heretics, so that they can say that whatever arguments are brought against them have been twisted'[237] – and many other words in the same vein, too stupid to need refutation. 'Even if it were true,' he says, 'it should still have been passed over in silence.'[238] But by the same reasoning one could not disagree anywhere with the Doctors of the church lest the heretics say that they understand no passage in

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232 Phil 2:6
233 Cf the annotation at *tametsi non video* (Reeve 623) and Lee fol CXXI verso.
234 Lee fol CXXII
235 LB V 128A–130E
236 Cf *Commentarii in Abdiam* prologus PL 25 (1884) 1097–1100; see also *Apologia* n186 above and 401 below.
237 Lee fol CXXII, noting the implications of Erasmus' statement that Scripture has been 'twisted'
238 Paraphrasing Lee fol CXXII verso

the sacred books just because they err in a few places. Indeed, there would be better reasons to pass over in silence what Lee betrayed to the world: that a part of the Gospel of John has been tacked on from the apocryphal Gospel of the Nazarenes.[239] And here Lee makes me a 'famous man.'[240] He never gives me any credit except to burden me with ill will. If Lee is not writing what he really thinks, he is a perverse agitator; if he is writing what he thinks, he is not very wise.

[EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS]

Concerning Note 21

Verbum Dei mysterium [the word of God, the mystery]:[241] I had pointed out that what is μυστήριον in Greek is often translated *sacramentum*, but it does not therefore designate one of the seven sacraments, for otherwise there would be a great many sacraments.[242] For I believe that marriage is one of the seven sacraments not because Paul calls it *mysterium* but because the church teaches me that it is one of the seven. Lee says no one is foolish enough to think that every time he sees a mention of *sacramentum* he thinks it is one of the seven sacraments.[243] I believe that men of authority are not so foolish, but there are some stupid enough to need this reminder. Nor is it slander to point something out to prevent someone's error, however ignorant he may be.

[EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS]

Concerning Note 22

Et figura [and the image]:[244] Here Lee carps because I had added in the annotation: 'This term, that is, hypostasis, has given rise to a great war of

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239 Lee fol XC; see *Responsio 1* Note 94 216 above.
240 Cf Lee fol CXXII verso.
241 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Col 1:25–6) Reeve 636.
242 *Mysterium* can mean either 'mystery' or 'sacrament'; see the discussion at *Responsio 2* Note 188 above.
243 Lee fol CXXII verso
244 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on Heb 1:3) Reeve 704–5. The discussion concerns the next phrase, *substantiae eius* 'of his person,' 'hypostasis' in Greek. See the next note.

words, for the Arians wanted three hypostases, and did not accept the term *homusius* [of the same substance].[245] In my opinion at least the matter is not worth a fight to the finish by East and West, or the shameful sundering of world concord.'[246] It appears that Lee wanted to display his rhetorical resources and powers here, as if he had found a subject for a declamation.[247] But he does it in a way that does not make his dissertation very relevant to me. For I am speaking of the terms, which because of their novelty[248] gave occasion for strife. Lee twists the issue to refer to the content. Our side acknowledged three Persons, but not equally three hypostases. The Arians were willing to accept the word 'hypostasis,' but were averse to the term *homusius*. Just as Jerome suspected there was some poison in the syllables when he was asked to confess three hypostases,[249] so the Arians suspected that there was poison lurking in the term *homusius*. It was a word never heard before, it was nowhere read in Scripture, and it was therefore suspect. Now since no upheaval in the church has ever been more serious or more far-reaching than this, would it not have been better for both sides to abandon new terms and to maintain universal concord in the world than to bring all Christianity into the greatest danger? – Especially because in disagreements of this kind human passions almost always come into play and each party, in its zeal for its own position and hatred for its adversaries, tends to interpret unfairly what is adduced by its adversaries and greatly favours its own side. I could give more examples of this kind, but in a hateful business it is better to keep away from examples. As it is, what I think would have been the more expedient solution was also considered expedient by the most respected bishops and princes of that time, who in a

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245 The usual Latin spelling, rather than *homusius*, is a transliteration of the Greek, 'homoousios.' The Council of Nicaea (325 AD) defined (in Greek) the relation of the Son to the Father as 'homoousios' (of one substance with). In this context, 'hypostasis' (person) was identified with 'ousia' (substance), and the Arian notion of three 'hypostaseis' was condemned. The anti-Nicene party consisted of three major factions: the radical Anomoeans, who held that the Son was unlike the Father; the moderate Homoeusians, who substituted the term 'homoiousios' (of like substance) for 'homoousios'; and the Homoeans, who used the vague term 'homoios' (like, similar to). Cf any standard reference work on the early church, for example *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* ed Everett Ferguson et al (New York and London 1990) sv *homoousios*.

246 Reeve 705; the second sentence was excised in *1527*.

247 Lee fols CXXII–CXXIIII verso

248 Erasmus speaks of 'novelty' because the terms are not found in Scripture.

249 Ep 15.4 PL 22 357 / CWE 61 195–6

well-attended synod[250] repeatedly voiced the opinion that the conflict over words ought to be abandoned, provided they could agree on the substance of the faith. Nor was anybody set against the abolition of the term *homusius*; indeed it seemed to meet with everyone's approval that the word should be done away with, for it could not be found anywhere in Sacred Scripture, yet it gave offence to many because of its novelty. Consensus had almost been reached, but as Flaccus says, 'a poorly patched-up friendship never solidifies; it rips apart again.'[251] If anyone does not trust my account, let him read the dialogue Jerome wrote against the Luciferians.[252] There are then things of the sort that need not be pursued at the price of causing great upheaval in the church. There was disagreement once over the celebration of Easter,[253] and well-respected bishops thought that this matter was not one over which the Christian community should be divided. Cyprian put into the same category the practice of rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics, which was observed by some but not by others.[254] I believe that those things chiefly should be taught that are conducive to a pious life. As for the rest, I would not be much in favour of philosophizing excessively about fine points that have more of showing off about them than practical use, especially if it causes serious upheaval in the Christian commonwealth. Its consensus must be guarded so carefully that Paul often spares the false apostles lest they be provoked to cause even more serious disturbances to Christian peace.[255]

If the Arians had wanted to confess, as they did confess, that the Son was God born of God, similar to the Father, and of the same nature as he, which in itself they did not deny, if I am not mistaken; and if, omitting the word hypostasis, they had embraced with us the three Persons, would it not have been better to accept the loss of two words than to allow such a damaging conflict? Could the equality of the Persons not be taught without the invention of the new word *homusius*? But the Arians did not accept it. I am not defending the Arians at present, for I follow wholeheartedly the teaching of the church; I merely ask whether concord could have been

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250 The Council of Nicaea

251 Horace *Epistles* 1.3.31–2

252 *Dialogus contra Luciferianos* 21, 26 PL 23 (1884) 184A–B, 189C, commenting on Hilary's shift of opinion about rebaptizing those baptized by heretics

253 The Western and Eastern churches calculated the date of the feast differently. An effort was made at the Council of Nicaea to achieve conformity, but different styles continue today.

254 Pseudo-Cyprian *De rebaptismate* 1 PL 3 (1886) 1233A

255 Cf 2 Tim 2:23–6, Titus 3:9–10.

maintained with a more accommodating interpretation. They said the Son was subject to the Father. Certainly in his nature as Son he obeys the Father from whom he has life. Perhaps it could be that he who is subject to another does not on that account have less dignity. They said the Son is created. What if they meant that being born from another, and being of another, was somehow the same as being created? Perhaps they did say that the Holy Spirit was the servant of both. What if they meant that the Father and the Son worked through him? When Hilary says that the Father has more authority than the Son, but in such a manner that the Son is not inferior, since the Father has imparted equality to him[256] – I ask you, if I may speak the truth, does this not differ very little from the Arians? If the Father is greater than the Son by the authority of origin, he is greater according to the concept of divine nature. But he does not impart to the Son that by which he is greater, for the Son appears inferior to him in that part. For if Hilary had meant that the Father is greater than the Son in so far as the Son is human, there would have been no need to avoid saying that the Son is inferior for that reason. But to say by the same reasoning that someone is greater than another although the latter is not inferior to him is no more probable than saying that Peter is John's father but John is not his son. It is right that we all agree on those things which are handed down to us by the apostles and the Fathers who drew on them. As for the rest, making everything an article of faith is just a seedbed for dissent and a bane to Christian concord, without which we are not Christians.

Someone can be subject to a heretical error yet be dear to Christ if he errs simply out of a blameless ignorance. Arius was expelled for one or two words. The creed of Athanasius is daily recited in church,[257] and yet he denies the catholicity of terms that theologians now consider correct. He denies that we may speak of three eternal Persons, three omnipotent, three uncreated, three immeasurable Persons, and believes that such terms are no less impious than saying that there are three gods. But today theologians hold a different view. For this is the same as many persons pulling a ship by means of one rope: many are pulling, but there is one action of pulling. In the same manner nothing prevents us from attributing to the

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256 *De Trinitate* 1.30, 9.53–6 PL 10 44A–B, 323B–327B

257 The Athanasian Creed, also called from its opening words *Quicumque vult*, a Christian profession of faith, was written not by Athanasius but (in its Latin version) perhaps by Vincent of Lérins (fl 440). In the Roman Catholic church the Creed formed part of the office of Prime on most Sundays until 1955. Cf n259 below.

divine Persons plurality in number although there is no diversity among the single Persons. Father and Son and Holy Spirit are wise, but it is the same wisdom. Three Persons have will, but it is the same will. Three foresee, but it is the same providence. They are three, but their essence is the same. Likewise in the one eternity three are eternal. Now when Athanasius denies that there are three eternal Persons, he nevertheless later says that there are three co-eternal Persons. Nor am I satisfied with what Durandus adduces concerning the difference between noun and adjective,[258] unless you take it to mean that 'good' is an adjective, 'goodness' a noun; three are good, but there are not three goodnesses, just as in the body there are many members who are alive, but it is the same life. I do not see, however, how differentiating between adjective and noun can apply to 'eternal' and 'Lord.' If three are eternal but are in the same eternity, what prevents us from saying that there are three Lords but one and the same lordship? I say this because there is no lack of renowned theologians who believe the expression 'three Gods but of the same godhead' can be used in a true and pious sense, that is, meaning there are three Persons, each one called God, but, as I said, of the same godhead as the others. Athanasius says 'for just as the rational soul and the flesh make one man, so God and man are one in Christ'[259] – if we do not interpret this in an accommodating manner, it has a heretical meaning. Moreover, while Lee denies that there is a difference in greatness in the Trinity, Hilary does not avoid calling the Father 'greater.'[260] Lee denies that the term 'prior' applies, yet there is no lack of theologians who have said that the Father was in some sense 'prior' to the Son.

For a long time now, dear reader, you have been loudly asking: what is the purpose of this? My purpose is to demonstrate that, however circumspect one may be in speaking of sacred matters, there is an opening for slander if the interpreter happens to be biased. It is therefore better not to provide so many definitions of such matters, which the human mind cannot grasp and language cannot express. It is better to venerate some things than to scrutinize them. No doubt there are things about the divine nature that the church does not know even today. She is satisfied to know what Holy Scripture teaches and what is necessary for salvation. If I had had any

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258 *Commentaria* I 9.3 §5, fol 41 verso

259 That is, in the Athanasian Creed; cf the first surviving text in Caesarius of Arles *Sermo* 3 ed G. Morin *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 103 (Turnhout 1953) 20–1.

260 Cf Lee fol CXXIIII; Erasmus alludes to Hilary's *De Trinitate* 9, cited in n256 above.

authority at the synods in which the concord of the world was discussed, I would have advised that it was better not to know the meaning of the words *homusius* and *homoeusius* [of like substance] with respect to the divine Persons than to defend or attack these terms at the cost of such great upheaval. But all of this is said in reply to Lee, not in defence of the Arians, whose heresy has now been more completely eradicated than any other, and there is no danger that anyone will reintroduce it. For if there is any danger to the church, it now comes from another quarter.

EPISTLE TO TITUS

Concerning Note 23

Magni Dei, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi [of God in his greatness and our Saviour Jesus Christ]:[261] I showed that this passage can be read in two ways, by combining and by dividing. If you read *magni* and *Salvatoris* in combination, both words refer to Christ; if you read the phrase by dividing the terms, *magni Dei* refers to the Father, *Salvatoris* to Christ. I do not deny that Jerome[262] and Chrysostom,[263] and[264] his follower Theophylact,[265] interpret it in the sense that both terms apply to Christ. They rejoice, as it were, and celebrate a victory over the Arians, although the passage is plainly ambiguous, and in fact supports the Arians more than us.

Here Lee instructs us that the words cannot refer to anyone but Christ.[266] He relies on the argument that we frequently read of the coming of Christ but nowhere of the coming of the Father. Even if I concede to Lee that we nowhere read about the coming of the Father, there is nothing in the expression itself that prevents it from being understood as two separate phrases, with the first part referring to the Father. This at any rate is how Ambrose interprets it, whose words I quote in case someone distrusts me: 'This he says is the blessed hope of believers, who await the coming of the glory of God in his greatness, a thing he will reveal through Christ the judge, in whom the power and the glory of God the Father will be seen, that they may

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261 Cf the annotation *dei et salvatoris* (on Titus 2:13) Reeve 698–9. This Note is out of sequence.
262 *Comm in Titum* PL 26 (1884) 622B
263 *Hom in Titum* 5.2 PG 62 690
264 and his follower Theophylact] Added in *1522*
265 *Exp in Titum* PG 125 164A
266 Lee fol CXXV

obtain the reward for their faith. For it was to this end that Christ redeemed us, that pursuing a pure life and being rich in good works, we may inherit the kingdom of God.'[267] Thus far Ambrose. Does he not clearly say here that the Father will reveal his glory and power through Christ the judge? But this is not simply a reference to the coming of the Father, but to the coming of glory, so that the word 'coming' properly pertains not to the Father but to glory. Christ himself will come, but with the glory and majesty of the Father. Now is the time of humility; the time of the glory for which we now wait will be later. The glory will come at last when the glory of God the Father in his greatness and of our Saviour Jesus is revealed. But, Lee says, Jerome interprets it differently. I know, but he is rather violent in dealing with the Scriptures whenever he is fighting against heretics. Somewhere Lee wanted this argument to favour him, for example, when he interpreted a passage in Peter differently from how I interpreted it according to Jerome.[268] I at any rate am satisfied that this passage can be expounded differently, and in my opinion Paul did not mean anything other than what Ambrose interprets. The author[269] who wrote scholia on the Epistles of Paul referred 'God in his greatness' to the Spirit (on whose authority I do not know). Furthermore, since it cannot be denied that the passage is ambiguous, the Arians would more quickly take from it the opportunity to say that Christ is inferior to the Father because Paul calls the Father 'great' but calls the Son neither 'God' nor 'great God.'

But let us grant that there is no ambiguity in the reading, would we immediately prove that the Son is equal to the Father if it were agreed that he is 'God' and 'great God'? The Arians do not deny that the Son is God, and God cannot but be great; yet nothing prevents the other from being greater and so great that nothing is greater than he. Nor do Chrysostom and Jerome offer any other argument, although the latter exclaims, as if victory had been gained: 'Where is the serpent Arius? Where the snake Eunomius?' Chrysostom[270] concludes from this that Christ was not inferior to the Father because he is said to be great not by comparison but absolutely. Nor does Theophylact teach anything different. I rejoice in our victory, but before celebrating a triumph we should have considered what objections the opponent could immediately raise. I have said this not to champion the Arians (whose learning I admire, though I detest their impiety) but to defend myself against Lee's slanders.

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267 Ambrosiaster *Comm in Titum* PL 17 (1845) 502A–B / (1879) 530A

268 See *Responsio* 2 Note 238 336 above.

269 The author ... know).] Added in *1540*. The reference is to Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *Exp in Titum* PL 30 898–9.

270 Chrysostom ... teach anything different.] Added in *1522*

[FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN]

Concerning Note 24

Qui solvit Jesum [who dissolves Jesus]:[271] Here I simply showed what was in the Greek codices without either approving or disapproving of anything. For the Greek manuscripts read thus: ὃς μὴ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰήσουν Χρίστον ἐν σαρκὶ εἰληλυθότα, that is, 'who does not confess that Jesus Christ came in the flesh.' Lee proves on the basis of the *Historia tripartita*[272] that this passage has been corrupted by some heretics.[273] He indicates neither the book nor the chapter, giving the impression that he added this on the advice of another. I accept what the *Historia* says, but in the sense that I am not obligated to believe it unless it suits me. For both sides frequently accuse each other of using corrupted passages. What the Greek codices have certainly agrees more with the style of John the Evangelist, whose mark it is to add a negative sentence to the preceding [positive] one, to make his words more memorable. The following expressions are of this kind: 'He who believes in the Son of God has God's testimony in himself. But he who does not believe in the Son makes him a liar,' etc. And shortly afterwards: 'He who has the Son of God has life; he who does not have the Son of God does not have life. He who confesses is of God; he who does not confess is not of God.'[274] Let this serve as an example, for the speech of all of this evangelist is full of such figures.

Even if we grant that John wrote *qui solvit Jesum*, does it immediately follow that these words refute the error of those who said that Christ was purely human? They equally pertained to those who said that Christ did not have a human soul, and so denied that he was truly human; they said instead that he was God clothed in a human body. If I had found evidence of a Greek text that agreed with our [Latin] text, I would have preferred to adopt it. Since I did not find it, I merely pointed out what had been changed. To my thinking and in my judgment what the Greeks have is the genuine reading. Yet I should like this comment to be taken at no risk to myself: for I submit my interpretation to the judgment of the church. The

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271 Cf the annotation *et omnis spiritus qui solvit Iesum ex deo non est* (on 1 John 4:3) Reeve 767. In *1516* and *1519* the cue phrase was *qui solvit Iesum*. On the difficulty of translating the verb cf R.E. Brown *The Epistles of John* The Anchor Bible 30 (New York 1982) 494–6.

272 Cassiodorus *Historia tripartita* 12.4 PL 69 1206B–C

273 Lee fol CXXV verso

274 1 John 5:10, 5:12, 4:2–3 (the last in Erasmus' translation, not the Vulgate's)

authority of the *Historia* is not so weighty that we can rely on it and be certain what John wrote here. It certainly cannot be denied that Cyprian cites the passage according to the Greek texts in the second book of his *Adversus Judaeos*, chapter 7: 'Every spirit who confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God; but he who denies that he has come in the flesh is not of God but of the spirit of Antichrist.'[275] If Lee distrusts our edition, let him consult others, and if he finds a different reading, let him call me a falsifier. In the homilies in which Augustine expounds this Epistle, the passage is cited in the text preceding his exposition as the Greeks and St Cyprian read it.[276] Yet at the end he also interprets 'any spirit who denies Christ is not of God.' It appears, therefore, that this phrase constituted a third clause in his text: 'everyone who confesses . . .'; 'everyone who does not confess . . .'; 'everyone who denies . . ..' Or else the reading of the church was at that time twofold and Augustine wanted to interpret both. I do not know why Lee, citing the words of Epiphanius, reads in this manner: *Omnino spiritus qui solvit Deum, ex Deo non est* [Indeed, the spirit who denies God is not of God].[277] Was he not afraid to change the sacred reading here, especially a passage on the basis of which he thinks heretics can be refuted? Did that terrible law not come to his mind here, the one he invokes against me throughout the whole disputation?[278] What is Lee's excuse here? A corrupt codex from which he copied it? A lapse of memory? A drowsy human mind? A printing mistake? But Lee has cut himself off from any excuse by being so harsh and peevish to others.

Concerning Note 25

Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo [there are three that give testimony in heaven]:[279] Since I found no mention in the Greek texts of the Father, the

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275 Actually Cyprian *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* 2.8 PL 4 (1891) 732B

276 *Tract in Ep Joan ad Parthos [1 Joan]* 6.14 PL 35 2027–8

277 That is, in the quotation from the *Historia tripartita*; for Epiphanius see n130 above.

278 See *Responsio 1* Note 1 75 and n37 there.

279 Cf the annotation with this cue phrase (on 1 John 5:7) Reeve 768–71. The discussion concerns the additional words found (with variants) at 1 John 5:7–8: 'in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth.' These words, the so-called Comma Ioanneum, originated in the third or fourth century as a Latin gloss on 1 John 5:7 and were inserted in Latin Bible texts from the fifth century onward. Cf H.J. de Jonge 'Erasmus and the Comma Johanneum' *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 56 (1980) 381–9. The patristic references brought forward

Word, and the Holy Spirit, I had briefly pointed out the additional words in our texts without either approving or disapproving anything. Lee[280] confronts me with Valla,[281] who, being otherwise diligent, did not mention this matter and would no doubt have mentioned it if he had discovered a variant. I shall not reply here that Valla was human and that something might have escaped his attention. I shall merely say that I examined at various times more than seven manuscripts[282] and did not find in any of them what we read in our texts. If I had come across one manuscript that had the reading found in our texts, I would have added the phrase missing in the others on the strength of that one. Since that did not happen I did the only thing possible and indicated what was lacking in the Greek texts.

As for Jerome's attestation in his preface that this passage has been corrupted by heretics,[283] if I wanted to stand on my rights, I could appeal from the authority of Jerome, something Lee does whenever it suits him. And in such matters St Jerome is certainly ardent and forceful, not to say violent, in asserting something as established that is not nearly as certain as he wants it to appear. Sometimes while battling with an adversary he uses a reading that he criticizes elsewhere, for example, *divisa est mulier et virgo* [there is a difference between wife and virgin].[284] Sometimes he says the opposite of what he asserts elsewhere, adapting his speech to the matter at hand. He also cut out a great deal from the Hebrew canon; he obelized as being fictitious or spurious a great deal that is now read by the church without harm, for example, the story of Bel's dragon, the story of Susanna's deliverance, the last two books of Ezra, whose contents he calls dreamed up.[285] Nor did he scruple to do in with his dagger the hymn of the three

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by Erasmus against Lee were added to the annotation in *1522*. In the meantime the annotation had also been attacked by Zuñiga; cf *Apologiae contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 252:447–258:544.

280 Lee fol CXXVI verso

281 *Annotationes* (*Opera* I 892)

282 In his annotation on Acts 18 Valla mentions that he had examined seven manuscripts; *Opera* I 845.

283 Pseudo-Jerome *Prologus septem epistolarum canonicarum* PL 29 (1865) 870–3

284 Cf Jerome *Adversus Helvidium de Mariae virginitate perpetua* PL 23 (1883) 213D–214A, citing 1 Cor 7:33–4 in this manner.

285 The stories of Bel and the dragon and of Susanna are in the Vulgate at Dan 13 and 14. In RSV and most non-Catholic Bibles they are two separate books among the Apocrypha. Jerome called the second two books of Ezra (1 and 2 Esdras in the RSV Apocrypha) 'dreams' in the preface to Ezra, PL 28 (1890) 1472C, reprinted Weber I 638. For Jerome's emendations and his use of obelisks cf *Responsio 1* Note 113 231–2 and n939 there.

children,[286] which the church regularly and frequently sings. If we do not trust him in the excision of so many passages, would it be surprising if we did not trust him adding something here?

Yet what Lee says – that according to Jerome the passage has been corrupted by heretics[287] – is not correct. It is Lee himself who corrupts the story, as he does in many other cases to make me more unpopular with those who are not familiar with such tricks. Jerome complains that the [canonical] Epistles had been translated by several people and that their editions did not agree. Hence he concludes that what is at variance cannot be correct. If these men had translated what had been written by the authors of the Epistles, we would not be plagued by uncertainty, nor would the variant readings lessen their trustworthiness and authority. But although Jerome admits that the passages in these Epistles diverged from the truth of the original Scripture, by what argument does he conclude that the text as he restores it was the original? One may surmise that in those days almost the whole church read a version different from what Jerome says should be read. Or else what follows will not make sense: 'But, Eustochium, virgin in Christ, by persistently asking me for the true text of Scripture in a way you expose my old age to the gnawing teeth of envious men who declare that I am a falsifier and corrupter of sacred Scripture.'[288] How could they have had the effrontery to call him a falsifier unless he had changed the public reading? Furthermore since it is certain that the texts varied and there is no certain proof that what Jerome adds was written by the apostle, what reason is there for Lee to protest loudly against me? After all I do not disapprove of our reading; indeed I leave it as is. I merely translate what I find in the Greek texts. And what is found in the Greek texts Jerome attests was once in the Latin texts then in public use. If what Jerome indicates as missing were not missing from any codex, it could appear that he made the story up. But now the facts themselves show that he spoke the truth. Furthermore we read in Jerome: 'in which we find many errors in the true faith committed even by unfaithful translators.'[289] I would like the prudent reader to consider whether this should read 'even by faithful translators' so that the sense would be: even translators otherwise trustworthy still erred here.

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286 The canticle *Benedicite omnia opera Domini*, which is Daniel 3:52–87 in the Vulgate, the Song of the Three Young Men (RSV) or the Three Jews (NRSV) in the Apocrypha.

287 Lee fol CXXVI

288 Pseudo-Jerome *Prologus septem epistolarum canonicarum* PL 29 (1865) 873–4

289 Ibidem 870–1

And lest Lee think that this part has not been omitted by anyone but heretics, he should know that Cyril brings together many proof-texts, including this passage, against the Arians in the work entitled *Thesaurus*, book 14, penultimate chapter, but without the part that I have so far not found in the Greek texts. Is it plausible that he would have omitted this weapon if he had believed that the apostle had written what Jerome asserts he did? I shall quote Cyril's own words, in case anyone distrusts me: 'And again John says in the same Epistle: Who is it who conquers the world if not he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? Jesus Christ came through water and blood and the Spirit, not only in water but in water and blood, and the Spirit is the one who gives testimony, for the Spirit is truth. For there are three who give testimony, the Spirit, the water and the blood, and these three are one. If we accept the testimony of human beings, the testimony of God is greater. Take diligent note once again, for here too the preacher of truth teaches that the Holy Spirit is by nature true God from true God. For after he had said that the Spirit is the one who gives testimony, he added a few words later that the testimony of God is greater. How then will the Holy Spirit be a creature when he is called God by the apostles, just like the Father?'[290] From these words it is obvious, I believe, that the testimony of the three in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, was not in Cyril's text. Bede[291] too, who expounds this passage diligently and explains in detail and with many words the three-fold testimony on earth, makes no mention of the testimony in heaven of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. Bede too was not without skill in the languages or diligence in exploring ancient texts. Indeed he does not even add 'on earth';[292] he reads only 'there are three who give testimony.' In the manuscript[293] provided me from the library of the Minorites in Antwerp there was a scholion added in the margin in a more recent hand about the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit.

This is the gist of the matter, dear reader. Now observe the atrocious tragedy Lee makes of this, as if he had come upon a cause against which he can sound the trumpet of Allecto with all his might.[294] 'Now,' he says,

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290 *Thesaurus* 34 PG 75 616A–B, though with some variation from the concluding part of this quotation

291 Bede ... about the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit] Added in *Basel 1520*. The Bede reference is to *Comm in 1 Joan* PL 93 114B–D.

292 This phrase appears in PL, but not in the critical edition by D. Hurst in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 121 (Turnhout 1983) 321.

293 That is, of Bede's commentaries. Erasmus judged the scholion to be added later by a different scribe.

294 One of the three Furies, goddesses of vengeance; Virgil *Aeneid* 7.511–15 de-

'let the Christian reader reflect on whether it is right to regard as oracles what is in Greek texts. Let us grant that what Jerome affirms is correct.'[295] Thus Lee. Let us grant what Lee says – that this passage has been corrupted by heretics. But who ever said that we must trust in the Greek texts like oracles? When I attest so many times to the opposite, what reason was there to bring against me such absurd stuff and cause an uproar with words that have nothing to do with the matter at hand, and sound the war trumpet, as it were? Lee says he proved out of Epiphanius that the Epistle of John has been shortened; and again out of Jerome that something has been omitted by the heretics. 'And the Erasmian text gives us the passage corrupted by heretics both times, in the first and in the second editions.' What do I hear? Are all the texts I used for this edition 'my' texts? Or only those that Lee says are corrupt? What if the same reading were found in a manuscript in the papal library?[296] Will Lee thunder against the pope's manuscript? Let Lee imagine that the pope has delegated to him the task of translating faithfully into Latin the text he finds there in Greek; will he give a translation different from mine? Will he himself supply what is missing in the manuscript? But in that case the pope will find him lacking in trustworthiness if he dares to diverge from the manuscript committed to him. For I do not set myself up as judge over the Greek books, merely as their translator. And not satisfied with these words Lee adds to them even more virulent ones: 'I cannot marvel enough that he has come across such a text and has now twice published it without (as one must assume) consulting other texts to see if they have anything different. Yet it smacks of some impiety to show such negligence, not to say dissimulation, in such sacred and venerable doctrines and in passages so necessary to the faith.' First of all Lee acts as if I had had no more than one text, whereas I used many, first in England, then in Brabant, and finally in Basel on more than one occasion,[297] and as if I had followed only the one, faulty codex without consulting the rest. And here he adds 'as one must assume.' Does he not plainly fulfil here the promise he made in the preface, that he would slander other men's works?[298] Since

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scribes her blowing the trumpet that arouses native Italians and immigrant Trojans to war against each other.

295 Lee fol CXXVI verso

296 In 1521 Paolo Bombace informed Erasmus that the Comma was lacking in the now famous (Greek) Codex Vaticanus B in the papal library; see Ep 1213:74–94.

297 Cf Bentley 126–33; Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations* 38–9.

298 See *Apologia* 32 above.

I spared neither my purse nor my health in this business, by what stretch of the imagination am I suspected of trusting only one manuscript and not consulting the rest? Can anything be more slanderous than this? And is it 'negligence' which 'smacks of some impiety' if I did not consult texts to which I could not gain access? I certainly gathered as many as I could. Let Lee produce a Greek manuscript that has written what is lacking in my edition and let him prove that I had access to this manuscript; and then he may accuse me of negligence in sacred doctrines. If he cannot prove it, you see, dear reader, what accusation could be brought against him. Nor is the man's virulent mind content with this. He adds 'not to say dissimulation.' Why should I dissimulate here when in the whole work I conceal nothing in which the Greeks differ [from the Vulgate] or even that does not find entire approval among them? What do Lee's insults accomplish other than showing his putrid mind? Even if there had been a manuscript containing the text that was missing in the manuscripts I have seen, why should he prefer to suspect me of a perverse desire to conceal it rather than of having nodded off? In the whole project am I working to omit what argues against heretics? Who is mad enough to suspect me of such a thing? But, he says, Lorenzo does not mention it.[299] I concede as much, but it could be that he did not notice it; it could be that his manuscript had what mine did not. Or is it that I am impious just because I do not have access to all manuscripts? He makes excuses for Valla, saying that he was a pious man who concealed the errors in the Greek books and if anything was missing supplied it out of the Latin so that he would not lessen the authority of the Greek texts.[300] I however believe that if Lorenzo came to life he would reject Lee's defence with hands and feet.[301] Why would Valla be thought to have acted in this fashion here when he condemns our version on so many occasions, insultingly at that? The nonsense Lee spouts in this passage does not have even a semblance of truth.

But not to belabour you, dear reader, with a rehearsal of his nonsense, I shall keep it short. He shows that there is a great risk of the Arian heresy once more rearing its head if certain people realize that the clause 'There are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one' is omitted. Since no heresy is as dead as that of the Arians, I wonder what reason Lee has to be afraid. But let us imagine that the Arians return to life. Will they be silenced because of this

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299 That is, Valla; see 404 and n281 above.
300 Lee fols CXXVI verso–CXXVII
301 *Adagia* I iv 15, meaning 'in every possible way'

one passage? Are there not many more passages with which they can be refuted? And what purpose would it have served if I had concealed the fact that the text is as it is in the Greek books, when the Greek books themselves attest to the fact? If it was absolutely necessary to conceal it, why did Jerome announce to the whole world that a majority of even the Latin manuscripts did not have the clause?[302] In that case Jerome should have tacitly added it and deceived the reader. But Jerome would reply: In vain would I have concealed what everyone knew. I can give the same reply: even if I had wanted to conceal it, those who know Greek would have discovered my ruse. And today many people know Greek; soon no one who is ignorant of Greek will be counted among the educated, in spite of protests from certain old men who keep a tight grip on the old tastes and flat wine to which they are accustomed. If this passage is cited, will the mouths of the Arians be stopped at once so that they dare not make another sound, as Lee believes? Will we win an easy victory here? Will there be no corner left where they can take refuge?

First, they will be able to say we have corrupted the passage in question. But here Lee will immediately confront them with Jerome. They will pass him over, being more learned perhaps than he and better equipped. For no faction was more knowledgeable in sacred letters than the Arians. In this respect they resembled their teacher Origen.[303] Though I am pleased that their faction has been vanquished, still, because of their learning I wish their books had survived.[304] Next, will they be forced to admit that the Son is ὁμούσιος, 'of one substance with' the Father, on the basis of the passage in the Gospel of John just because Christ said 'I and the Father are one'?[305] Will they not be able to escape by saying that this referred to their mutual agreement, not to their being of one substance? And to make their words seem more plausible they will bring up the passage from chapter 17 by the same evangelist: 'Holy Father, keep those in your name whom you have given to me, so that they may be one as we also are.'[306] Are we one in the sense that the Son is one with the Father? And shortly afterwards: 'I ask not only for them, but also for those who will believe in me through their word, that they all may be one as you, Father, are in me

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302 See n283 above.

303 Arius regarded himself a disciple of Lucian of Antioch, but much of his theology points to the Origenistic tradition.

304 Of Arius' own works only three letters and isolated fragments survive.

305 John 10:30

306 John 17:11

and I in you, that they also may be one in us.'[307] I believe it is quite clear that he speaks here of their agreement, especially because of the preceding phrase: 'Your word is the truth. As you have sent me into the world, so I have sent them into the world.'[308] You see that this is about their words being in agreement. A little further on is the following: 'And I have given them the glory you have given me, so that they may be one just as we too are one, I in them and you in me, that they may be made perfect in one, that the world may know that you have sent me.'[309] Why does Augustine, and many others along with him, interpret one section to refer to one faith, the other to one substance?[310] For[311] what reason is it said that believers had one heart and one soul,[312] just as the Father, Son, and Spirit can be, and are, said to be one? I do not champion Arianism here, I reject Lee's slander. When[313] Paul writes to the Galatians 'You are all one in Jesus Christ,' he does not speak of substance but of their fellowship in grace. And again when he writes to the Romans 'he who plants and he who waters are one'[314] he speaks of equality in function, not of the same substance.

To disprove the Arian position it would not be enough to show that 'one' pertains to the same substance by species; it must likewise be shown that the same substance in number and a uniquely singular substance is meant. Augustine, who discusses these matters in *Adversus Maximinum*, book 3, chapter 22, does not express himself quite accurately.[315] Now just as the Arians would extricate themselves from the passage in John, they would by the same token elude this passage, in which mention is made of the testimonies. Nothing however corroborates the authority of testimony as much as consensus. Therefore the Spirit, water, and blood agree on earth. Are these three one in the same sense as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one? No one, I think, will say so, but they are one through the consensus of their testimony, and thus the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one. The Father attests to the Son, the Son teaches only what he has received from the Father, the Holy Spirit receives from the Son what he instils in the apostles. Since this could be said with probability even by the

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307 John 17:20–1
308 John 17:17–18
309 John 17:22–3
310 *Tract in Joan* 110.2 PL 35 1920–1
311 For . . . to be one?] Added in *1522*
312 Acts 4:32
313 When . . . quite accurately.] Added in *1540*
314 Gal 3:28 and 1 Cor 3:8 (not Romans)
315 *Contra Maximinum* 2.22.3 PL 42 794–5

Arians, as[316] indeed something of this kind is said by Maximinus, how can Lee assert that the Arians will have nothing left to say, not even a whisper, if the passage is left intact?[317] Not to rattle on that there is no need of testimony in heaven, where no one lacks belief, or that the whole passage is so enveloped in figures of speech that anyone at all could get away with an interpretation if he wanted to be contentious. I have said all this not because I do not want these passages to carry weight against heretics, but because I do not want the affair to reach a point where they cannot be refuted if this passage is changed. I myself believe that the Son is of the same substance as the Father primarily because that is the church's interpretation, and I would believe it just as firmly even if this passage were different from what we have now.

There is a second heresy that is so deeply buried in oblivion that were it not mentioned in our books, no one would suspect that anyone could have dreamed up such things.[318] Yet Lee is very concerned that these heretics cannot be refuted unless the above passage is restored out of Epiphanius.[319] Indeed, if we are to believe Lee, the Carpocratians will be victorious if Epiphanius is wrong, for he is the only one to say that the passage is corrupt. As if John did not say clearly enough in his Gospel 'And the Word was God,'[320] even if the present passage did not come to our aid – a passage that is suspect and a bit obscure! We do not need this testimony, for we are completely convinced that Christ is God and man. The Carpocratians, however, will cite the reading that is in their favour, and Epiphanius shows that it existed in this form. They will deny that the passage has been corrupted. But Lee does not mean any of the things he writes. He is not so blind that he cannot see that there is no danger to the church from this quarter, since my reading is not the church's reading, even if it elucidates and emends it. Nor is it offered for us to rely on unless other arguments support it, as I have said repeatedly. But Lee turns a deaf ear to my words. He exaggerates matters to bring me into disrepute and cause me trouble, which was his only purpose when he undertook his labour.

Now let us listen to the seditious trumpet call with which he attempts to incite the world to rebellion, trusting in nothing else but the stupidity

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316 as ... by Maximinus] Added in *1522*, and followed by the phrase 'nor does Augustine contradict it,' which was omitted in *1540*.

317 Lee fol CXXVII

318 A reference to the Carpocratians, a Gnostic sect founded by Carpocrates (second century). They revered Jesus as an ordinary man.

319 That is, from the *Historia tripartita*; see Note 24 with nn272 and 277 above.

320 John 1:1

and blind hatred of some people, and secondly in the knowledge that few will have leisure to read this book, or if they do they will not have time to read it attentively. May God some day grant him as much ability to do good as he clearly has will to do harm, and may he find as much strength to praise as he clearly has for criticism. But now let us hear his own high-sounding words: 'Do you not think the heretics will triumph twice,' he says, 'once when they are freed from such significant evidence against them, and a second time when they think it right to turn the accusation back on us, saying that the Sacred Scriptures have been corrupted by us, and that all this while we have been fighting against them with lies and slander?'[321]

First of all, who is freeing the heretics from significant evidence? Does the church not retain its reading? Is our faith endangered, stem to stern,[322] if the heretics realize that there is a variant reading? But Jerome and Epiphanius pointed it out to them, and it is demonstrated by Greek books that should have been burned if there was so much danger in them. Will the heretics triumph twice if these two supporting passages are removed? In my opinion they will not triumph even once, even if the whole Epistle had been lost. But in any case, who are the heretics Lee is telling me about? Those of whom nothing is left but the name! So afraid of their ghosts is our fearful fellow, when there is no need! But if heretics will slander us, saying that we have corrupted the Scriptures, does Lee think I must be to blame? If they are not corrupt, heretics will be able to corrupt them at their pleasure. If all the authority of Scripture collapses because one or the other passage is corrupt, how great the danger is, since our books are full of mistakes everywhere! No one among the heretics was shameless enough to deny the trustworthiness of all the other passages because one was corrupt.

But Lee continues: 'But they will cite those Greek manuscripts against us. If the reputation of the famous author who published them creates trust in them, I would rather that others surmise what the result will be instead of saying it myself. How greatly I at any rate fear that there will be a formidable schism in the church of God! I am afraid we will fall once again on Arian times and an endlessly lamentable discord in the holy church. It often happens that we adopt something new as sacred, passing judgment not on the basis of its actual worth but of the author's name. If that is the case here, will not every kind of upheaval, every kind of faction, quarrel, and tempest arise? For such is the reputation of the author that he can obtain any

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321 Lee fol CXXVIII
322 *Adagia* I i 8

goal (and not only from insignificant people) on the strength of his authority, not to mention the river of eloquence that can persuade even an enemy. And I see a number of people snared by nothing more than the glamour of his name, observing nothing more than that he has spoken and thinking his word good enough; and so they delude themselves as with the pronouncement of an oracle.' If I believed that Lee meant what he writes, I would pray that he find a good physician. But as it is, what he writes is a conceit to please certain people who are foolishly convinced that they will not have much of a reputation if this new kind of learning gains in strength over the patrons of the old ignorance. And he writes thus to make me unpopular, having long since picked me for a quarrel that will make him instantly known to the world. I beseech you, what is it that will bring us such a flood of evils, so many schisms, so many heresies, so many upheavals, so many tempests, so many shipwrecks? The fact that the Greek manuscripts appear in print? Aldo has published them too.[323] Or the fact that I showed that they differ in some places from our text? Lorenzo[324] revealed it before I did. Or the fact that I translated the Greek? Jacques Lefèvre did it before I did.[325] It is now more than three years since the New Testament as edited by me has been in people's hands.[326] Has any upheaval arisen from it? Many say that they made considerable progress on account of my labour. Lee himself made no small progress, although he carefully conceals this, being of all living men the most grateful! The supreme pontiff has praised my industry,[327] as do all the best and most learned men. Jan Ath of blessed memory, one-time chancellor of our university, praised it unreservedly. There was no trouble, except that certain stupid people who have no judgment but blindly hate good literature blathered something or other among the unlearned, but in such stupid fashion that they were laughed at even by the laymen with a little sense.

But Lee is afraid that my authority will impose on many. I have never claimed any authority, nor do I have the authority Lee cunningly attributes to me in order to press harder in his suit against me. But let him imagine my authority is very great; what danger is there? Will they at once revere whatever is written in Greek manuscripts? If they put their trust in me, they will not unreservedly trust the manuscripts, for I tell them not to do so on many

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323 See *Apologia* n167 above.
324 Valla
325 A reference to Lefèvre's commentary on the Pauline Epistles (Paris 1512)
326 The *Novum instrumentum* was published in 1516.
327 See *Apologia* n192 and the prefatory remarks to *Responsio 1* 73 above.

occasions. Indeed, the authority Lee attributes to me will ensure that no one adopts as an oracle what he may find in Greek manuscripts. With similar purpose Lee exaggerates that wonderful eloquence of mine that allows me to persuade even an enemy of anything at all. What does this mean? That I shall turn it to the ruination of Christian religion? But if I use it for the glory of Christ, what is there to fear from that river of eloquence Lee inventively attributes to me? And[328] he does so in a spirit no different from Cresconius, who once attributed eloquence to Augustine.[329] If I can persuade readers of anything I want, then they ought to be persuaded of the necessity of reading my edition with discretion and not immediately condemning the Vulgate reading if the Greek books differ somewhere. If the people who attribute to me as much as Lee declares have been persuaded of this and believe it, what tempest can arise? The [Old Testament] books of the Hebrews are published and Lee is conversant with them. The Hebrew is more at variance with our [Vulgate] reading than is [the Greek] New Testament. Why does Lee not fear heresies in that case, why does he not fear tempests, upheavals, quarrels, storms, ruination, shipwreck, floods, complete extinction, and whatever can be called more horrible than these?

But let us listen to Lee's thunder in the remaining part: 'Let the church decide,' he says, 'whether these things are so negligible that they can be disregarded. More than four thousand copies have been scattered through the Christian world. All are lacking these testimonies, than which nothing in Scripture is more sacred and more necessary, not to speak of the other passages which we have noted here and there are inferior in Greek to the Latin texts.'[330] Thus far Lee. Although Froben did not print more than three thousand three hundred copies, Lee makes it more than four thousand. All right; suppose six thousand copies had been printed, what then? They are all lacking those testimonies! Yes, and then what? Nothing but that people will understand that these words are not added in the majority of Greek manuscripts. But in six hundred thousand Latin manuscripts they are added. When he says twice that there is no more sacred or more necessary passage, let him take care that his words do not do injury to the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles.

He insists repeatedly that there are places in which the Greek reading is inferior to our texts. Granted that this is sometimes the case, why does

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328 And ... to Augustine.] Added in *1522*

329 Cf Augustine *Contra Cresconium* 1.2 (3) PL 43 448. Cresconius was a Donatist layman and a teacher of grammar. He is known only from Augustine's treatise against him.

330 Lee fol CXXVIII recto–verso

he not list the innumerable places where the Greek reading is better than ours? But Lee proceeds with his incendiary speech: 'And yet,' he says, 'in many ways he succeeds in making these novel readings more impressive and popular than the old ones, principally because they have a new style, neat phrasing, an Erasmian purity, as it were. Those who neglect the old texts and devote themselves to these new ones will consider it beneficial that they can avoid many stylistic inelegancies and also progress considerably in pure and correct speech.'[331] Thus far Lee's words. Since in my translation of the New Testament I added no rhetorical flourishes, but rather preserved the simplicity of the evangelical and apostolic speech, where is that neatness which will make readers neglect the old in favour of our text? Perhaps the slightly less clumsy language may cause them to compare the texts. Finally, what inconvenience is it if sacred Scripture is free of stylistic flaws? If the whole risk is in two or three places, they can be changed on the authority of the pope. I have merely reproduced what I found in the Greek.

But Lee, ever full of fears, points out another danger: 'For a long time now the idea has taken hold of people's minds that if Greek manuscripts have anything different from ours, the text should be taken from the Greek in defiance of ours.' Thus Lee. On the contrary, it is the opposite view that has long ago taken hold of people's minds: that any reading in Greek manuscripts is suspect. And I have been purposely careful to guard against anyone's deciding against our reading in reliance on the Greek texts. But Lee proceeds as he has begun: 'If you add to this the greed of the printers who, for the sake of a quite small profit, will be drawn to wherever they see people's interest inclined, so that there is nothing that they do not dare issue from their shops, it will soon happen that they will give no other texts to the world from their presses than these. For they will see that a large part of the readership, both learned and unlearned, are for diverse reasons keen on copies of this edition. And will not anyone who avidly embraces the book also wish to defend it to the best of his ability? And no one can defend it unless he deprives the old text of credibility and authority at the same time.' This is how our little agitator is holding forth. Who would not by now fear that the old translation will completely perish after the New Testament, as edited and translated by me, has been printed twice? And so far no one has ventured to print it except Froben alone,[332] although there are innumerable shops practising

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331 Lee fol CXXVIII verso

332 The Latin text had in fact been published by Dirk Martens (Louvain 1519) with a preface by Erasmus dated 1 September 1519 (Ep 1010); see *Apologia* 35 above.

the printer's craft. Since the other translation has its place in churches and schools, how can printers fail to disseminate primarily that version through their presses?

But let Lee pretend that there is no one, 'neither learned nor unlearned,' who fails to be captivated by my version; what danger can there be in this? Let him pretend that everyone will studiously defend the text he has so avidly bought, what then? Will the old books immediately lose their authority? Who will be foolish enough to attribute to my translation more than I myself would want attributed to it? And yet his error would be slighter than Lee's, who slanders what is correct in the most odious manner. And what does he call 'old books'? Manuscripts written many years ago? But it is on their authority that I win trust for my text. Or does he mean all current texts that follow the old translation? Does Lee not want to reduce our trust in them, even in places where they are faulty, where they are corrupt, where they give a wrong rendition, where they are wrongly interpreted? Finally, has anything happened to the old books now that my translation has been passing through people's hands for some years? Have they not retained their authority? If Lee is miffed that the printers' shops are not busy with pounding out his works, let him write books that merit being well worn by people's hands. For he appears to have written this one not for scholars but for fools and agitators, not for human beings but for tree trunks. Just as he does not please any learned man today, he will shortly displease both learned and unlearned alike.

But let us listen to the remainder of his blathering:[333] 'Furthermore,' he says, 'since God will always preserve the few who will not bend the knee to Baal, out of zeal for God's house[334] they will stand bravely against the texts profaned by the heretics. Thus there will be battles in the church of God: the little ship of Peter[335] will be tossed on the waves. Wretched worldwide discord will follow. Therefore not without reason do I fear the time predicted by Christ will come, such as has not been since the beginning until then.'[336] What new Baal does Lee describe for us here? And who are those few who will not adore this idol? Where are the texts profaned by the heretics? He insolently presents these dreams, born of his stupid little brain, to the ears and eyes of learned men. He has a poor opinion of them if he thinks they

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333 Lee fols CXXVIII verso–CXXIX

334 For bending the knee to Baal, cf Rom 11:4, 1 Kings (Vulg 3 Kings) 19:18; for zeal for God's house, Ps 68:10.

335 A metaphor for the church, based on Matt 8:23

336 Cf Matt 24:21.

will approve of his silly blatherings. Could a seditious woman carry on any worse? Now, however, if it pleases the gods, Lee, the man given from heaven to prop up Christian religion, reveals that the church is shirking its duty, and with his strong language arouses the Roman pontiff snoring in his den. I wonder why he does not also wake Christ from his sleep, saying with the apostles: 'Lord, save us, for we are perishing.'[337] But let us listen to the wild man himself[338] thundering away: 'Let the church be mindful,' he says, 'and take measures at the outset, lest what began as smoke turn into fire, and the kind of fire that will not easily be extinguished. Let it be mindful that medicine is often prepared too late. A slowly creeping fire eventually consumes everything. Thus it is necessary, indeed it is time, for the shepherd to be vigilant in the church. God still inspires us and there is sufficient hope, as long as the smoke has not yet become a flame. He who keeps Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep,[339] if the watchman over Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps.'[340] Thus far Lee's words.

As I read this I see before my eyes Lee's face looking grave, and the bearing of a man supremely pleased with himself. You would think a prophet is speaking here[341] if you did not know the man. What reason is there for the church to be afraid as long as it has mentors and counsellors and defenders such as these? But meanwhile he does not see how remarkably insulting he is to the Roman pontiff, whom he brands as asleep and snoring. The pontiff in his oracular wisdom judged that my work will contribute significantly to the general benefit of the church. Lee thinks quite differently. In his judgment (and he thinks it right that the Roman pontiff's judgment yield to his) there is a risk of such times arising as have not been seen since the creation of the world. For Lee finds it easy to disregard the judgment of learned men who profess that they have gained not a few insights from my work; he assumes and attributes so much to himself that he is amazed to find there is no honest man in the whole world who attributes to Lee as much as Lee attributes to himself. But let him be of good cheer. That watchman over Israel will not slumber or sleep forever. Someday he will impose silence on such seditious and raving books and will

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337 Matt 8:25

338 Erasmus uses a Greek expression meaning 'the brute *par excellence*.' According to Pliny the Younger *Letters* 2.3.10 it was applied to the Greek orator Demosthenes by his opponent, Aeschines.

339 Ps 120:4

340 Lee fol CXXIX

341 Cf Ezek 3:17, 33:7.

stop the mouth of men who clamour among the people with like stupidity and as far as is in them drag matters to the brink of sedition and upheaval. For if any fire, any riot, breaks out in the church of God, it will be their fault. I do not want to be either an instigator of riot or a mouthpiece of false teaching. If I have made mistakes anywhere, I have done so unintentionally and because I am human. Certainly it is not Lee's task to castigate my mistakes when he himself makes so many and such shameful mistakes in his slim booklet. At least it was not his task to admonish me so arrogantly, or rather to scold, not to say slander, me. He makes me out as stupid, as ignorant, as a biting critic. I am aware of my middling talent, nor have I ever laid claim to exceptional learning. But I shall accept the insults Lee has heaped on me if I rave as often, err as often, completely lose my way as often, and am inconsistent as often as Lee; if I misquote passages as often and am as incapable of understanding my own meaning in the numerous works I have published (and some of them are lengthy, have more than one volume, and have sometimes been precipitated rather than published)[342] as Lee is in this slim booklet of his. Yet he compiled it over a period of two years with the help of friends[343] and focusing his whole attention on this business. I shall accept his insults if, in all my writings in which I criticize errors in the traditional interpretation or tax human behaviour or respond to my detractors, can be found as many insults, as much virulence, and as much poison as Lee has heaped on my head in this one booklet. Though provoked so many times in the most odious manner, I have so far observed such moderation that I have not brought odious accusations against anyone by name, although I could have done so with justification. For what reasonable person would have blamed me if I had committed to writing and under the author's name what some men blathered openly and undisguised before the people? For if they wanted the stories they were telling to remain secret, why have they told them in public? If they wanted their names suppressed, why did they mount the stage without disguise? And yet I have not recounted in my writings a tenth of the things they have not been ashamed to bandy about at banquets and in sermons. Nor have I published anyone's name all this time, and often have spared even the name of the order. I have treated even those who provoked me to the necessity of a reply in such a way that they were made more famous by my defence. But Lee is first of all young, secondly no theologian,[344] no bishop,

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342 For similar admissions cf Epp 402:3–4, 1341A:60–2; *Ciceronianus* CWE 28 425.
343 See *Apologia* n106 and *Responsio 2* Note 161 n311 above.
344 See *Apologia* 39 and n194 and this *Responsio* Note 17 380 above.

nor in charge of any public office so that he could seem motivated to attack me out of a sense of duty;[345] nor does he have the knowledge to be equal to this kind of task. Furthermore he has not been provoked in any way; rather, he has been aided significantly by my works. And contrary to the advice of so many of his friends, whose good will he should not have neglected, whose judgment he should not have disregarded, and whose authority he should not have slighted, he attacks the name and reputation of his neighbour, indeed his friend, with all these poisoned arrows. And he does so with the mentality of a gladiator, defying death if only he could destroy me, and he considers it a gain to jettison his own efforts if only he can prevent any benefit from my efforts from reaching studious readers. Nor could he find a more suitable subject from which to gain his first fame and glory than defaming a brother and friend, and one who deserves well of him. This end he pursues with all his strength, and yet he regularly approaches the sacred table of Christ as if he were pure and of good conscience. Perhaps it is sufficient for him not to be a fornicator or a gambler or a drinker. Whether or not he is free of this kind of vice is not my business. I know one thing: the gospel message 'Leave your gift at the altar' was not addressed to the drinker or the fornicator or the gambler but to one who had a quarrel with his brother.[346] If God does not approve of an animal or a bird or a similar gift offered to him by someone who is at odds with his neighbour, how alien to him must be the spirit that pervades Lee's book, and yet Lee prepares to celebrate the heavenly sacrifice. Indeed the prince of evil and foe of the human race takes his name not from gambling or fornicating or drinking, but from what seems to be Lee's single purpose, namely διαβάλλεσθαι [to slander].[347] That one is not faulted for being an adulterer or a drunkard or a spendthrift or a prodigal, but for being proud and envious, a trickster, a liar, a false accuser, so intent on doing harm that he wants to cause harm even at his own peril, who is nowhere more like himself than when he presents himself as an angel of light and under the pretence of piety brings about the destruction of true piety. I say this in general, I judge no one. Let everyone be his own judge.

The end of the response to Lee's *Annotations*.

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345 Bishops had formal authority to investigate writings for heterodoxy.

346 Matt 5:24; cf *Apologia* 54–5 above.

347 Erasmus is referring to the literal meaning of Greek *diabolos* 'devil,' which is 'slanderer,' from the verb he gives here.

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This list provides bibliographical information for the publications referred to in short-title form in introductions and notes. For Erasmus' writings see the short-title list following.

Aldina	*Sacrae scripturae veteris novaeque omnia* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio 1518)
Allen	*Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* ed P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, and H.W. Garrod (Oxford 1906–58) 11 vols plus index
Ambrose *Exp in Luc*	Ambose *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* PL 15 (1845) 1527–1850 / (1887) 1607–1944
Ambrosiaster *Comm in Rom*, *Comm in 1 Cor*, etc	Ambrosiaster *In epistolam ad Romanos, In epistolam ad Corinthios primam*, etc in *Commentaria in epistolas beati Pauli* PL 17 (1845) 45–508 / (1879) 47–536
Annius *Commentarii*	Annius (Giovanni Nanni) *Commentarii super opera de antiquitatibus* (Rome: Silber 1498)
ASD	*Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam 1969–)
Asso	Cecilia Asso *La teologia e la grammatica: La controversia tra Erasmo ed Edward Lee* (Florence 1993)
Augustine *Exp Gal*	Augustine *Expositio epistolae ad Galatas* PL 35 2105–2148
Augustine *Tract in Ep Joan ad Parthos [1 Joan]*	Augustine *In epistolam Joannis ad Parthos [1 Joannis] tractatus* PL 35 1977–2062
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Bede *Exp in 1 Petri, Exp in 1 Joan*	Bede *In primam epistolam Petri, In primam epistolam Joannis* in *Super epistolas catholicas expositio* PL 93 9–130

Bentley	Jerry H. Bentley *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton 1983)
Bibliotheca sanctorum	*Bibliotheca sanctorum* (Rome 1961–70) 12 vols plus index
BRE	*Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus* ed A. Horawitz and K. Hartfelder (Leipzig 1886; repr Hildesheim 1966)
Capita argumentorum	*Capita argumentorum contra morosos quosdam et indoctos* LB VI **3 verso–***4 verso
CEBR	*Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* ed P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher (Toronto 1985–7) 3 vols
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Chrysostom *Hom in Acta*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum* PG 60 13–384
Chrysostom *Hom in Rom*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam ad Romanos* PG 60 391–682
Chrysostom *Hom in 1 Cor*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam primam ad Corinthios* PG 61 9–382
Chrysostom *Hom in Col*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam ad Colossenses* PG 61 299–392
Chrysostom *Hom in 1 Tim*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam primam ad Timotheum* PG 62 501–600
Chrysostom *Hom in 2 Tim*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam secundam ad Timotheum* PG 62 599–662
Chrysostom *Hom in Titum*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam ad Titum* PG 62 663–700
Chrysostom *Hom in Philem*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam ad Philemonem* PG 62 701–720
Chrysostom *Hom in Heb*	John Chrysostom *Homiliae in epistolam ad Hebraeos* PG 63 9–256

Clementina	*Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine: Textus Graecus, cum apparatu critico-exegetico, Vulgata Clementina et Neovulgata* ed Gianfranco Nolli (Vatican City 1981)
CWE	Collected Works of Erasmus (Toronto 1974–)
Cyril *Comm in Joan*	Cyril of Alexandria *Expositio sive commentarius in Joannis evangelium* PG 73 9–1056, PG 74 9–756
Durandus *Commentaria*	Durandus of St Pourçain *In Petri Lombardi sententias theologicas commentariorum libri 4* (Venice 1571; facs repr Ridgewood, NJ 1964)
DV	*The Holy Bible, Douay-Rheims Version* rev Bishop Richard Challoner (1899; repr Rockford, IL 2000)
EEV	[William Nesen ed] *Epistolae aliquot eruditorum virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Eduardi Lei virulentia* (Basel: Froben 1520)
Farrago	*Farrago nova epistolarum Erasmi* (Basel: Froben 1519)
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Jerome *Comm in Gal, Comm in Eph, Comm in Titum, Comm in Philem*	Jerome *Commentarii in epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas, . . . ad Ephesios, . . . ad Titum, . . . ad Philemonem* PL 26 (1884) 331–656

Jerome *Lucubrationes*	*Lucubrationes omnes Divi Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis* ed D. Erasmus and B., B., and B. Amerbach (Basel: Froben 1516) 9 vols
LB	*Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia* ed J. Leclerc (Leiden 1703–6; repr Hildesheim 1961) 10 vols
Lee	Edward Lee *Annotationum libri duo, alter in annotationes prioris aeditionis noui testamenti Desiderii Erasmi, alter in annotationes posterioris aeditionis eiusdem* (Paris: Gourmont 1520)
Lyra *Postilla*	Nicholas of Lyra *Postilla super totam bibliam* (Strasbourg 1492; facs repr Frankfurt am Main 1971) 4 vols
Nestle-Aland	*Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*. Textum Graecum post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle communiter ediderunt Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce Metzger, Allen Wikgren; Textus Latinus Novae Vulgatae Bibliorum Sacrorum Editioni debetur; utriusque textus apparatum criticum recensuerunt et editionem novis curis elaboraverunt Kurt Aland et Barbara Aland una cum Instituto studiorum textus Novi Testamenti Monasteriensi (Westphalia) 26th ed (Stuttgart 1979)
NRSV	*The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, New Revised Standard Version* (New York 1989)
Oecumenius *Comm in Gal*	Oecumenius *Commentarium in epistolam ad Galatas* PG 118 1091–1166
Origen *Comm in Matt*	Origen *Commentaria in evangelium secundum Matthaeum* PG 13 829–1600
Origen *Hom in Matt*	Origen *Homiliae in Matthaeum* PG 13 993–1600 under *Vetus interpretatio* and under *Series veteris interpretationis commentariorum in Matthaeum* PG 13 1599–1800
Origen *Hom in Luc*	Origen *Homiliae in Lucam* PG 13 1799–1902; trans Jerome ibidem and PL 26 (1884) 229–332
Origen *Comm in Joan*	Origen *Commentaria in evangelium Joannis* PG 14 21–830
Origen *Comm in Rom*	Origen *Commentaria in epistolam ad Romanos* trans Rufinus PG 14 833–1292
Panormitanus *Lectura in decretales*	Nicolaus de Tudeschis *Lectura in decretales, cum optimis glossis* (Perugia 1509) 6 vols

PG	*Patrologia cursus completus ... series Graeca* ed J.-P. Migne (Paris 1857–66; repr Turnhout) 162 vols
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Latina* ed J.-P. Migne (Paris 1844–55, 1862–5; repr Turnhout) 217 vols plus 4 vols indexes. *Patrologia Latina Database* (ProQuest Information and Learning Company 1996–2005) available by subscription online (http:// pld.chadwyck.com [February 2005]) and on CD-ROM (proquest.co.uk). In the notes, references to volumes of PL in which column numbers are different in the first edition and in later editions or reprints include the date of the edition cited.
Pseudo-Jerome/ Pelagius *Exp in 2 Cor, Exp in Eph*, etc	Pseudo-Jerome/Pelagius *In epistolam 2 ad Corinthios*, *In epistolam ad Ephesios*, etc in *Commentarii in epistolas sancti Pauli* PL 30 (1846) 645–902 / Souter II
Reeve	*Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: Facsimile of the Final Latin Text with All Earlier Variants* ed Anne Reeve and M. A. Screech (London 1986; Leiden 1990–3) 3 vols
RSV	*The Holy Bible ... Revised Standard Version* (New York 1952)
Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations*	Erika Rummel *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto 1986)
Rummel *Catholic Critics*	Erika Rummel *Erasmus and His Catholic Critics* (Nieuwkoop 1989) 2 vols
Sext	*Liber sextus* of Boniface VIII in *Corpus iuris canonici* ed A. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig 1879–81) II 929–1124
Soloecismi	*Soloecismi per interpretem admissi manifestarii et inexcusabiles, e plurimis pauci decerpti* LB IV *5 recto–verso
Souter	*Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul* ed Alexander Souter (Cambridge 1922–31) 3 vols
Theophylact *Enarr in Matt, Enarr in Marc, Enarr in Luc, Enarr in Joan*	Theophylact *Enarratio in evangelium Matthaei, ... Marci, ... Lucae, ... Joannis* PG 123 143–1348, PG 124 9–318
Theophylact *Exp in Rom, Exp in 1 Cor*, etc	Theophylact *Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos, Expositio in epistolam 1 ad Corinthios*, etc in *Commentarius in omnes divi Pauli epistolas* PG 124 335–1358, PG 125 9–186

Valla *Annotationes*	Lorenzo Valla *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* in Valla *Opera* I 801–95
Valla *Opera*	Lorenzo Valla *Opera omnia* (Basel: Petri 1540; facs repr Turin 1962) 2 vols
Weber	*Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* ed R. Weber (Stuttgart 1969, 1975, 1983) 2 vols
X	*Decretales Gregorii IX* in *Corpus iuris canonici* ed A. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig 1879–81) II 1–928
Yale CWM	*The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St Thomas More* (New Haven and London 1961–)

SHORT-TITLE FORMS FOR ERASMUS' WORKS

Titles following colons are longer versions of the same, or are alternative titles. Items entirely enclosed in square brackets are of doubtful authorship. For abbreviations, see Works Frequently Cited 422–7 above.

Acta: Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lutherum *Opuscula* / CWE 71
Adagia: Adagiorum chiliades 1508, etc (Adagiorum collectanea for the primitive form, when required) LB II / ASD II-1, 4, 5, 6 / CWE 30–6
Admonitio adversus mendacium: Admonitio adversus mendacium et obtrectationem LB X
Annotationes in Novum Testamentum LB VI / CWE 51–60
Antibarbari LB X / ASD I-1 / CWE 23
Apologia ad Caranzam: Apologia ad Sanctium Caranzam, or Apologia de tribus locis, or Responsio ad annotationem Stunicae . . . a Sanctio Caranza defensam LB IX
Apologia ad Fabrum: Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem LB IX / ASD IX-3 / CWE 83
Apologia adversus monachos: Apologia adversus monachos quosdam Hispanos LB IX
Apologia adversus Petrum Sutorem: Apologia adversus debacchationes Petri Sutoris LB IX
Apologia adversus rhapsodias Alberti Pii: Apologia ad viginti et quattuor libros A. Pii LB IX / CWE 84
Apologia contra Latomi dialogum: Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum de tribus linguis LB IX / CWE 71
Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo' LB IX
Apologia de laude matrimonii: Apologia pro declamatione de laude matrimonii LB IX / CWE 71
Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem': Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus' LB IX
Apologiae contra Stunicam: Apologiae contra Lopidem Stunicam LB IX: (1) Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxaverat in prima duntaxat Novi Testamenti aeditione ASD IX-2; (2) Apologia adversus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi; (3) Apologia ad prodromon Stunicae; (4) Apologia ad Stunicae conclusiones; (5) Epistola apologetica adversus Stunicam [= Ep 2172]
Apologia qua respondet invectivis Lei: Apologia qua respondet duabus invectivis Eduardi Lei *Opuscula* / CWE 72
Apophthegmata LB IV
Appendix de scriptis Clithovei LB IX / CWE 83
Appendix respondens ad Sutorem LB IX
Argumenta: Argumenta in omnes epistolas apostolicas nova (with Paraphrases)
Axiomata pro causa Lutheri: Axiomata pro causa Martini Lutheri *Opuscula* / CWE 71

Brevissima scholia: In Elenchum Alberti Pii brevissima scholia per eundem Erasmum Roterodamum CWE 84

Carmina LB I, IV, V, VIII / ASD I-7 / CWE 85–6
Catalogus lucubrationum LB I / CWE 9 (Ep 1341A)
Ciceronianus: Dialogus Ciceronianus LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 28
Colloquia LB I / ASD I-3 / CWE 39–40
Compendium vitae Allen I / CWE 4
Concionalis interpretatio (in Psalmi)
Conflictus: Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei LB I
[Consilium: Consilium cuiusdam ex animo cupientis esse consultum] *Opuscula* / CWE 71

De bello Turcico: Consultatio de bello Turcico (in Psalmi)
De civilitate: De civilitate morum puerilium LB I / CWE 25
Declamatio de morte LB IV
Declamatiuncula LB IV
Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas: Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas sub nomine facultatis theologiae Parisiensis LB IX
De concordia: De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia, or De amabili ecclesiae concordia (in Psalmi)
De conscribendis epistolis LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 25
De constructione: De constructione octo partium orationis, or Syntaxis LB I / ASD I-4
De contemptu mundi: Epistola de contemptu mundi LB V / ASD V-1 / CWE 66
De copia: De duplici copia verborum ac rerum LB I / ASD I-6 / CWE 24
De esu carnium: Epistola apologetica ad Christophorum episcopum Basiliensem de interdicto esu carnium LB IX / ASD IX-1
De immensa Dei misericordia: Concio de immensa Dei misericordia LB V / CWE 70
De libero arbitrio: De libero arbitrio diatribe LB IX / CWE 76
De praeparatione: De praeparatione ad mortem LB V / ASD V-1 / CWE 70
De pueris instituendis: De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 26
De puero Iesu: Concio de puero Iesu LB V / CWE 29
De puritate tabernaculi: De puritate tabernaculi sive ecclesiae christianae (in Psalmi)
De ratione studii LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 24
De recta pronuntiatione: De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione LB I / ASD I-4 / CWE 26
De taedio Iesu: Disputatiuncula de taedio, pavore, tristicia Iesu LB V / CWE 70
Detectio praestigiarum: Detectio praestigiarum cuiusdam libelli germanice scripti LB X / ASD IX-1
De vidua christiana LB V / CWE 66
De virtute amplectenda: Oratio de virtute amplectenda LB V / CWE 29
[Dialogus bilinguium ac trilinguium: Chonradi Nastadiensis dialogus bilinguium ac trilinguium] *Opuscula* / CWE 7
Dilutio: Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clithoveus scripsit adversus declamationem suasoriam matrimonii / *Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clithoveus scripsit* ed Emile V. Telle (Paris 1968) / CWE 83
Divinationes ad notata Bedae LB IX

Ecclesiastes: Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi LB V / ASD V-4, 5
Elenchus in N. Bedae censuras LB IX
Enchiridion: Enchiridion militis christiani LB V / CWE 66
Encomium matrimonii (in De conscribendis epistolis)
Encomium medicinae: Declamatio in laudem artis medicae LB I / ASD I-4 / CWE 29
Epistola ad Dorpium LB IX / CWE 3 / CWE 71
Epistola ad fratres Inferioris Germaniae: Responsio ad fratres Germaniae Inferioris ad epistolam apologeticam incerto autore proditam LB X / ASD IX-1
Epistola ad graculos: Epistola ad quosdam imprudentissimos graculos LB X
Epistola apologetica de Termino LB X
Epistola consolatoria: Epistola consolatoria virginibus sacris, or Epistola consolatoria in adversis LB V / CWE 69
Epistola contra pseudevangelicos: Epistola contra quosdam qui se falso iactant evangelicos LB X / ASD IX-1
Euripidis Hecuba LB I / ASD I-1
Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide LB I / ASD I-1
Exomologesis: Exomologesis sive modus confitendi LB V
Explanatio symboli: Explanatio symboli apostolorum sive catechismus LB V / ASD V-1 / CWE 70
Ex Plutarcho versa LB IV / ASD IV-2

Formula: Conficiendarum epistolarum formula (see De conscribendis epistolis)

Hyperaspistes LB X / CWE 76–7

In Nucem Ovidii commentarius LB I / ASD I-1 / CWE 29
In Prudentium: Commentarius in duos hymnos Prudentii LB V / CWE 29
Institutio christiani matrimonii LB V / CWE 69
Institutio principis christiani LB IV / ASD IV-1 / CWE 27

[Julius exclusus: Dialogus Julius exclusus e coelis] *Opuscula* / CWE 27

Lingua LB IV / ASD IV-1A / CWE 29
Liturgia Virginis Matris: Virginis Matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia LB V / ASD V-1 / CWE 69
Luciani dialogi LB I / ASD I-1

Manifesta mendacia CWE 71
Methodus (see Ratio)
Modus orandi Deum LB V / ASD V-1 / CWE 70
Moria: Moriae encomium LB IV / ASD IV-3 / CWE 27

Novum Testamentum: Novum Testamentum 1519 and later (Novum instrumentum for the first edition, 1516, when required) LB VI

Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam: Obsecratio sive oratio ad Virginem Mariam in rebus adversis, or Obsecratio ad Virginem Matrem Mariam in rebus adversis LB V / CWE 69

Oratio de pace: Oratio de pace et discordia LB VIII
Oratio funebris: Oratio funebris in funere Bertae de Heyen LB VIII / CWE 29

Paean Virgini Matri: Paean Virgini Matri dicendus LB V / CWE 69
Panegyricus: Panegyricus ad Philippum Austriae ducem LB IV / ASD IV-1 / CWE 27
Parabolae: Parabolae sive similia LB I / ASD I-5 / CWE 23
Paraclesis LB V, VI
Paraphrasis in Elegantias Vallae: Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laurentii Vallae LB I / ASD I-4
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Paraphrasis in Novum Testamentum LB VII / CWE 42–50
Peregrinatio apostolorum: Peregrinatio apostolorum Petri et Pauli LB VI, VII
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Purgatio adversus epistolam Lutheri: Purgatio adversus epistolam non sobriam Lutheri LB X / ASD IX-1

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Ratio: Ratio seu Methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiam (Methodus for the shorter version originally published in the Novum instrumentum of 1516) LB V, VI
Responsio ad annotationes Lei: Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei LB IX / CWE 72
Responsio ad collationes: Responsio ad collationes cuiusdam iuvenis gerontodidascali LB IX
Responsio ad disputationem de divortio: Responsio ad disputationem cuiusdam Phimostomi de divortio LB IX / CWE 83
Responsio ad epistolam Alberti Pii: Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam Alberti Pii, or Responsio ad exhortationem Pii LB IX / CWE 84
Responsio ad notulas Bedaicas LB X
Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem: Epistola de apologia Cursii LB X / Allen Ep 3032
Responsio adversus febricitantis libellum: Apologia monasticae religionis LB X

Spongia: Spongia adversus aspergines Hutteni LB X / ASD IX-1
Supputatio: Supputatio calumniarum Natalis Bedae LB IX

Tyrannicida: Tyrannicida, declamatio Lucianicae respondens LB I / ASD I-1 / CWE 29

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General Index

For many readers, the most useful index to this volume will be the list of of Biblical Passages Discussed, xxx–xxxvii above. Most questions of Greek and Latin language usage, the overt topic of the debate between Erasmus and Lee, are omitted here but can be found under the specific verses listed there; see also Erasmus' Biblical Text xxvii–xxix, and the Index of Greek and Latin Words. The present index is primarily to the authorities he and Lee cite and to important themes and major theological and scholarly issues in their discussions, in so far as they might not be easily discovered from the biblical passages in the List. Index references to the Introduction and to the translators' footnotes cover pertinent information for understanding the text but not, usually, ordinary supplements like references to modern texts of works Erasmus read in manuscripts or early printed editions.

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